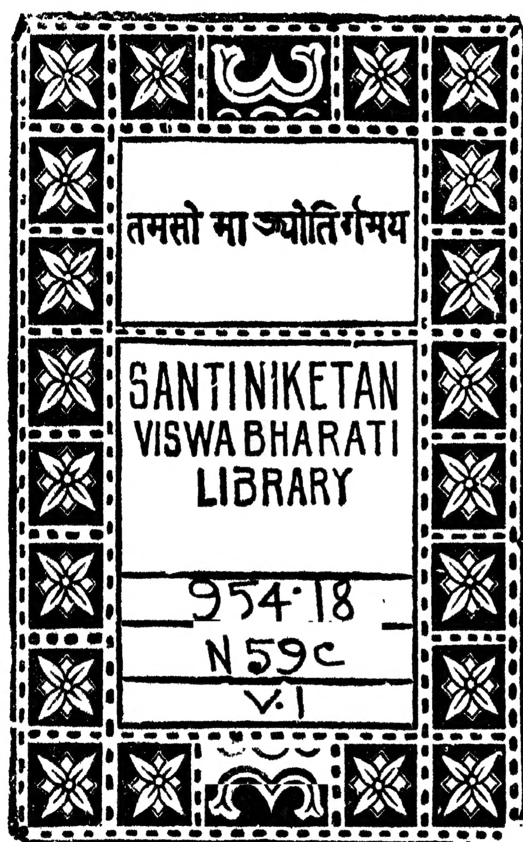


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THE CŌḶAS VOL. I

Frontispiece.



SEAL OF THE TIRUVALANGADU COPPER-PLATES.

THE CŌḶAS

BY

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VOL. I
To the accession of Kulōttunga I



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PREFACE

In the age of the Cōḷas, the most creative period of South Indian History, the whole of South India was for the first time brought under the sway of a single government, and a serious attempt made to face and solve the problems of public administration arising from the new conditions. In local government, in art, religion and letters, the Tamil country reached heights of excellence never reached again in succeeding ages; in all these spheres, as in that of foreign trade and maritime activity, the Cōḷa period marked the culmination of movements that began in an earlier age, under the Pallavas.

This history of the Cōḷas, the first systematic study of a great epoch, has been rendered possible only by the work carried on steadily from year to year for half a century by the Archaeological Survey of India. My indebtedness to the scholars who, in the various publications of this department, have laid the foundations of Cōḷa history will be evident on almost every one of the following pages. I have based my account, however, on an independent study of the originals, for which the most ample facilities were afforded to me by the Director-General of Archaeology and the officers in charge of the Madras office.

Inscriptions come to our aid only from the accession of Vijayālaya in the ninth century, and even then their distribution in time and space is naturally very uneven; for the early period, and we do not know of a time when there were no Cōḷas, we depend altogether on extant Tamil Literature surviving for the most part

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CONTENTS

MAPS AND PLATES

ABBREVIATIONS

ARA. Annual Reports on Archaeology, Madras.

ARB. Archaeological Reports, Burma.

ARE. Annual Reports on Epigraphy, Madras.

ASC. Archaeological Survey Reports, Ceylon.

ASI. Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports of the Director-General.

ASSI. Archaeological Survey of Southern India.

BEFEO. Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient.

BG. Bombay Gazetteer.

CSI. Coins of Southern India by Sir Walter Elliot (1886).

CV. Cuḷavamsa, edited and translated by Geiger, (Pāli Text Society).

DKD. Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, by Fleet (in the *BG*).

EC. Epigraphia Carnatica.

EI. Epigraphia Indica.

EZ. Epigraphia Zeylanica.

HISI. Historical Inscriptions of Southern India. Sewell (1932).

IA. Indian Antiquary.

IHQ. Indian Historical Quarterly.

JA. Journal Asiatique.

JAHRS. Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society.

ABBREVIATIONS

JBBRAS. Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

JIH. Journal of Indian History.

JOR. Journal of Oriental Research.

JRAS. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London).

List. Kielhorn: List of Inscriptions, Southern. (*EI.* vii and viii).

MAR. Mysore Archaeological Reports.

MV. Mahāvamsa, edited and translated by Geiger (Pāli Text Society), continued in *CV.*

NI. Nellore Inscriptions edited by Butterworth and Venugopal Chetty.

PK. The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (1929).

QJMS. Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore.

SII. South Indian Inscriptions.

Studies. Studies in Cōḷa History and Administration by K.A. Nilakanta Sastri (1932).

TAR. Travancore Archaeological Reports.

TAS. Travancore Archaeological Series.

CHAPTER I

SOURCES

Introduction.

On the history of the Cōḷas, as on many other subjects of early Indian history, we had, fifty years ago, little information of an authentic character. When, in the early years of the last century, Col. Mackenzie made his great effort to survey all and collect as many as possible of the antiquarian remains of the Madras Presidency, his agents in the Tanjore district failed to discover anything more remarkable on the ancient Cōḷas than the *Cōḷavaṃśacaritram.* This is a late *Sthalapurāṇa* which is legendary and full of miracles. Tradition knew nothing of the real history of the older rulers of the land and could not tell if the Cōḷa dynasty numbered eighty-four kings or sixteen. Epigraphy has made remarkable progress in South India during the last fifty years. Hultzsch, Venkayya and Krishna Sastri have brought out scholarly editions of many of the inscriptions. Of the Śangam literature, which is doubtless the earliest group of Tamil writings extant, considerable portions have been recovered and published. Now it is both possible and necessary to attempt a comprehensive study which shall bring together the results so far attained, and so to approach a definitive history of the Cōḷas.

To attempt a task of this nature in a subject which, thanks to fresh discoveries or new interpretations of old material, is apt to have its foundations disturbed from time to time, is, we are warned, to run the risk of our structure collapsing no sooner than it is reared. But this is, in regard to Cōḷa history, greatly to underestimate the permanence of the results reached so far;

for a careful review of the steps by which the reconstruction of this history has proceeded since the days when the clues obtained from Eastern Cāḷukya copper-plates were correlated to the evidence from the Cōḷa inscriptions of Tanjore and other places in the Tamil country, must convince the most sceptical among scholars that a considerable tract of ascertained knowledge has been added permanently to the history of South India. A settled and continuous narration of the political history of the Cōḷas appears therefore not merely quite possible to undertake, but likely to be of more than transient interest. The case for such an undertaking becomes stronger if it is observed that, in its administrative system and in its literary and artistic achievement, Tamil civilisation may be said to have attained its high watermark under the Cōḷa empire of the tenth to the thirteenth centuries. Under this empire also flourished in their greatest strength the sea-faring instincts of the people of Southern India which enabled them to add for a time an overseas empire to the more abiding prospects of a profitable trade with the states of the Far-East. The telling of a story which fills so large a place in the past life of the land and is so full of colour and incident should not be unduly postponed. At the same time we should recognise that, in regard to certain points of the story, the preliminary researches, of which one should have desired to avail oneself, have yet to be made; and even the attempt to paint the picture as a whole may be the means, by drawing attention to their need, of bringing such researches into being.

Divisions of the subject.

The history of the Cōḷas falls naturally into four divisions: the age of the literature of the Śangam, the interval between the close of the Śangam age and the rise

of the Vijayālaya line, the Vijayālaya line which came to prominence in the ninth century A.D. and lastly, the Cāḷukya-Cōḷa line of Kulōttunga I and his successors from the third quarter of the eleventh century to about the middle of the thirteenth. Nearly two centuries before the rise of Vijayālaya in the neighbourhood of Tanjore, there flourished a Cōḷa kingdom in the Telugu districts comprising portions of Cuddapah, Kurnool and Anantapūr,* whose kings traced their descent from Karikāla. Nothing definite is known, however, of their connection with the early Cōḷas. Again, from about the twelfth century, there were a number of local dynasties which claimed also to be among the descendants of Karikāla and to belong to the Kaśyapa *gōtra*. Besides their legendary pedigree there seems to be no evidence connecting them in any manner with the Cōḷas of the Tamil country. Of these late Telugu-Cōḍas, who have left behind a large number of stone and copper-plate inscriptions, we need make only passing mention in this history.

Sources: Early Period.

The main source of our information on the early Cōḷas is the early Tamil literature of the so-called third Śangam. The brief notices of the Cōḷa country and its towns, ports and commerce furnished by the *Periplus* and by Ptolemy are best interpreted in the light of this literature. The striking coincidences in these matters between the classical writers and the literature of the Śangam are enough to show that this literature belongs to the early centuries of the Christian era. And the somewhat obscure account in the *Mahāvamsa* of many conflicts between the inhabitants of Ceylon

* *EC.* xii (7) and *EI.* xi, Mālēpāḍu plates.

and Tamil immigrants into the island receives some elucidation from a comparison of the proper names in the *Mahāvamsa* account with those occurring in the Śangam poems. The synchronism between Gajabāhu I and the Cēra king Śenguṭṭuvan was viewed with suspicion by Hultzsch; but it rests not simply on the identity of the name of the Ceylonese king in the *Mahāvamsa* and in the *Śilappadikāram*, but on the existence of an active intercourse, political and cultural, between South India and its island-neighbour.

The period covered by the extant literature of the Śangam is unfortunately not easy to determine with any measure of exactness; though it seems most likely that it extended from five to ten generations at the most. Excepting the longer epics, the *Śilappadikāram* and the *Maṇimēkalai* * which, by common consent, are taken to belong to the closing stages of the Śangam age, the poems have reached us in the form of systematic anthologies, some of which, like the *Ahanānūṟu*, follow a highly intricate scheme in their arrangement. Each individual poem has generally attached to it a colophon on the authorship and subject-matter of the poem; in the poems of the division called *Puṟam* which deal with concrete objective situations, the name of the king or chieftain to whom the poem relates, and the occasion which called forth the eulogy or description, are also found. It is from these colophons, and rarely from the texts of the poems themselves, that we can gather the names of many kings and chieftains and of the poets and

* A relatively late date for this poem, later than A. D. 400, seems to be forced on us by the trend of the discussion of the relation between Canto XXIX of this poem and the *Nyāyapravēśa*, unless indeed this Canto is treated as having suffered a later revision. See *Nyāyapravēśa* pp. xiii-xvi for a succinct review of the discussion by A. B. Dhruva.

poetesses patronised by them. The task of reducing these names to an ordered scheme in which the different generations of contemporaries can be marked off from one another has not yet commanded the attention and patient thought that it merits. Some writers have been apt to draw on their imagination and invent genealogical connections not supported by the sources; others have confessed themselves beaten in the game and have denounced the colophons as late and untrustworthy guesses, not worth much consideration at the hands of the modern historian. * Before adopting this counsel of despair, one would do well to recollect that some anthologies, like the *Kalittogai*, are said to have been put together by a poet represented in the collection itself, and that no reasoned case has been made out against accepting the literary tradition relating to these anthologies and the individual poems in them. † In any attempt to deal systematically with the data drawn from these poems, the casual nature of the poems and the wide difference between the purpose of the anthologist who brought them together and that of the modern historian must not be lost sight of; or one might fall easily into the error of finding a continuous story out of discontinuous material.

The Vijayālaya line.

On the history of the Cōḷas of the Vijayālaya line, there is an abundance of authentic material from diverse sources. This makes the narration of their history a relatively easy task. But of the fortunes of the Cōḷas in the interval between the end of the Śangam age and the rise of Vijayālaya, that is, in the age of Pāṇḍya-Pallava dominance, we have practically no record. The scanty

* P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar, *History of the Tamils* pp. 416-7.

† For a full discussion of this subject see *Studies*, I.

references to them in the Pallava and Cāḷukya inscriptions are but feebly supplemented by the hagiology of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism relating to the period.

Inscriptions.

The dynasty of Vijayālaya has left behind a large number of stone inscriptions and a few copper-plate grants of great value to the historian. The illustrious Rājarāja I, under whom South Indian monarchy attained a sweep and splendour till then unknown, conceived the idea of prefixing to his inscriptions a set historical introduction recounting, in an ornate and poetic style of Tamil, the main achievements of his reign and kept up-to-date by additions made to it from time to time. The narration of the descent of a king and, incidentally, of some salient facts relating to himself and his ancestors was for centuries before Rājarāja's accession the more or less universal practice of kings and chiefs who followed the norm set before them by the *Smṛti* and *Dharmaśāstra* of the country for the drawing up of charters (*Śāsanam*) setting forth gifts (*dāna*) of various kinds. But such narration formed part, generally speaking, only of copper-plate grants (*tāmra-śāsana*) and was composed *de novo* on each separate occasion; and this practice, while it gave full scope for the fancy of the poet-composer of the *praśasti*, sometimes resulted in contradictory and confusing statements made about the same king in different grants. In ordering, therefore, the writing, on stone, in set form and in the language of the people, of an official and authorised account of the leading events of his reign, Rājarāja initiated a practice which, as it was kept up by his successors, not only satisfied the boundless vanity of this race of kings, but furnishes to the historian a formal record of exceptional value

of the transactions of each reign.* Most of these historical introductions have been the subjects of scholarly discussion and elucidation by Hultzsch and Venkayya in the earlier volumes of the *South Indian Inscriptions*, and though these *mey-kkīrttikaḷ* occasionally merit the waggish description of them as *poy-kkīrttikaḷ*, still, as a rule, they furnish invaluable guidance to the internal chronology and general history of the reign, besides providing picturesque and trustworthy accounts of particular events.

Few of these inscriptions are purely historical in aim and character. The one at Tiruvēndipuram,† recording in detail the tribulations of Rājarāja III and the relief he obtained from the intercession of his Hoysaḷa contemporary, is the most considerable among the handful of purely historical inscriptions. Generally speaking, inscriptions record gifts and endowments of a public or private nature, usually to temples, *maṭhas* and Brahmans; sometimes the construction of a temple or its renovation, or the setting up of a new image forms the subject of an inscription. To provide for the maintenance of a lamp in a temple was a common method of earning religious merit for oneself or of expiating an offence. This was done by gifts of money or cattle calculated at so much or so many per lamp, and it was possible for two or more persons to endow a lamp jointly and apportion the merit among themselves in accordance with the share contributed by each. Often the lamps were to burn throughout the day and night, to be perpetual, (*nandā viḷakku*); ‡

* These introductions were, in some inscriptions, omitted in part owing to exigencies of space. e.g. 96 of 1925 of the eleventh year of Rājēndra I.

† 142 of 1902, *EI.* vii p. 161.

‡ It is interesting to observe that Parimēlaḻagar explains the phrase '*poyyā viḷakkam*' in *Kuṟaḷ* 753 by '*nandā viḷakku*'.

but day-lamps, night-lamps and lamps for the occasions when *pūja* was performed (*śandi*) were also known. * When the lamps were provided for by gifts of cattle, the expression '*śāvā-mūvā-pperāḍu*' invariably occurs, and it means literally 'the big sheep that neither die nor age.' That this was only a formal way of expressing the permanence of the endowment becomes clear from the use of the same expression even where cows, and not sheep, are given. Moreover, if for any reason the original herd went down in numbers, and in one instance a herd of fifty cows was reduced to twenty-six in less than three years, † the fact was taken into account in assessing the obligations of the herdsmen for the future. Among the donors we find not only kings and their officials, but several corporations including occupational and commercial guilds, caste organisations, military groups, and village assemblies, and many private individuals, men and women. The class of courtesans, the *dēvaraḍiyār*, 'servants of the Gods,' often made considerable benefactions to temples which were suitably recognised by privileges of a hereditary nature being conferred on them in relation to the services and festivals in the temples concerned.

Several inscriptions were obviously intended to publish and preserve in a more or less permanent form decisions and agreements on matters of public importance. In this class, which though not extensive is doubtless of greater interest to the student than the more numerous donative records, we find royal orders on taxation and land-revenue, the resolutions of village assemblies on their own constitutional arrangements,

* This, I believe, is the correct interpretation of the expression '*śandi-viḷakku*' which figures so often in the inscriptions and is usually translated into "twilight-lamp." See *Tamil Lexicon* s. v. சந்தி—canti.

† 120 of 1926 (year 6 of Rājēndra I).

their awards in disputes between communities or other corporate organisations, judgements delivered against persons guilty of theft, adultery, murder and other crimes, and political compacts between powerful feudatory chieftains of particular localities. Quite often, inscriptions on temple walls served the purpose of a public registration office by conserving a trustworthy record of sales, mortgages and other forms of transfers of property-rights in village-lands. * Sometimes a record is expressly described as the copy of a copper-plate grant. † A unique inscription from Tiruviḍaivāyil (Tanjore) preserves an otherwise unknown Dēvāram of Gñānasambandar on the local shrine.

Their language and script.

The language and script of the Cōḷa inscriptions varied with the time and place of the records. The language most commonly employed was Tamil; some Sanskrit records are known, besides several bilingual inscriptions employing both. Kanarese and Telugu were also employed in the Karṇāṭaka and Telugu areas. The assumption has sometimes been made ‡ that Tamil was the prevailing language in Cōḷa times in all places where the Tamil inscriptions of Cōḷa rulers are found, and that Tamil receded from these areas at a time subsequent to the period of Cōḷa rule in these parts. Such inscriptions are, however, only proof at best of the presence of some Tamil immigrants in non-Tamil regions that were brought for a time under Cōḷa rule. The recovery of some Telugu and Kanarese records of the Vijayanagar rulers and their Nāyak viceroys, and of the Hoysaḷas from distinctly Tamil areas cannot prove

* In 134 of 1926 (Rājak. 16) we have an instance of a temple raising money by mortgaging some of its land to a woman in the queen's service.

† 180 of 1894 (Kulōttunga I, 23).

‡ *ARE.* 1895, I 7 and 1908, II 49. See also Venkayya *IA.* xxxvii pp. 199-200.

that the Tamil country exchanged its language for Telugu or Kanarese during the period of these records. The long Marathi inscription of Tanjore of A. D. 1803 is another instance. Vaṭṭeḻuttu was the prevalent script in which Tamil was written in the early centuries of the Christian era in the Pāṇḍya and Cēra countries; in the former it gave place to Tamil about the time of the Cōḷa conquest * though "in the insulated *malaināḍu* (Malabar) it continued as late as the middle of the eighteenth century A. D." The Sanskrit language employed the Grantha script, closely allied to the Tamil in its evolution. Numerous as are the published inscriptions from which the evolution of the script can be traced with tolerable accuracy, chronological arguments drawn from palaeography are generally not so conclusive as might be wished, and must be received with caution. There are fewer chances of stone inscriptions being found to be forgeries than copper-plate grants and, as a matter of fact, very few Cōḷa inscriptions are of doubtful authenticity. One of the most conspicuous examples is that of a record † purporting to be dated in the twenty-ninth regnal year of a Rājēndracōḷa Rājakēsari. By mixing up in its historical introduction the events of different reigns, the record rouses suspicion; its palaeography belongs to the fourteenth century, and it is found in a temple of which the walls bear no other inscription of an earlier date than the reign of Rājarāja III.

Temples.

From the tenth century A.D., the period of Cōḷa rule was a great epoch in the building of structural stone temples. The walls of the new temples, their pillars and their plinths were usually covered with inscriptions in course of time.

* *TAS.* i p. 286.

† 490 of 1926, *ARE.* 1927 II 32.

The great temple of Rājarājēśvara in Tanjore furnishes, in this respect, only a leading example of a practice very common at the time. We are expressly told * that before older structures were pulled down for rebuilding a shrine, the inscriptions on the walls were, in many cases, copied out in books and re-engraved later on the walls of the new structure. Even brick temples had sometimes inscriptions engraved on their walls. † We shall never know the extent of the damage inflicted in recent years by the ignorant piety of renovators of ancient shrines. Government have been unduly slack in stopping such damage; they have even refused to lay down a procedure to be followed by renovators which would have minimised the extent of the damage. ‡ Sometimes inscriptions are found engraved on rocks and boulders not forming parts of temples, but they are the exception.

* *ASI.* 1909-10 pp. 128-9 ; also 92 of 1895 and *ARE.* 1920 II 17.

† 123 of 1900 ; *EI.* vii pp. 145-6.

‡ *ARE.* 1902, I 8 and G.O. (Madras) 763 Public, 6th August 1902. After drawing attention to the destruction of the Kalinari Īśvara by the inhabitants of Tirunāmanallūr, the government epigraphist says in his report: "The Nāṭṭukkōṭṭai Chetties are spending year by year a portion of their large earnings in repairing the ancient Śiva temples of Southern India. In the course of these 'repairs' they have totally destroyed the following shrines with every one of their inscriptions: The Ēkāmranātha temple at Conjeevaram, the Jambukēśvara temple on the island of Śrīrangam, the central shrine of the temple at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, the same at Tiruveṇṇainallūr in South Arcot and the same at Tiruppugalūr in the Tanjore District. Of some of the inscriptions in the first two temples, I have inked estampages in my office. The remainder are lost for ever, as the inscribed stones have been dressed again before rebuilding the temples. Many other temples are now going to be treated in the same manner." Government declined to restrict the activities of renovators by the issue of prohibitory orders as suggested by the epigraphical department which thereupon made 'a more vigorous attempt to secure impressions of the inscriptions thus threatened with destruction.' This has led to the accumulation of thousands of impressions in the epigraphist's office which have little chance, as things stand, of being published in any reasonable period even in the bald form adopted in *SII.* (Texts). There is also a real danger that in the race between publication and collection, collection might suffer in the future without publication gaining adequately.

Legendary kings.

The three copper-plate grants known by the names of Anbil, Leyden (larger) and Tiruvālangāḍu, as well as the Kanyākumāri stone inscription of Vīrarājēndra, give long legendary genealogies intended to bring out the solar origin of the Cōḷa dynasty. The Udayēndiram plates of Prithivīpati II Hastimalla * give a much shorter list of the legendary ancestors of Vijayālaya. Of the several names in these legendary lists, which are by no means identical with one another, † only two or three names appear to be historical. Karikāla, Kōccengaṇān and probably also Kiḷḷi may be identified with the kings of the same names of whom we hear in the Tamil literature of the Śangam age. Barring the names of these kings, however, and some common legends,—e.g., that of Manu sentencing his son to death as he had by an accident crushed a calf to death under his chariot-wheel, and the story of Śibi rescuing a dove from the pursuit of a vulture by offering it his own flesh— there is nothing else to indicate the relation in which the Cōḷas of the Vijayālaya line stood to those of an earlier time mentioned in early Tamil literature. We shall see that even in regard to Karikāla and Kōccengaṇān the account given in the copper-plates is more legendary than historical and has little in common with the earlier literary accounts.

Astronomical data.

The stone inscriptions often contain astronomical data which, being less enigmatic than those from the Pāṇḍyan inscriptions of a later age, have yielded, in the hands of Kielhorn and others, results of great value to Cōḷa chronology. It is, however, easy to exaggerate the significance of such

* *SII.* II. No. 76.

† For a comparison and critique of these lists see *TAS.* iii ; also *EI.* xv.

data. "The fact that a date has been recorded accurately does not prove the authenticity of a record, any more than an incorrect date proves that the record in which it is put forward is spurious." * Relatively few inscriptions quote any definite era like the Śaka or Kaliyuga, † but in several instances the details furnished are so full and accurate that, together with the historical introductions characteristic of particular monarchs and the regnal years cited, they have led to the attainment of chronological results of precision and value. These results show that whenever possible the Cōḷa monarchs followed the practice of choosing their successors and associating them in the administration of the country in their own life-time. This must have been done with the double object of avoiding disputed successions and providing opportunities for proper training, sufficiently early in life, for the future sovereigns of the country.

Administration.

Sometimes years elapsed between the date when a royal order was issued or some transaction took place, and the time when it was engraved on stone. In a record ‡ of a money-endowment which was made in the thirtieth year of Parāntaka I, for instance, we are told that part of this money was invested in the thirty-fifth year with the assembly of a neighbouring village. Some important

* Fleet, quoted by Rice, *EI.* xiv, p. 340.

† Writing of the Grāmam inscription of Parāntaka I which is dated in a Kali year and in which the day is expressed by giving the number of days that had elapsed since the beginning of the era, this is what Kielhorn says: "I may add that this is the earliest known Cōḷa date which can be verified and that, of the 136 dates hitherto examined, it is the only one in which the era of Kaliyuga is quoted. Among the same dates 18 quote the Śaka era: and of these 12 are in Kanarese, 4 in Telugu and only 2 in Tamil inscriptions. The Śaka year 991 is quoted in the date of a Tamil inscription of Vīrarājēndra which does not admit of verification." *EI.* viii p. 261.

‡ 164 of 1912.

inscriptions give a full account of the different stages that intervened between the issue of a royal order, especially in revenue matters, and its actual execution. A careful study of them throws much welcome light on the administrative machinery and practice of the time. They also tell us a great deal about the numerous taxes, tolls and dues of various kinds in terms not always readily understood, and about the numberless changes in place-names that formed such a marked feature of the Cōḷa period. We also learn much of society, religion, arts and crafts from the inscriptions.

Inscriptions of other dynasties.

Side-lights on Cōḷa history are often obtained from the inscriptions of neighbouring dynasties. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions of the time of Kṛṣṇa III, those of the Eastern Cāḷukyas and some even of the Eastern Gangas, and the inscriptions of the Western Cāḷukyas, often go to confirm or modify impressions obtained by a study of Cōḷa records. The records of prominent feudatory dynasties, or of individuals like Kōpperuñjinga, become important as we approach the period of the decline of Cōḷa power. Hoysaḷa records also explain in part the politics of the period of decline.

Monuments.

Next to the inscriptions, monuments are the most interesting and instructive source of history. And for the Cōḷa period these take the form mostly of temples and the sculptured halls and towers in them. It was also the age when the art of casting bronze images attained its high watermark. Though several temples dating from Cōḷa times are in a good state of preservation, very little has been done for the systematic study of their architecture and sculpture. M. Jouveau-Dubreuil has

given a shrewd account of their general characteristics in his *Archeologie du sud de l'Inde,* and for the rest, we have only the haphazard observations scattered in the reports of the Archaeological department. When monuments standing on the surface have received such scant attention, it is no wonder that more ancient monuments buried in the soil remain undisturbed. Yet the importance of this branch of archaeology for the early history of Southern India can hardly be overestimated. *

Coins.

Numismatics, which forms an interesting and important branch of archaeology in relation to the history of the rest of India, has so far not yielded, except in a few instances, any striking results for the general history of South India. South Indian coinages, however, have "as yet not received a scientific treatment in any way to be compared with that which has obtained such valuable historical results from the coins of the North." † The finds of Roman coins and the coinage of the Madura Sultanate have been rather closely studied and with good results. During the period of their paramountcy in Southern India, the Cōḷas issued coins of gold, silver and copper. Specimens of the gold issues are extremely rare; silver coins are not so rare, and copper pieces of different sizes are met with every day. These coins, generally speaking, are of two types — one carrying on both sides the Cōḷa symbol of the tiger in the centre, flanked by the symbols of the subject powers, the Cēra bow and the Pāṇḍyan fish, with a legend giving the name of the king; the other, called by Prinsep and Elliot the 'Ceylon type', in which the symbols give place to

* *ARA.* 1912-13, I 10; 1915-6, I. 8.

† Rapson-*Sources of Indian History: Coins,* p. 123.

'a rude human figure, standing on the obverse and seated on the reverse.' * As the 'Ceylon type' makes its appearance in the reign of Rājarāja I and the type with the symbols is known to persist for a long time after, even up to the reign of Kulōttunga I, the view, common at one time, that coins of the 'Ceylon type' are later than those of the other type must be modified. In fact, it may be doubted if we have any coin specimens clearly of an age anterior to Rājarāja I, so that the 'Ceylon type' would appear to be really coeval with the other. † None of the known specimens of Cōḷa coins have yet been identified with any of the coins mentioned in contemporary inscriptions.

Literature.

Literature is in other countries the bed-rock of history; in India it is often a snare. The utter impossibility of basing any part of the ancient history of India solely, or even primarily, upon literary evidence has been deplored by several modern students. Not only is there a paucity of professedly historical works, but of very few really ancient compositions do we know with certainty the time and place of origin. Great

* Elliot, p. 108.

† Very little was known of the real history of the Cōḷas when Elliot wrote his great work on the '*Coins of Southern India*.' He indeed dates the origin of the 'Ceylon type' in the eleventh century (p. 108) and calls it 'a remarkable change' from the earlier type; the Cōḷa coins actually figured and described by him (some of which were considered again by Hultzsch *IA.* xxi p. 323) support this view.

Rapson (*op. cit.* sec. 126) stereotypes the theory of Elliot and gives, doubtless by oversight, *c.* A. D. 1022 as the date not only of the introduction of the Ceylon type but of 'the beginning of the reign of Rājarāja Cōḷa.' He also describes the figures in the Ceylon types thus: "*obv.* king standing: *rev.* king seated." It may be doubted if the 'rude human figure' (Elliot) which Tufnell (*Hints*, p. 11) took to be that of a 'rākṣasa' was intended to represent the king. A unique silver coin with legend Śri Rājarājadēva' (Hultzsch *IA.* xxv, p. 317) combines the squatting figure on the *obv.* with the symbols and legend on the *rev.*

books which, like the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, have for ages served as popular cyclopaedias of national culture, were frequently revised; the time, the authorship and the extent of such revisions are so obscure that it is hopeless to make an intelligent use of data drawn from these works.* Lastly, in the few works of which we have definite knowledge in regard to authorship and provenance, a great amount of space is taken up by conventional descriptions, and it is seldom that we come across the plain downright statement of a fact. In Tamil literature, the poems of the Śangam age are very realistic and *prima facie* trustworthy and do not share the demerits of the literature of a more fulsome age; but by a cruel irony of fate these poems are involved in some chronological obscurity; and the compositions, especially those of the Cōḷa period, of which we know the authors and dates, exhibit in abundant measure all the defects of court poetry. Still, after all allowance is made, the evidence from indigenous literature for the history of the Cōḷa kingdom will be seen to be not inconsiderable in volume and will, if used with care, go far to eke out the testimony of archaeology.

The Cōḷa empire under Vijayālaya and his successors witnessed one of the greatest periods of literary and religious revival in South India. Sometime in the tenth or eleventh century A.D., the canonical works of South Indian Śaivism were arranged more or less in their modern form by Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi, who was also its first hagiographer and whose work formed the basis of the far more elaborate *Tiruttoṇḍar Purāṇam*, known generally as *Periya Purāṇam*, of Śēkkiḻār, a contemporary of Kulōttunga II in the twelfth century.

* Foulkes's articles in the *Indian Antiquary* on "Civilisation of the Dekkan down to the 6th Century B. C." (viii pp. 1 ff) are a measure of what is possible with only such sources at our disposal.

Great as is the value of the tradition preserved by these writers, they are to be accepted more as witnesses to beliefs current in their own times than as correctly recording what we should now call the early history of Śaivism. This distinction has not been sufficiently considered by those writers who have drawn rather freely from Śēkkiḻār in their accounts of transactions that took place centuries before his time. Moreover, a careful study of the *Periya Purāṇam* reveals that many details for which there is no warrant in Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi's short notes on the saints make their appearance for the first time in Śēkkiḻār's account; and for aught we know, Śēkkiḻār was guided only by his imagination and by popular belief. Such details, however valuable as reflecting a definite, and as it happened the final, stage in the growth of Śaiva hagiology, should not be accepted, without sufficient corroboration from other sources, as part of the early history of Śaivism in South India; much less would they be entitled to credence if they are opposed to the testimony of contemporary inscriptions or other evidence equally trustworthy. It seems only proper, therefore, that we accept the beautiful pen-pictures which abound in Śēkkiḻār's great work as idealised accounts of life and society as he saw them in his own day rather than as studies and portraits of a bygone age. Thus the description of the Brahman village of Ādanūr and of the hamlet of pariahs attached to it in the story of Nanda, the pariah saint, may well be used in any re-construction of rural life in Cōḷa times, allowance being made, of course, for the play of the well-understood conventions of literature that dominate such accounts.

Equally remarkable is the settlement of the Vaiṣṇava canon of the "Four Thousand Sacred

Hymns" which took place about the same time as the Śaiva canon was fixed by Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi. The *Divya-sūri-carita* and the *Guru-paramparai* form the Vaiṣṇava counterpart of the *Periya Purāṇam* from which they differ in providing an elaborate, though impossible, chronology for the lives of the Vaiṣṇava saints, the Āḻvārs. In addition to being a record of traditions and beliefs prevalent at the time of their composition, these works furnish the background necessary for a proper estimate of Rāmānuja and his place in the history of Vaiṣṇavism. And the great commentaries on the hymns of the Āḻvārs, written in a peculiar jargon more Sanskrit than Tamil, though perhaps of a slightly later age than the Cōḷa period, still have great value for us, as they record in a casual manner several incidents of Cōḷa times. This feature, as well as the idiosyncrasies of language that mark these commentaries, sometimes assists us in elucidating the Cōḷa inscriptions.

Among works of secular literature which can be dated with accuracy, the most interesting from our point of view are the *Vīraśōḻiyam* of Buddhamitra, the *Kalingattupparaṇi* of Jayangoṇḍār and the three *ulās* and the *Kulōttungan Piḷḷait-tamiḻ* of Oṭṭakkūttan. The first is a work on Tamil grammar composed by a Buddhist writer in the reign of Vīrarājēndra. The *Yāpparungalam* and the *Yāpparungalak-kārikai* are other works on one branch of grammar, prosody, by a Jaina writer, Amitasāgara, of somewhat earlier date. These three works possess glosses slightly later than the original texts; and the examples cited by the authors of these commentaries to illustrate particular rules of grammar are often of uncommon interest; they provide fresh information, and confirm, and sometimes elucidate, data drawn from the inscriptions. The *Kalingattupparaṇi* of Jayangoṇḍār is a war-poem of the

conventional *paraṇi* type, which has for its subject-matter the conquest of the Kalinga country by Karuṇākarat-toṇḍaimān, the celebrated generalissimo of Kulōttunga I. The poem is justly celebrated for the excellence of its diction and its superb display of metrical effects; it fetched the title of *Kavic-cakravarti* (Emperor of Poetry) to its author, a title which seems to have been kept on as a sort of poet-laureateship, or at any rate was conferred also on Oṭṭakkūttan who, though himself a poet of no mean order, paid his predecessor the high compliment of imitating him closely in his *Takkayāgapparaṇi* on a well-known theme of mythology. For all its fabulous and supernatural elements, and the absurd hyperboles characteristic of it, the *Kalingattupparaṇi* is still valuable to the historian as it furnishes much welcome information on the Cōḷa genealogy and on the details of the Kalinga campaign of Kulōttunga, including the route taken by his army. Parts of the poems were translated into English by V. Kanakasabhai some years ago, and the translation was published in the *Indian Antiquary*. Oṭṭakkūttan chose the *ulā* as the vehicle of his encomiums on three successive monarchs who followed Kulōttunga I. The *ulā* is, like the *paraṇi*, a conventional literary form. If the *paraṇi* is *par excellence* a war-poem, the *ulā* is just its opposite; free from the cares and anxieties of his high station, with no troubles domestic or foreign to cloud his happiness, the king with his retinue is conceived as going for a stroll round the capital city; the beginning of the *ulā* generally gives a more or less studied account of the achievements of the king and his ancestors, and provides a somewhat detailed description of the chief men among his courtiers who accompany him and the place they occupy in the administration of the country; this

part of the poem is of considerable historical value. What follows in the *ulā* is not of much immediate interest to us; it is, to a modern student, a monotonous account of the amorous looks and the tell-tale acts of the women of the city who, at the sight of the king, become agitated and love-sick. Besides the three *ulās*, on Vikrama, Kulōttunga II and Rājarāja II, Oṭṭakkūttan also wrote the *Kulōttunga-śōḻan-piḷḷait-tamiḻ*, a child-poem on Kulōttunga II; notable for its fine sentiment and high eloquence, this poem is not nearly so useful to us as the *ulās*.

The number of late chronicles and Sthalapurāṇas is legion. The *Navacōḻacarita*, a Vīra-śaiva compilation available in a Kanarese and a Telugu version, the *Bṛhadīśvara-māhātmya* or the *Cōḻavaṁśacaritra* in Sanskrit, of which there is a Tamil translation among the Mackenzie Mss., and the *Koṅgudēśa-Rājākkaḷ*, also in the same collection of manuscripts, are the leading examples of this class. But as Fleet has observed, * the fanciful nature of such works and their utter want of reliability for any purposes of early history "are disclosed at once by the very slightest thoughtful examination."

Foreign evidence.

Though not copious, the evidence from Chinese writings is extremely valuable on account of its settled chronology and the matter-of-fact nature of the data furnished by it. Arab travellers, Muslim historians and the early European travellers like Marco Polo give important hints on the impression made by South India on foreign observers in those days. This line of external evidence is of particular value for an understanding of the nature and extent of the foreign commerce of the period.

* *IA.* xxx pp. 6-7.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY NOTICES

The Country.

According to tradition, the Cōḷa country comprised the land between two streams having the same name, Veḷḷāṟu,* in the north and the south, the sea on the east and Kōṭṭaikkarai in the west. This area includes the modern districts of Trichinopoly and Tanjore and part of the Pudukkottah state. The Kāvēri and its branches including the Coleroon (Koḷḷiḍam) dominate the landscape of this generally flat country which slopes gently towards the sea. The low tableland of Vallam broken by small ridges of grit and sandstone to the south and south-west of Tanjore, and a number of protruding masses of crystalline rock, of which the Trichinopoly rock in the centre of the fort is the best known, are the only relief to the monotony of the level surface. To find any hills of importance, we must turn to the northern taluks of the Trichinopoly district lying on the border, if not altogether outside, of the Cōḷa country proper. The delta of the Kāvēri is a large alluvial plain "devoid of all natural eminences, save the ridges and hillocks of blown sand, which fringe the narrow strip of beach along the sea-coast. 'The sea rolls upon a shelving sandy shore unbroken by rocks of any kind'; hence the coast is remarkably monotonous in aspect.

* 'kaḍal kiḻakkut-teṟkuk-karai puraḷ Veḷḷāṟu
kuḍa-tiśaiyil kōṭṭaikkaraiyum—vaḍa tiśaiyil
ēṇāṭṭu Veḷḷāṟirupattu nāṟkāḍam
Śōṇāṭṭuk-kellaiyenac-col.

Though ascribed by some to Kamban (see e. g. p. 56 of the *Śōlamaṇḍala śatakam*) the veṇbā seems to be more ancient in origin; others ascribe it to Auvaiyār. (Taylor III 42). Kōṭṭaik-karai "means 'fort bank' and tradition says that it refers to the great embankment of which traces still stand in the Kuḷittalai taluk of Trichinopoly"—*Gazetteer of the Tanjore Dt.* I p. 15.

The whole surface of the delta is one even level of paddy fields interspersed only with tops or clumps of cocoanut, mango and other fruit trees. There are no forests or tall tree jungles." * The soil is very favourable also to the bamboo and the plantain.

The Kāvēri.

The glory of the Kāvēri forms an inexhaustible theme of early Tamil poetry. This noble stream was released from his water-pot by the sage Agastya in response to the prayer of the king Kānta and for the exaltation of the 'children of the sun.' † She was the special banner of the just race of the Cōḷas, and she never failed them in the most protracted drought. The yearly freshes in the Kāvēri formed the occasion of a carnival in which the whole nation from the king down to the meanest peasant took part.

Towns.

Kāvēripaṭṇam on the coast, about eight miles to the north of Tranquebar, serves to identify the Kāvēri proper from amidst its more considerable offshoots that find their way to the sea, and the little village apparently marks the site of the Cōḷa emporium of ancient renown. ‡ Negapatam, about ten miles south of Kāraikkāl, also on the sea board, was perhaps known to Ptolemy as an important town; at any rate it became a seat of trade and the centre of many religious faiths including Buddhism, long before it attracted the attention of European merchants and missionaries. Tanjore, Trichinopoly, the

* *Tanjore Manual*, pp. 4-5 ; *Trichinopoly Manual*, pp.2-3.

† *Maṇimēkalai* I, 9-12 ; 23-4

‡ "According to some it is the Chabaris Emporium mentioned by Ptolemy in the 1st cent. A.D. The inscriptions secured from the modern Kāvērippaṭṭaṇam and its vicinity leave no doubt as to its identity with Kāvirippūmpaṭṭiṇam *alias* Puhār, though the monuments of Pallavanīccaram and Śāyāvanesvara are not of such early date as could be expected"——*ARE.* 1919 II 2.

modern representative of the more ancient Uṟaiyūr which is now a suburb of Trichinopoly, and Kumbakonam are the other notable cities of the Cōḷa country. Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram, at the meeting point of the modern districts of Trichinopoly, S. Arcot and Tanjore, rose into prominence as the Cōḷa capital in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and is now a small place with a magnificent temple in ruins.

The name Cōḷa

Of the origin of the name Cōḷa we have no knowledge whatever. The learned Parimēlaḻagar is inclined to make it the name, like Pāṇḍya and Cēra, of a ruling family or clan of immemorial antiquity * and renown. The story of the eponymous brothers Cēran, Śōḻan and Pāṇḍiyan is doubtless an instance of euhemerism. † Whatever its origin, ‡ the name Cōḷa was from the earliest times used to describe the people and the country subject to the sway of the Cōḷa dynasty of rulers. Col. Gerini's attempt to connect the word with the Sanskrit *Kāla* (black), and with *Kōla* which "in the early days designated the dark-coloured pre-Aryan population of southern India in general," is hardly more convincing than the efforts to derive it from Tamil '*Cōḷam*' (millet) or Sanskrit '*Cōra*' (thief). §

* See *Kuṟal* No. 955 and his gloss on it.

† Caldwell, *Tinnevelly*, p. 12.

‡ Mr. L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar, to whom I referred the question, writes to me as follows: "Tam. *Cōḷa* does not appear to be *directly* connected with any extant Tamil or Dravidian base. This fact of course need not necessarily lead us to postulate a foreign origin for the word. * * * * * If the postulate that—*ū*—may have in some circumstances (for which we have parallels in Dravidian) changed to—*ō*—, is justified, then one might conceivably connect *Cōḷa* with *Cūḻ* — with the meanings 'to whirl', 'to hover', and explain 'Cōḻa' as 'hoverer.'"

§ See Gerini-*Researches*, pp. 85 ff and 101-3. There appears to be some other evidence, however, in support of Gerini's view that a stream of dark emigrants of the negrito race, the descendants of the so-called Rākṣasas of old, came to Malaya from Southern India and were followed by their early successors, the Dravidians,

Other names.

Other names in common use for the Cōḷas are *Kiḷḷi*, *Vaḷavan* and *Śembiyan*. *Kiḷḷi* perhaps comes from 'kiḷ', meaning 'dig' or 'cleave' and conveys the idea of a 'digger'; * this word often forms an integral part of early Cōḷa names like Neḍungiḷḷi, Nalangiḷḷi and so on, but almost drops out of use in later times. 'Vaḷavan' is most probably connected with '*vaḷam*', 'fertility', and means owner or ruler of a fertile country, such as the land of the Kāvēri was. *Śembiyan* is generally taken to mean a descendant of Śibi, † a legendary hero whose self-sacrifice in saving a dove from the pursuit of a falcon figures among the early Cōḷa legends and forms the subject-matter of the Śibijātaka among the Jātaka stories of Buddhism. ‡

The crest.

The Cōḷas adopted the tiger as their crest; the same animal was figured on their banner. Not one of the numberless references to this Cōḷa emblem which occur in Tamil literature tells us anything of its origin. Some late local chieftains of the Telugu country who claimed descent from Karikāla adopted the lion-crest. §

who constituted the pre-Aryan population of India. cf. Elliot Smith, *Human History* pp. 69-71. But Gerini exaggerates the cultural importance of these pre-historic movements of population. He confounds them with later ones that took place in historical times after Southern India was more or less aryanised in its culture, and he goes on to suggest that the Indian culture of Siam, Kambhoja and other places had its origin in the earliest pre-historic movements. (p. 101). For Cōḷa' < cōra, thief, see Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, pp. 8-9.

* Dr. Pope suggested the fanciful equation *Kiḷḷi = Paḷḷavan* (*IA.* xxix p. 250.) Even if Paḷḷava is accepted as the correct form of the word, rather than Pallava (Skt. 'sprout'), it would mean more properly 'people dwelling in low lands' (paḷḷam), and not 'diggers'. It may be doubted if the Pallavas were indigenous to Southern India; and unless they were, it would be vain to look for a Dravidian origin for their name. In any case, they were by no means the same as the Cōḷas.

† See e.g. the *Vīraśōḷiyam*, comment on Tattita, v. 3.

‡ Yazdani—*Ajanta* I pp. 4-7. Krom—*Boro Budur* vol. i, pp. 275—7.

§ *EI.* xi, p. 338.

And the Sindas of the Naga family, who used the Vyāghralāñchana, had the story that Sinda, their eponymous ancestor, born of the serpent king Dharaṇēndra at Ahicchatra in the region of the Sindhu, was reared by a tiger. A slightly different form of the story makes him the offspring of a union between God Śiva and the Sindhu, brought up on tiger's milk by the king of serpents. * These late inventions only confirm the fact that the origin of the tiger-crest was forgotten quite early by those who had adopted it.

Early References.

The grammarian Kātyāyana knew of the Cōḍas. † The earliest records which mention the Cōḷas and which can be dated with certainty are the Aśokan inscriptions, ‡ where they are mentioned among kingdoms which, though not subject to Aśoka, were on friendly terms with him. The Cōḷas, like the Pāṇḍyas, are spoken of in the plural in all the versions of the Aśokan edicts, and this has been held to imply that 'in Aśoka's time there were more than one Cōḍa and one Pāṇḍya king'. §

Two or three poets of the Śangam make rather enigmatic references to an invasion of the South by the *Mōriyar* (Mauryas) and one of them, Māmūlanār, also speaks of the wealth of the Nandas hidden under the Ganges at Pāṭaliputra. All the three poets agree that, in the course of the invasion, the Mauryas cut for their chariots a new path across some rocky mountain. Māmūlanār alone furnishes some more details. He says that the Vaḍugar formed the vanguard of the invading Mauryas (*Aham* 281); elsewhere

* *EI.* iii 231-2.

† *Mahābhāṣya*, ed. Kielhorn, II p. 270.

‡ Vide Hultzsch—*Asoka Inscriptions*—Index s. v. Cōḷa.

§ D. R. Bhandarkar-*Asoka* p. 38.

he adds that the Kōśar undertook the subjugation of the South and that, as the Mōhūr chieftain continued defiant, the Mauryas came down with their great forces on a warlike expedition to the South (*Aham* 251). Now, as Aśoka distinctly states that the Tamil kingdoms were not politically subject to him, and as there is little possibility of any Mauryan invasion of the extreme South having taken place after his time, we have necessarily to ascribe the events mentioned by Māmūlanār to a period anterior to Aśoka's accession. In other words, this poet must be taken to provide a much earlier and doubtless more dependable, if somewhat meagre, confirmation of the stories of Bindusāra's conquests in the Deccan and Southern India recorded by the Tibetan historian Tārānath. * The Kōśar, who occupied the Tulu

* See M. S. Ramaswami Aiyangar, *Studies in South Indian Jainism*, pp. 127 ff, for a succinct summary of the evidence on the subject; also Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, *Beginnings*, pp. 88 ff. Following Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar, M. S. R. lays (p. 134 ff. *op. cit.*) undue stress on *vamba* in the phrase *vamba mōriyar* (*Aham* 251), quotes late and obscure Gutta legends of the tenth century A. D. in support of his notion that the Imperial Guptas were confounded by Māmūlanār with the more ancient Mauryas, and seeks to establish a fifth century date for Māmūlanār and his contemporaries of the Śangam. The fact that Pandit Raghava Aiyangar does not now see as much force in these arguments as he once did, and has suppressed them in the second edition of his *Śēran Śenguṭṭuvan*, perhaps renders otiose any detailed discussion of these views. The phrase '*vamba mōriyar*' is used by Māmūlanār only once; he himself, elsewhere, talks only of the '*mōriyar*' and so do the two other poets, Parankoṟṟanār (*Aham* 69) and Ātiraiyanār (*Puṟam* 175). The expression cannot therefore be made much of, especially because '*vamba*' is an adjective with several meanings of which 'unsteady,' 'restless,' is admittedly one. And supposing for a moment that Māmūlanār was thinking of the Imperial Mauryas, he knows of the Nandas and their wealth,—nothing could have struck him more than the 'restlessness' of these Mauryas, eager to annex all the kingdoms of India to their empire. Even accepting the other meaning suggested for the word '*vamba,*' 'new,' we are not aware of any insuperable difficulty in supposing that, at the time when Māmūlanār was writing, the Mauryan expansion to the South was a fact of recent history. One fails to see moreover how some confusion between the Mauryas and the Guptas that marks the legendary genealogy of an obscure clan of rulers in North India can furnish an analogue for a similar confusion in the mind of a South Indian Tamil poet of unknown age; much less, how such inferential confusion can be made the basis for suggesting a date for the poet and his compositions. M. S. R. was strongly influenced by Smith's view of Samudragupta the Indian Napoleon's campaign in the South based on his early

country and have been with good reason identified with the Satiyaputa of the Aśoka inscriptions, * perhaps agreed to serve as wardens of the marches for the Mauryan Empire in the South; when they found the chieftain of Mōhūr troublesome and themselves unequal to subjugating him, they were assisted in their task by the advent of Mauryan troops with a Vaḍuga vanguard. Mōhūr is probably represented to-day by its modern namesake in the South Arcot district, not far from the famous Āttūr pass through which, in recent times, Haidar Ali came down so often on the southern plains. †

Relation to Mauryan Empire.

If this view of the relation of the Mauryas to the South Indian states is accepted as correct, it would follow that there was a slight set-back to the Mauryan power in the south sometime late in Bindusāra's reign or early in Aśoka's, as these states, especially Satiyaputa, seem to have improved their political status in regard to the Mauryan Empire before the date of the Rock Edicts II and XIII.

Periplus.

The part taken from the sixth century B. C. by Southern India in the growing commerce between the Western countries

identification of 'Palakka' of the Allahabad pillar inscription with Palghat, which is no longer considered sound. Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar says of *Aham* 281: "The Kōśar are called here Vaḍugar." It may be so, in which case *Vaḍugar munnuṟa* of this verse should be a brief allusion to the failure of the Kōśar to subdue Mōhūr, narrated at greater length in *Aham* 251. But Mr. Aiyangar's assertion that the Konkan Mauryas "were the only possible Mōriyar who, in conjunction with the Kōśar, could have attempted a raid into the Tamil country" is hardly convincing. See his *Tamils* pp. 522-3.

* It should be observed that, though Satiyaputa occurs in the singular in the Aśoka inscriptions, the Kōśar are always mentioned in the plural in Tamil literary works.

† *Studies in South Indian Jainism* p. 140. Many other places also bear the name Mōhūr and the identification of the place must be considered tentative.

and those in the East as far as China is sufficiently known. * Of the direction and nature of this trade and of its economic importance, something will be said further on. Here we may note that to this commerce we owe, in the main, two valuable notices of Southern India and the Cōḷa country separated by about half a century. The *Periplus Maris Erythraei* is the interesting handbook of an Alexandrian merchant, "which was written in the time of Domitian (81-96 A. D.), and by the evidence furnished by Pliny the Elder." † The anonymous author of this short treatise tells us a little about the Cōḷa country in particular which, considering the paucity of early notices of the Coromandel coast, is of uncommon interest to the student of Cōḷa history. He says: "Beyond Colchi there follows another district called the coast country, which lies on a bay, and has a region inland called Argaru." This statement is best understood as pointing to the division of the Cōḷa country into two parts, a coastal district and an inland district. There is, as we shall see, evidence of Cōḷa rule from two centres at this period—Puhār or Kāvērippaṭṭinam on the coast and Uṟaiyūr inland. *Paṭṭinam*, meaning a port-town, was the name of the Cōḷa capital on the coast, and the phrase in the *Periplus*, 'the coast country, which lies on a bay',

* See Kennedy *JRAS*. 1898 pp. 248-87 for a full discussion of this subject. Prof. Jules Bloch in his paper "*Nom du Riz*" (*Etudes Asiatiques* Vol. I, pp. 37-47) denies that the Greek term for rice is derived from Tam. *Ariśi*; and he holds that there is not much evidence, philological or other, in proof of the part of South India in this trade, which might after all have been confined, at any rate until a very late stage, to Northern India and to the land routes. L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar *IA*. Vol. lix pp. 178 ff., after a careful examination of Bloch's position on the etymology of the Gk. *Oruzon*, comes to the conclusion: "*Varigi* or *Varizi* may be postulated for Dravidian from which, with characteristic modifications, the Greeks could have borrowed that word." Kennedy's conclusion that maritime trade between South India and the West dates from the sixth or even the seventh century B. C. still seems good.

† Rostovtzeff—*Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* p. 91.

unmistakably recalls the *Paṭṭinam* of the *Paṭṭinappālai,** specially as it is placed in contrast with 'a region inland called Argaru,' which doubtless is the same as *Uṟaiyūr.* The author has named each of the districts after its chief town. It is remarkable that, while he knows the name 'Cerobothra' and 'Pandian,' he does not mention 'Cōḷa.' His information on the east coast of India is meagre and apparently based on hearsay.† He mentions also three market towns and harbours 'where the ships put in from Damirica and from the north', which 'in order as they lie' are 'first Camara, then Poduca, then Sopatma'—names now not easily identified ‡, though Sopatma may be the same as Śō-paṭṭinam of Tamil literature, now called Markāṇam.

Ptolemy.

Writing about half a century later, the geographer Ptolemy has rather more to tell us about the Cōḷa country and its ports and inland cities. § Leaving aside all doubtful names which cannot be properly identified, we find that he gives particulars sufficiently precise of the positions of Kāvēripaṭṇam (Khaberis) at the mouth of the Kāvēri and of Negapatam (Nikama); and as Cunningham has said: "Cōḷa is noticed by Ptolemy, whose *Orthura regia Sornati* must be Uṟaiyūr, the capital of Soranatha, or the king of the Soringae, that is the Soras, Choras or Cholas." ¶ Ptolemy also makes mention of the 'Sorai

* The quotations are from Schoff · *Periplus.* Schoff says: "Coast country is from the native name, 'Cōḷa coast,' 'Cōḷamaṇḍalam.'" (p. 241). This is hardly satisfactory as Cōḷa-maṇḍalam only means Cōḷa country, not 'coast.'

† See Rawlinson—*Intercourse between India and the Western World* pp. 121-2.

‡ Schoff—p. 242. Kanakasabhai p. 29. Also *IA.* viii, p. 149 n. *QJMS.* xxi. pp. 413-4.

§ See Ch. I, sections 12, 13, 68, and 91 in Mc. Crindle's edn of Bk. VII in *IA.* xiii. Also Caldwell—*Comp. Grammar.* pp. 92 ff. Kanakasabhai (p. 29) makes many shrewd suggestions on the identification of Ptolemy's names.

¶ *Ancient Geography* p. 631. See also Caldwell—*Comp. Grammar* p. 93.

nomads' with 'Sora the captial of Arkatos.' "One is strongly tempted to suppose that here," as Caldwell remarks, "the names given by the natives of the country to his informants had got transposed," and that, consequently, we have to consider Arkatos as the capital of the Sorai nomads. Arcot is not so modern a name as it is often imagined to be. * A Cōḷa princeling by name Aḻiśi is said to have had for his residence "Ārkkāḍu surrounded by paddy fields", † and very likely Ārkkāḍ means "forest of Ār" (*Bauhinea Racemosa*), ār or *ātti* being a Cōḷa emblem. This Ārkkāḍu may or may not be identical with the Arcot celebrated in later days as the seat of the Nawabs of the Carnatic; but it is probably the same as Ptolemy's Arkatos. ‡ From the statement of Ptolemy on the

* Caldwell says: "General Cunningham objects to this identification that Arcot is quite a modern name; but it must, as Col. Yule has pointed out, be at least as old as 1340 A.D., for it is mentioned by Ibn Batuta. The name is properly *ār—kāḍ*, Tam. the six forests, and the Hindus of the place regard it as an ancient city, though not mentioned by the name in the Purāṇas, and point out the 'six forests' in which six of the *riṣis* of the ancient period had their hermitage." (*op.cit.* pp. 93-4.) Such local legends are not of much value in the face of the much stronger and earlier evidence cited. Ptolemy places Arkatos in the country between Mt. Bettigo and Adeisathros (VII, l. 68); but on account of the inextricable confusion into which he falls over the second of these names (*IA.* xiii. p. 337), this does not help us much in the location of Arkatos on a modern map. The references in the early Tamil literature are valuable in this respect. Cunningham was doubtless influenced by Yuan-chwang's data about Chu-lien when he proposed to identify Ptolemy's Sora, the capital of Arkatos, with Zora or Jora (the Jorampun of the maps), an old town lying immediately under the walls of Karnul (*Anc. Geogr.* p. 626.)

† Poem No. 190 (anonymous) of the *Naṟṟiṇai* has the following:—

tēngamaḻ viritār—iyaṟēraḻiśi
vaṇḍumūśu neyda—nelliḍai malaru
mariyalangaḷani—yārkkāḍanna.

There is also a stray veṇbā (*Perundogai* No. 988) which mentions *Aḻiśi-kāḍu*, the *kāḍu* (forest) of Aḻiśi. This princeling had a son Śēndan, who is sometimes connected with the Cōḷa capital Uṟaiyūr (*Kuṟundogai* No. 258). Ārkkāḍu is said to be in the Cōḷa country by the editor of the *Naṟṟiṇai*.

‡ See Yule and Burnell-*Hobson-Jobson* s. v. Arcot, where it is pointed out that of several places of this name in the Southern districts besides the town of Arcot near Vellore, one in Tanjore would correspond best with Harkatu of Ibn Batuta.

'Sorai nomads' and 'Arkatos,' the inference has been made * that there were two different Cōḷa countries or kingdoms at the same time; it is quite possible, however, that the 'Sorai nomads' were some nomadic tribe or tribes in the Cōḷa country itself. That such tribes were in existence, and that some of the early Cōḷa kings, especially Karikāla, made an effort to civilise them and train them to more settled ways of life, is borne out by Tamil literature.,

Pali books.

The early chapters of the *Mahāvamsa* contain testimony, sufficiently authentic and precise, to the early intercourse between the Cōḷa country and the island of Ceylon; and generally, the early literature of Pali Buddhism makes very valuable, though scanty, allusions to the land of the Cōḷas and Kāvēripaṭṭiṇam, its most celebrated emporium. Some of these references must be as old as the *Periplus*, if not earlier. "*The Questions of King Milinda*," a Buddhist work of the beginning of the Christian era, mentions Kola-Pattana among the best-known sea-port towns of the time, and Kola-pattana must be, says Rhys Davids, some place on the Coromandel coast. † Most probably this is a reference to Kāvēri-paṭṭinam, the Pattana *par excellence* on the Coromandel coast, which figures elsewhere in Pali Buddhist literature as well. M. Sylvain Levi has pointed out that Puhār, the great centre of traffic between Southern India and the islands of the Archipelago, was the original abode of the somewhat obscure sea-goddess *Maṇimekhalā* — "girdle of gems"—after whom Mādhavi's celebrated daughter and the poem of Śāttan narrating the story of her spiritual life came to

* D. R. Bhandarkar-*Asoka* p. 39.

† Rhys Davids-*The Questions of King Milinda* (*SBE.*) i, p. xliv and ii. p. 269.

be called. * In the Jātaka story, Akitti, in order to escape the attentions of his admirers, left the neighbourhood of Benares for the Tamil country where he spent some time in a garden near Kāvēripaṭṭana.

According to the *Mahāvamsa*, the island of Ceylon began to fall under powerful Cōḷa influences very early in its history. The relations between the Damiḷas and the natives of the island form one of the main strands in the narrative of this valuable chronicle, and the synchronisms furnished by it are among the more important sources of our knowledge of Tamil history and chronology. Though on several occasions the chronicle speaks only of Damiḷas in general, still the distinction between the Pāṇḍya and Cōḷa divisions of the Tamil country is well known and clearly observed in the *Mahāvamsa*. Towards the middle of the second century B. C., a Damiḷa of noble descent, Eḷāra by name, came to Ceylon from the Cōḷa country (Cōḷarattha), overpowered Asela who was then ruling in the island, and himself reigned as king for forty-four years, 'with even justice towards friend and foe on occasions of disputes at law.' † Many stories are told in illustration of the

* *IHQ.* vi 597 ff. Without stopping to argue the matter fully, M. Sylvain Levi finds an easy explanation in 'Tamil nationalism' (p. 607) for the view which ascribes an early date to the poem. The relation between the *Nyāyapravēśa* of Diṅnāga and the *Maṇimēkalai* xxix is not simple, as readers of Professor Krishnaswami Aiyangar's *Maṇimēkhalai in its Historical Setting* must see. And a careful examination of the other systems of philosophy propounded in that canto shows that there are many truly ancient doctrines in it which would not be easy to explain on the basis of a late date such as the sixth century A. D. See S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, *JIH*, viii and ix.

I have my own doubts if Canto xxix does not bear signs of a remodelling.

† See Geiger's *Mahāvamsa* chh. xxi-xxv for the narrative. Geiger thinks that 'Cōḷa-country' means 'Southern India.' (Trans. p. 143 n. 4). This is unnecessary and seems to go against the precise expressions in the original, like *Cōḷa-rattha* (xxi 13) and *dakkhiṇam Madhuram puram Pāṇḍu-rājassa* (vii, 50), besides the common form Damiḷa employed of both countries. Further, the story of the justice done by the king to the cow that lost its calf narrated of Eḷāra in

justice of his rule, and among them is that of the king sentencing his only son to death for having unwittingly caused the death of a young calf by driving the wheel of his chariot over its neck. Though not a follower of the Buddha's creed, this king lived on friendly terms with the Buddhist *bhikkus* * of his realm, and his rule, so long as it lasted, was in every way acceptable to his subjects. His rule was confined to the northernmost section of the island and the Mahāganga, now Mahawaeliganga, was its southern limit. † Then began a war between Eḷāra and Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, so called because he was wroth with his father who stood in the way of his fighting the Damiḷas; the object of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi in undertaking this war was twofold: to restore the political unity of Ceylon and to bring glory to the doctrine of the Buddha by driving out the Damiḷas addicted to false beliefs. The details of the campaign that followed are very clearly recorded in the *Mahāvamsa*; ‡ success attended the arms of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, and his conquered foe was pursued up to the vicinity of Anurādhapura, and Eḷāra met his death in a heroic combat with Duṭṭhagāmaṇi beneath the walls of that city. Then Duṭṭhagāmaṇi marched into the city, "and when he had summoned the people from a *yōjana* around, he celebrated the funeral rites for king Eḷāra. On the spot where his body had fallen, he burned it with the catafalque,

the *MV.* is localised at Tiruvārūr on the continent, and there is a stone monument in that place representing the central incident of the story. See *Epigr. Zeylanica* iii pp. 1-47 for the chronology of the *MV.* "The length of Eḷāra's reign may be accepted as correct." *ibid* p. 5 n. 1.

* *MV.* xxi, 21-6.

† *MV.* xxii 86 and xxiv 4.

‡ Geiger-transl. pp. 290-1 gives a lucid account of the details of the war. On one occasion seven Damiḷa princes were defeated in one day (xxv 10), and altogether thirty-two princes are said to have been thus overpowered in the war (*ibid.* 75). They were probably all commanders of Eḷāra's forces which garrisoned many fortresses on the frontier and elsewhere.

and there did he build a monument and ordain worship." And even in the days of Mahānāman, the author of this part of the *Mahāvamsa*, in the sixth century A. D., the princes of Lanka, when they drew near to that place, were wont to silence their music, because of this worship. Of these transactions that loom so large in the early history of Ceylon, there is no trace in Tamil literature * apart from the legend of the prince and the calf which is placed in the reign of Manu. We therefore lack all means of judging the extent to which the fortunes of the Cōḷa monarchs of the mainland were involved in the establishment and the overthrow of Eḷāra's power in Ceylon.

* See *JRAS*. 1913, pp. 529-31. Some vague popular legends connect the poet of the *Kuṛal*, Tiruvaḷḷuvar, with a merchant prince, Elela Singa, (V.R.R. Dikshitar-*Studies in Tamil Literature and History*-pp. 129 ff.), but no one knows where these come from, and they lack all claim to credence and can furnish no basis for a date for Tiruvaḷḷuvar. For other instances of Tamil influence in Ceylon, not specially known to be Cōḷa, see *MV*. xxi 10, Sena and Guttaka; xxxiii 56, Puḷattha and others; xxxiv, 19 ff. for the infamous career of Anulā-dēvi who made over the country to a succession of her Tamil paramours.

Chapter III

THE COLAS IN EARLY TAMIL LITERATURE

Nature of the Early Literature.

The earliest Cōḷa kings of whom we have tangible evidence are those mentioned in the Śangam literature. Scholars are now generally agreed that this literature belongs to the first few centuries of the Christian era. * The internal chronology of this literature is still far from settled, and this remains at present an insuperable obstacle in the way of giving a connected account of the history of the period. We gather the names of kings and princes, and of the poets who extolled them; we also learn much of uncommon interest about the life and work of the people. Some of the kings, we can see, were men of real distinction with a good title to fame; and the poets were often great artists who could add beauty to truth in the manner of their expression. In this body of early Tamil literature, the individuals depicted stand out in bold relief and their characteristic traits are most unmistakably revealed to us; it is thus all the greater pity, that we cannot work it into a connected history. We shall see that when the chronology becomes firm, with the Cōḷas of the Vijayālaya line, literature loses its early qualities of realism and strength, and lapses, particularly in the delineation of persons, into the easy devices of court poetry.

Two great kings.

Two names stand out prominently from among those of the Cōḷa kings known to the Śangam literature; and their memory is cherished in song and legend by a loving posterity; they are those of Karikāla and Kōccenganāṉ. There is

* There are still some who do not accept this view. See, however, *PK.* pp. 16 ff. and *Studies*, pp. 1-18 and 70-2.

no sure means of settling the order of their succession, of fixing their relations with one another and with many other princes and princelings of about the same period. If Puhār or Kāvirippūmpaṭṭinam rose in importance only in the time of Karikāla, * then the civil strife between the two branches of the Cōḷas, one of them apparently stationed at Uṟaiyūr and the other at Puhār, may be taken to fall in the period subsequent to the rule of Karikāla. In any event, this strife between the rival branches of the royal family appears to have been a constant factor in the annals of the Cōḷas of the Śangam age. Even Karikāla, the most illustrious among them, had his own troubles in the beginning. †

* This is how the obscure line *piṟangu-nilai-māḍattu-uṟandai-pōkki* (l. 285) of the *Paṭṭinappālai* has been generally understood by modern writers. But under the name of Kākandi (*Maṇimēkalai*-xxii, l. 37) the city seems to have had great celebrity from very early times. Cf. n 2 at p. 561 of *Pattuppāṭṭu* ³ (1931). A nun Sōmā from this place seems to be mentioned in the Barhut inscriptions of the second century B. C. (Luders, No. 817). The *Śilappadikāram* gives a legend of the foundation of Uṟaiyūr (Kōḻi) being due to a cock (kōḻi) winning in a fight against an elephant on the spot, x ll. 247-8.

† Kanakasabhai's work *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago* (1904) remains still invaluable in many respects. But working solely upon mss. of works little understood at the time, he succumbed to a natural temptation to formulate conclusions on material that had not been subjected to any proper criticism. Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar (*Śēran-Śenguṭṭuvan*, ed. 2, pp. 106-7 n) raises several valid objections to Kanakasabhai's scheme of genealogy of the Cēras and the Cōḷas. But the Pandit's own scheme of Cōḷa genealogy (*ibid.* p. 103) is not altogether free from uncertainties, though it must be admitted that it is the best among those put forward so far. That Karikāla had two sons Maṇakkiḷḷi and Peru-Viṟaṟ-Kiḷḷi; that Neḍungiḷḷi was the brother of Naṟcōṇai, and that these were the children of Maṇakkiḷḷi, and that Perunaṟkiḷḷi of Rājasūyam fame (*Puṟam* 16) was the son of Neḍungiḷḷi and identical with the prince who sought refuge with Malaiyamāṉ Tirumuḍikkāri (*Puṟam* 174), that Kiḷḷi Vaḷavan (of the *Maṇimēkalai*, and Nalangiḷḷi (the foe of Neḍungiḷḷi) were the sons of Viṟaṟ-Kiḷḷi, all these statements are based on assumptions which, however plausible, seem to lack positive evidence. Again, it appears unlikely that the same prince, Irāyasūyam-Vēṭṭa Perunaṟkkiḷḷi, was aided on the same occasion both by Śenguṭṭuva and Malaiyamāṉ Tirumuḍikkāri; there is nothing in the language of *Śilapp.* xxvii ll. 118-23 and *Puṟam* 174 to suggest such an identification; on the other hand there is something to differentiate the two.

Myths.

Before we proceed to discuss the kings of the Śangam Age, some attention may be given to the legends about the mythical Cōḷa kings known to this literature. The Cōḷas were even then looked upon as descended from the sun *—a fact that received elaborate emphasis in later times in the long mythical genealogies incorporated in copper-plate charters of the tenth and eleventh centuries, in the Kanyākumāri stone inscription of Vīrarājēndra, and in literary works like the *Kilingattupparaṇi* and the *Vikramaśōḷan Ulā*. Coeval with Agastya and Paraśurāma was king Kāntan, whose devotion to the former brought the river Kāvēri into existence, † and who at the bidding of Pārvati (Kanni) entrusted his kingdom for a time to his illegitimate son Kakandan, in order to escape the fury of Paraśurāma, who waged relentless war against all Kṣatriyas. ‡ He ruled from Campā, later on called Kākandi, Puhār and Kāvirippūmpaṭṭinam. Another legendary hero was Tūngeyil-erinda-toḍittōṭ-cembiyan, who destroyed some mysterious flying fortress of the Asuras § and also instituted in Puhār, at the instance of Agastya, an annual festival to Indra of the duration of twenty-eight days. ¶ The story of the king who sentenced his son to death for having killed a calf by rash driving ‖ and that of another who rescued the dove from the hawk, but not the names of Manu and Śibi, are known ** to this

* *Maṇimēkalai*: śengadirc-celvan tirukkulam, Padigam, l. 9, *Śil.* vii-27; xxix ll. 1-2.

† *Maṇi.*, Padigam, ll. 10-2.

‡ *Maṇi.* xxii ll. 25-37.

§ *Puṟam* 39 and the references quoted thereunder. This recalls the Tripura-samhāra of Śiva.

¶ *Maṇi.* i, ll. 1-9.

‖ *Maṇi* xxii l. 210 and n. It should be observed that this story does not occur in the earlier anthologies.

** *Puṟam* 37 ll. 5-6 and *n*.

early literature. The king of the bird-story is, however, once called Śembiyan. * Some of these legends, like the story of the calf and the prince, † the origin of the Kāvēri and the institution of the festival to Indra, are not found in the anthologies of the Śangam, and make their appearance for the first time in the twin epics of the *Śilappadikāram* and the *Maṇimēkalai* which may, at the earliest, be dated some generations subsequent to the reign of Karikāla.

Karikāla.

Karikāla, the greatest among the Cōḷas of the Śangam age, was the son of Iḷañjēṭcenni distinguished for the beauty of his numerous war-chariots. ‡ Karikālan means 'the man with the charred leg,' and the name perpetuated the memory of a fire-accident in the early years of the prince's life; § in later times, under Sanskritic influences, the name was explained as 'Death (*kāla*) to *kali*' or 'Death to (enemies') elephants.' Karikāla was deprived of his birth-right and confined in a prison by his enemies for some years. The plucky manner in which he effected his escape and established himself in power is a favourite theme with the poets. ¶

Accession.

"Like the tiger cub with its sharp claws and its curved stripes growing (strong) within the cage, his strength came to maturity (like wood in grain) while he was in the bondage of his

* *ibid.* l. 6.

† This story is localised at Tiruvārūr by the *Periyapurāṇam*, a work of the twelfth century A. D.

‡ 'Uruvappahrēr.' Paraṇar (*Puṛam 4*) and Perunguṇṟūr Kiḻār (*Puṛam 266*) celebrated him. Line 130 of the *Porunar-āṟṟuppaḍai* gives his relationship with Karikāla.

§ Verse 3, end of *Porunar-āṟṟuppaḍai*.

¶ *Paṭṭinappālai* ll. 220-228 and *Porunar.* ll. 131 ff. — translated below. A veṇbā in the *Paḻamoḻi* says that a certain Piḍarttalai rendered much help to Karikāla.

enemies. As the large-trunked elephant pulls down the banks of the pit (in which it has been caught) and effects its escape by filling in the pit, and joins its mate, even so after deep and careful consideration, he drew his sword, effected his escape by overpowering the strong guard (of his prison), and attained his glorious heritage in due course."

Again,

"This lord, dreaded by his enemies like Murugan's anger, inherited the throne from his mother's womb; * he forced his enemies to do his behests, and filled with uneasiness the lands of those that did not submit; like the young sun spreading the rays of dawn on the ocean before rising in the sky, so from the day he began to crawl as a baby, he bore on his shoulders his excellent country, and daily increased its prosperity. As the fierce whelp of the lion, proud of its strength greater than that of Death, while it has not yet given up sucking the breast of its dam, quickly kills the elephant in its first hunt for food,"

so 'Karikāla-Cōḷa with the garland of *ār* pleasing to the eyes' fought a great battle at Veṇṇi in which the Pāṇḍya and the Cēra both suffered a crushing defeat. †

Battle of Veṇṇi.

Veṇṇi has been identified with Kōvil Veṇṇi, a village fifteen miles to the east of Tanjore. Though we know very little of the circumstances that led to this battle, there can be no doubt that it marked the turning point in Karikāla's career; for in this battle he seems to have broken the back of a widespread confederacy formed against him. Besides the two crowned kings of the Pāṇḍya and Cēra countries, eleven minor chieftains took their side in the campaign

* Naccinārkkiniyar explains this by an absurd story. This means, apparently, that he did not come of the direct male line of the Cōḷas, a fact which may account both for his early troubles and for his father's name—Iḷaiyōn, 'prince.' *Contra* Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India* p. 92.

† The text has: *iru-peru vēndarum oru kaḷat-taviya* (*146, Porunar*). Naccinārkkiniyar takes this to mean that they died (*paḍumpaḍi*); but the Cēra, we know, sustained a wound in his back, and committed suicide by the process of slow starvation - *Vaḍakkiruttal*, on which see *Puṟam* 65 ll. 9-11 and Pandit V. Svaminatha Aiyar's *n.* thereunder. Also *Studies* p. 20 and *n.*

and shared the defeat at the hands of Karikāla. * Much sympathy was felt for the Cēra king, who was wounded at his back, the last disgrace that could befall a soldier on the battle-field, and who expiated his cowardice by committing suicide; † this is how one of Karikāla's own friends, the poet Veṇṇikkuyattiyār, possibly a resident of Veṇṇi and an eye-witness to the battle, addresses the monarch: ‡

> "Oh! descendant of that warrior who, sailing on the wide ocean, compelled the winds to fill the sails of his ships! § Oh, Karikāl-vaḷava, lord of mighty elephants! By this victory thou hast displayed the greatness of thy valour which faced the fight and carried it to success. Is not he even nobler than thee,—he, who, after attaining great celebrity in the world, feels now the shame of a wound in his back, and starves himself to death on the plain of Veṇṇi watered by the freshes (of the Kāvēri)?"

Wars.

If Veṇṇi was the first great battle of Karikāla's reign which established him firmly on his throne and secured for him some sort of hegemony among the 'three crowned monarchs' of the Tamil land, there was no lack of other opportunities for the exercise of his arms. He defeated a confederacy of nine minor chieftains in a battle at Vākaipparandalai: Paraṇar, a contemporary both of Karikāla and his father, mentions this fact, ¶ but tells us nothing of the cause of the battle or of the enemies of Karikāla. The poet of the *Paṭṭinappālai* describes fully the destruction carried by the forces of Karikāla into the

* *Aham* 55, 246; also *Puṟam* 65, 66.

† 'Vāḷ-vaḍakkirundanan' (*Puṟam* 65, l. 11) does not seem to mean that the king cut his throat with a sword (P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar *T. mils* p. 336) but that he held a sword while starving, to indicate the cause of his action-vāḷoḍu vaḍakkirundān (comm.)

‡ I may say once for all that in the translations that follow, I have made use of all existing translations—Kanakasabhai, Pope, P. T Srinivasa Aiyangar.

§ A reference to another legendary Cōḷa king.

¶ *Aham* 125.

territories of his enemies and the awe inspired by his deeds of valour, * and adds that as a result of his campaigns, 'the numerous Oḷiyar submitted to him, the ancient Aruvāḷar carried out his commands, the Northerners lost splendour, and the Westerners were depressed; conscious of the might of his large army ready to shatter the fortresses of enemy kings, (Karikāla) turned his flushed look of anger against the Pāṇḍya whose strength gave way; the line of low herdsmen was brought to an end, and the family of Irungōvēḷ was uprooted.' If we disregard the vague statements about Northerners and Westerners in these lines from the *Paṭṭinappālai*, we see that for all his heroism on the battle-field Karikāla's permanent conquests did not extend much beyond the land of the Kāvēri. The Aruvāḷar were the inhabitants of the Aruvānād which comprised the lower valley of the Peṇṇār, just north of the Kāvēri delta country. The Oḷiyar were perhaps some nomadic tribe of *nāga* extraction, whom Karikāla converted to a settled life. † The description of Kāvirip-pūmpaṭṭinam and its foreshore, which takes up so much of the *Paṭṭinappālai*, gives a vivid idea of the state of industry and commerce under Karikāla who is said to have promoted the reclamation and settlement of forest land and added to the prosperity of the country by multiplying irrigation tanks. ‡

Conquests.

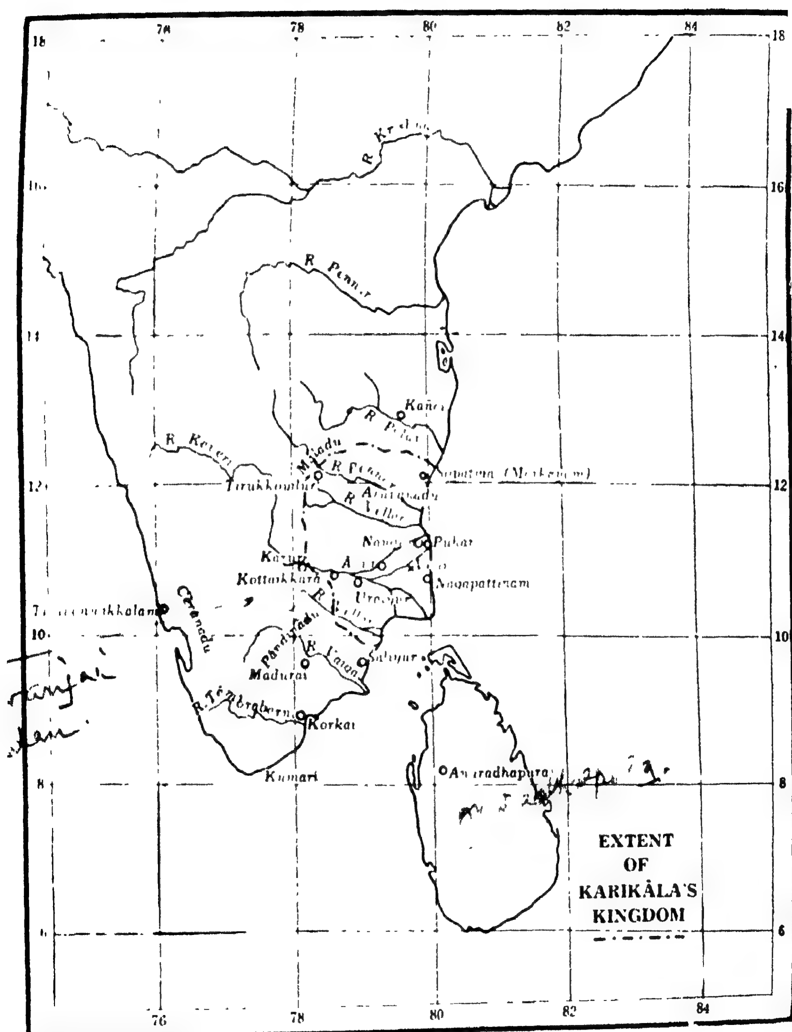
Of Karikāla's personal life we hear next to nothing. While Uruttiraṅgaṇṇaṇār, the author of the *Paṭṭinappālai*, tells us vaguely

Personal Life.

* ll. 228-73; the following lines 274-82 are translated here.

† *Aham* 141-śelkuḍi niṟutta perumbeyark-Karikāl. This poem has been misunderstood as containing a reference to the Kuṟumbar.

‡ Kāḍu konṟu nāḍākki kuḷandoṭṭu vaḷam-berukki-*i.e.* destroying forests to extend the inhabited country, and digging tanks to improve fertility. *Paṭṭinappālai* ll. 283-4.



EXTENT
OF
KARIKÂLA'S
KINGDOM
R. Pennar
Kañci
Tirukkovalur
Pukar
Nagapattinam
Kottaikkarai
Madurai
Korkai
Kumari
Pandyanadu
Ceranadu
R. Tâmraparni

that he enjoyed the society of women and children, * the late annotator Naccinārkkiniyar, possibly reproducing a correct tradition, states that Karikāla took to wife a Vēḷir girl from Nāngūr, † a place celebrated in the poems of Tirumangai Āḻvār for the heroism of its warriors. A daughter of Karikāla, Ādimandi by name, is the subject of many poems. She lost her husband, a Cēra prince, by name Āṭṭan Atti, who was drowned in the Kāvēri, but subsequently, by the power of her chastity, she is said to have brought him back to life. ‡

Religion. Death.

Karikāla's faith in the Vedic religion and the poignancy of the grief caused by his death find moving expression in the following lines of Karungulal-Ādanār: §

"He who stormed his enemies' forts dauntlessly; who feasted his minstrels and their families and treated them to endless draughts of toddy; who, in the assembly of Brahmans noted for knowledge of dharma and purity of life, guided by priests learned in their duties and attended by his noble and virtuous queen, performed the vedic sacrifice in which the tall sacrificial post stood on a bird-like platform (*garuḍacayana*), within the sacrificial court surrounded by a high wall with round bastions; he, the great and wise king alas! is no more! Poor indeed is this world which has lost him. Like the branches of the *vēngai* tree, which stand bare, when their bright foliage has been cut down by shepherds eager to feed their cattle in the fierce summer, are his fair queens, who have cast off their jewels."

Legends.

From very early times Karikāla became the centre of many myths which, in modern times, have often been accepted as serious history. The *Śilappadikāram* which, with studied

* *ibid* ll. 295-9

† *Tolkāppiyam.* Poruḷ. Aha. 30.

‡ *Śil.* xxi ll. 11 ff. and n.

§ *Puṟam* 224.

fairness attributes to each of the three Tamil monarchies some conspicuous success against northern Aryan kings, gives a glorious account of the northern expedition of Karikāla * which took him as far as the Himalayas and gained for him the alliance or subjection of the kings of the Vajra, Magadha and Avanti countries. The raising of the flood-banks of the Kāvēri by Karikāla seems to be first mentioned by the Malēpāḍu plates of Puṇyakumāra, † a Telugu-Cōḍa king of the seventh or eighth century. Nothing can be more typical of the manner in which legends grow than the way in which this story mingles with another stream of legend centring round Triṇētra Pallava, and culminates in the celebrated jingle of the late Telugu-Cōḍa plates: *caraṇa-sarōruha vihata - vilōcana - pallava-trilōcana - pramukhā-khila - prithivīśvara - kārita - kāvērī-tīra,* ‡ which has been made the basis of conclusions of the highest importance to the chronology of Early South Indian History. The choice of Karikāla to the Cōḷa throne by a state elephant which was let loose for the purpose from Kaḻumalam and which discovered him at Karūr, and his conquest of Kāñcī and settlement of agrarian colonies in the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam are other elements in the Karikāla legends that can find no support from the earliest authorities on his reign. It would seem that the Toṇḍai-nāḍ was ruled by Toṇḍaimān Iḷandiraiyan in the days of Karikāla; and there is no satisfactory evidence in support of the suggestion that has been made that this chieftain was

* *Śil.* v. ll. 89-110.

† Kavēra—tanayā—vēlōllaṅghana—praśamana—pramukhā—dyanēkātiśaya-kāriṇaḥ * * * * Karikālasya, *EI.* xi—No. 35, ll. 3-5.

‡ "He who caused the banks of the Kāvēri to be constructed by all the (subordinate) kings led by the Pallava Triṇētra whose third eye was blinded by his lotus foot."

the grandson of Karikāla, or, at least, a viceroy appointed by him after his conquest of Kāñci. *

Civil War.

We now pass on to Nalangiḷḷi and his rival Neḍungiḷḷi who, judging from the civil war between them which lasted till the death of Neḍungiḷḷi † at the Kāriyāṟu, must have belonged to rival branches of the Cōḷa family which ruled with Puhār and Uṟaiyūr for their respective centres. Nalangiḷḷi had a younger brother, Māvaḷattān; and his memory is preserved to us by the poet Tāmap-pal-kaṇṇanār who, when Māvaḷattān lost his temper in a game of dice and hit him with a die, so rebuked him that later he felt the need for an apology and composed a short poem, ‡ which is the only relic of this inflammable princeling and his boon-companion, the Brahman poet of Dāmal. §

The *Maṇimēkalai* ¶ mentions a great battle at the Kāriyāṟu in which the Pāṇḍya and the Cēra were defeated by a junior prince (Iḷangōn) of the Cōḷa family in the reign of Māvaṇkiḷḷi, also called Neḍumuḍik-kiḷḷi and Kiḷḷivaḷavan in this poem. This battle has been identified with the one in which Neḍungiḷḷi met his fate and the civil strife came to an end; ‖ from this the inference has been drawn that the Iḷangōn of the *Maṇimēkalai* was no other than Nalangiḷḷi, and that Nalangiḷḷi was the younger brother of Neḍumuḍik-kiḷḷi:

* See *Studies*, essay II, for a full discussion of these points.

† Though Neḍungiḷḷi figures without any attribute in some colophons, there is nothing to prevent his being identified with the king who died at the Kāriyāṟu.

‡ *Puṟam* 43.

§ *Puṟanāṉūṟu* Introdn. pp. 39-40.

¶ xix, ll. 125-7.

‖ Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar *op. cit.* pp. 101-2.

some writers go further and argue that because Nalangilli is called Śēṭcenni-Nalangilli, * he may be a grandson of Ilañjēṭcenni, the father of Karikāla, with the result that Neḍumuḍik-killi, Nalangilli and Māvaḷattān turn out to be three sons of Karikāla. But there is nothing except the name in favour of identifying the two references to the Kāriyāṟu in the *Puṟanāṉūṟu* and the *Maṇimēkalai*; nothing is known of the circumstances of Neḍungilli's death at the Kāriyāṟu, a fact which finds only the most casual mention in the colophon to *Puṟam* 47; we are to infer from this that as there was a civil war between Nalangilli and Neḍungilli, a fight at the Kāriyāṟu might, by proving fatal to the latter, have closed the strife. On the contrary, the battle of the Kāriyāṟu described, though briefly, yet with considerable vividness, in the *Maṇimēkalai*, appears as a first-class event in the foreign relations of the Cōḷa kingdom, and not as a petty fight incidental to a quarrel among blood relations; and there is no suggestion in the context that the Cēra and the Pāṇḍya were, on that occasion, engaged in aiding one Cōḷa prince against another. The last argument adduced from the name Śēṭcenni-Nalangilli is not without force, and it appears quite likely that he and Māvaḷattān were the sons of Karikāla.

Nalangilli.

Nalangilli forms the subject of no fewer than fourteen pieces in the *Puṟanāṉūṟu*, and Kōvūr-Kiḻār, who contributes half the number implies that the king enjoyed, like Karikāla himself, a sort of vague hegemony among the Tamil states, and sings with intelligible exaggeration : †

" As true wealth and happiness are seen to follow in the wake of virtue, so the two umbrellas (of the rivals Pāṇḍya and Cēra) follow thy peerless umbrella which is raised aloft,

* *Puṟam* 27, l. 10.
† *Puṟam* 31 ; Kanak. p. 73.

resplendent in the sky, like the full-moon. Ambitious of fair fame thou wouldst stay nowhere but in thy victorious camp. Thy elephants chafe, whose tusks are blunt with battering the walls of thy enemies' forts. Eager for fight, thy soldiers who wear anklets, make nothing of marching through wide stretches of forests to reach the enemy country. Thy war steeds starting from the Eastern sea stay not till the waves of the Western ocean wash their hoofs; in fine, the kings of the North keep watch with sleepless eyes as they dread the possibility of thy marching against them."

The poet who praised his lord with such strident notes was no base sycophant. In striking contrast with the foregoing, is the moving exhortation to peace addressed to the king when he was besieging Uṟaiyūr in order to reduce Neḍuṅgiḷḷi to submission: *

"He does not wear the white flower of the palm. He does not wear the garland of the dark-boughed margosa. Thy garland is a wreath of the *ār*, and so is that of him who wages war with thee. If either of you loses the battle, it is your house that loses; in the nature of things, it is impossible that both of you win. Your action, therefore, forebodes no good to your race; this strife will rejoice other kings who, like you, ride on pennoned chariots."

This noble advice of the poet would seem to have fallen on deaf ears; for, as we have seen, the epithet *Kāriyāṟṟuṭ-tuñjiya* applied to Neḍuṅgiḷḷi seems to imply that the war came to an end only with his death.

Nalangiḷḷi, like several other princes of the age, cultivated literature himself, and of the two poems preserved from among his compositions, one takes the form of an uncanny oath in the following terms: †

"If gently approaching my feet, one prays for a favour, I shall grant him with pleasure my ancient kingdom, nay, I shall

* *Puṟam* 45; Kanak. p. 73. The palm and the margosa were respectively the Cēra and Pāṇḍya emblems.

† *Puṟam* 73; Kanak. pp. 74-5.

give my life for his sake. If, like a blind man who stumbles on a tiger sleeping in the open, one is so foolish as to slight my strength and oppose my will, he shall hardly escape with his life. If I do not advance to the fight and cause (my foes) to suffer like the long-stemmed bamboo trampled under foot by a huge elephant, may my garland be crumpled in the wanton embraces of dark-haired harlots, who can never love with a pure heart."

That Kāvirip-pūmpaṭṭinam with its extensive trade was in Nalangiḷḷi's possession, * and that Vedic sacrifices were common in his reign † are facts well attested by our sources. There is a poignant note of melancholy in some of the poems on Nalangiḷḷi ‡ composed by Uṟaiyūr Mudukaṇṇan Śāttanār, and it is not easy to decide if this is due to the poet's own temperament or to the incidents of the civil strife. It would appear that Nalangiḷḷi died at a place called Ilavandigaip-paḷḷi. §

Neḍungiḷḷi.

Neḍungiḷḷi, the opponent of Nalangiḷḷi in the civil war, is addressed in two poems by Kōvūr-Kiḻār, the author of the exhortation addressed to both of them to cease from their strife. These poems add a little to our knowledge of the occurrences in the war. One of them mentions that Neḍungiḷḷi was once shut up in Āvūr which, like Uṟaiyūr, was beset by the forces of Nalangiḷḷi. The poem gives a graphic description of the effects of the siege: ¶

"The male elephants, not led out to bathe with the female herd in the large tanks (outside the fort), nor fed with balls of rice mixed with ghee, chafe at the posts to which they are chained, heave long sighs, and with their trunks rolling on

* *Puṟam* 30 ll. 10-12.

† *ibid* 400, l. 19.

‡ *ibid* 27, 29.

§ Col. to *Puṟam* 61 where he is called Nalangiḷḷi Śēṭcenni.

¶ *Puṟam* 44. Kanak. pp. 73-4.

the ground, trumpet loudly like thunder. Children cry for want of milk, the women plait their hair without flowers, the mansions of the city resound with the cries of people wailing for want of water. It is not possible to hold out any more here, thou, master of fleet steeds! If thou wouldst be kind, open the gates (to the enemy) saying, 'This is yours;' if thou wouldst be heroic, open the gates and lead thy soldiers out to victory; to be neither the one nor the other, to close the strong gates of the fort, and to shut yourself up in a corner behind the high walls, this, when one thinks of it, is shameful indeed!"

Neḍungiḷḷi, then, had ambition without courage, and brought much suffering on himself and his subjects by his pusillanimity. Like all cowards, he seems to have lived in constant dread of treachery and foul play. When he was besieged at Uṟaiyūr, a minstrel, Iḷandattan by name, who had entered Uṟaiyūr from the camp of Nalangiḷḷi, was taken to be a spy, and was about to be killed when Kōvūr-Kiḻār put in a successful plea for his life being spared. The short poem is a fine picture of bardic life in the Śangam age: *

"They fly like birds and traverse many a long and arid route in search of patrons, and with untutored tongue, sing their praises; pleased with what they get they feast their train, eat without saving, give without stinting, and pine only for honour. Such is their living which depends on the free gifts (of patrons). Does this ever hurt others? No, to be sure. Only, they exult in their triumphs over rival bards, and when their rivals' faces are cast down, then do they walk proudly, and are well pleased; they have thus a primacy of their own, not less than persons who, like you, have attained to the rulership of the earth."

Killivaḷavan.

Close to Nalangiḷḷi and Neḍungiḷḷi in time, because the same poets are found composing poems in their praise, was Kiḷḷivaḷavan who died at Kuḷamuṟṟam. Another Kiḷḷivaḷavan, the subject of a single poem of Kōvūr-Kiḻār, † is said to

* *Puṟam* 47. Kanakasabhai, 73.

† *Puṟam* 373.

have died at Kurāp-paḷḷi. It has been suggested that these two kings are identical, * and if that be so, this poem of Kōvūr-Kiḻār composed after the king had captured Karuvūr, depicts a later stage in his Cēra war than another † poem by Ālattur Kiḻār, which describes Karuvūr still in a state of siege. Kiḷḷivaḷavan is celebrated in eighteen songs by ten different minstrels, and himself figures as the author of a poem in praise of his friend Paṇṇan, ‡ the lord of Śiṟukuḍi. He ruled with Uṟaiyūr as his capital. § "This king, who (we may infer) possessed considerable ability, was both brave and generous, but somewhat headstrong. Hence a great deal of good advice is, in a very tactful way, offered to him by the minstrels; and he seems to have been all the better for it." The following lines are by Veḷḷaikkuḍi-nākanar, ¶ who was rewarded on the spot by a remission of the arrears due on his lands.

The pleasant Tamil lands possess
For boundary the ocean wide.
The heaven, where tempests loud sway not,
Upon their brow rests as a crown.
Fertile the soil they till, and wide.
Three kings with mighty hosts this land
Divide ; but of the three, whose drums
Sound for the battle's angry strife,
Thou art the chief, O mighty one !

Though the resplendent sun in diverse quarters rise ;
And though the silvery planet to the south decline ;
Thy land shall flourish, where through channels deep,
Kāvēri flows with bright refreshing stream,
Along whose banks the sweet cane's white flowers wave
Like pennon'd spears uprising from the plain.

* *IA.* xxix p. 250 n 2. Dr. Pope says that Kurāp-paḷḷi is the same as Kuḷamuṟṟam, 'Pavilion by the tank.'

† *Puṟam* 36.

‡ *Puṟam* 173.

§ *Puṟam* 69, l. 12.

¶ *IA.* xxix pp. 251-2, *Puṟam* 35; I have reproduced Pope's translation.

Let me speak out to this rich country's king!
Be easy of access at fitting time, as though
The lord of justice sat to hear, and right decree.
Such kings have rain on their dominions at their will!
The clouds thick gather round the sun, and rest
In vault of heaven :—So let thy canopy
Of state challenge the sky, and spread around
Not gloom, but peaceful shade. Let all thy victories
Be the toiling ploughman's gain.
Kings get the blame, whether rains fail, or copious flow,
And lack the praise : such is the usage of the world.

If thou hast marked and known this well,
Reject the wily counsels of malicious men.
Lighten the load of those who till the soil.
The dwellers in the land protect. If thou do this
Thy stubborn foes shall lowly bend beneath thy feet.

The siege and capture of Karūr, the Cēra capital, was, doubtless, the greatest military achievement of this king, and has called forth a number of poems. Thus Ālattūr Kiḻār made an effort to divert the king's attention from his enterprise and save Karūr from destruction, by gently reproaching him with pitting himself against a foe unworthy of his mettle * :—

Whether thou wilt destroy or wilt release,
'Tis thine to ponder which befits thy name!—
The axe, bright-edged, long-handled, sharp by file
Of smith black-handed, smites the fragrant boughs
Of guardian trees in every park around;
They crashing fall and scatter the white sands
Of *Ān-porunthам's* river cool, where sport
The damsels with their golden bracelets gay ;
Thro' town, and all the guarded hall are echoes heard,
And yet their king in pleasure slumbers on!
With bow-armed host, thy war-drum sounding loud,
'Twill shame thee to have fought such feeble foes.

'The intercession was unsuccessful; the fair city fell'; and a poetess, Māṟōkkattu Nappaśalaiyār, gave

* *Puṟam* 36. *IA. ibid* p. 252.

expression to her grief as follows *:

Thou scion of the Cōḷa Lord who saved
The dove from woe,—Chief of the wrathful hosts,
Armed with the gleaming darts that work havoc,
As when a fiery dragon, angry, fierce,—
Bearing five heads, with gleaming poisonous tooth,
Has enter'd the vast mountain-cavern, where
The golden creepers twine ;—and from the sky
Fire issues forth and loudest thunderbolt ;—
Thou saw'st the lordly city old, whose king
Was circled round by girded elephants.
There in dark deep moat alligators congregate.
In the wide waters of the guarded lake
Are crocodiles that fierce in fight
Dart forth to catch the shadows cast
By gleam of watchman's torch at midnight hour.
Its walls like burnish'd copper shone.
This seemed not fair to thine eyes ; for thou didst
Work destruction mightily, glorious king !

'The delicate lyric warning against arrogance' addressed to the proud conqueror by Mūlam-kiḻār of Āvūr must have been composed soon after the capitulation of Karuvūr : †

"Thou art the mighty one, who sparing not the guarded fort broke thro' and slew its king and made the yellow gold, erewhile his crown, anklets to grace, O ! hero ! thy conquering foot.

Thy land is so fertile that a tiny piece thereof, where a she-elephant might rest, can nourish seven lordly elephants.

That we may ever see, as now, the necks of thy traducers bend, and those who laud thee raise their heads, be thou, great king ! pleasant of speech, and easy of access."

Kōvūr - Kiḻār also described this event at some length in a poem that has not been preserved in its entirety. ‡

* *Puṟam* 37 ; *IA. ibid.*

† *Puṟam* 40 ; *IA. ibid.* 254.

‡ *Puṟam* 373.

The poems of the *Puṟanāṉūṟu* are silent on the relations between Kiḷḷivaḷavan and his southern neighbour the Pāṇḍya; but a poem of Nakkīrar * in the *Ahanāṉūṟu* makes pointed reference to a defeat sustained by the forces of a Kiḷḷivaḷavan under the walls of Madura at the hands of the Pāṇḍya commander-in-chief, Paḻaiyan Māṟan. In the absence of any indication to the contrary, we may assume that the king whose defeat is alluded to by Nakkīrar was the one that died at Kuḷamuṟṟam. † Kiḷḷivaḷavan evidently waged war in another direction against the Malaiyamān chieftain of Malāḍu, a district on the banks of the Peṇṇār which had Tirukkōyilūr for its centre. Though we cannot be quite certain of it, the Malaiyamān against whom this expedition was directed seems to have been Malaiyamān Tirumuḍik-kāri who is celebrated in several poems of the *Puṟam* by Kapilar and

* *Aham* 345.

† This identification was first suggested by Kanakasabhai, p. 76. But I am unable to follow him in identifying this king further with: (*a*) Vaḷavankiḷḷi who was '*maittunan*' to the Cēra king Śenguṭṭuvan, and was established on the Cōḷa throne by the latter after suppressing, in the battle of Nērivāyil, a rebellion in which nine princes of the blood royal had taken part (p. 75); and (*b*) the Cōḷa king of the *Maṇimēkalai* and the father of Udayakumaran (p. 77). It is not certain that the twin Epics of the Anklet and the Jewel-belt relate to the same period of time as the poems of the *Puṟanāṉūṟu* and the other anthologies, and it is not clear how far the incidents mentioned in the epics may be treated as historical, and not simply meant to furnish a familiar background to a romantic story; there is, above all, a total lack of correspondence in the facts relating to the different kings whom Kanakasabhai proposes to identify. The phrase '*maittuna-vaḷavan-kiḷḷi*' of the *Śilappadikāram* (xxvii-l. 118) is not the same as 'Kiḷḷivaḷavan,' and as there is nothing in the numerous poems of the *Puṟam* to suggest that the latter's succession to the throne was disputed, we must be slow to accept the identification in this case. It must also be observed that, as Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar, (*op. cit.* p. 33) points out, the Cōḷa contemporary of Śenguṭṭuvan was according to the *Śilappadikāram*, Perungiḷḷi, whom Aḍiyārkkunallār calls Perunaṟkiḷḷi; and the Pandit himself identifies him with Rājasūyam-vēṭṭa Perunaṟkiḷḷi, and this, in itself, is really more plausible than the suggestion of Kanakasabhai. The absence of all mention of a fight at the Kāriyāṟu or a combination of the Pāṇḍya and the Cēra against Kuḷamuṟṟattu-tuñjiya Kiḷḷivaḷavan, taken along with the positive references to his siege and capture of Vañji and his defeat at Madura, all of which are admitted by Kanakasabhai, is fatal to his other proposition. See also P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar *History of the Tamils* pp. 430-31.

Mār̤ōkkattu Nappaśalaiyār for the liberal patronage he extended to the minstrels, a trait which is emphasised also by Kōvūr-Kil̤ār in the following poem by which he succeeded in releasing the children of the Malaiyamān from a cruel death to which the victorious Cōl̤a monarch had condemned them : *

"Thou art of the royal line of him who saved the dove from affliction and many another sufferer ;

These are children of the race that, in their concern for the learned, share their food with them and save them from want, and under whose fostering care men lead happy lives ;

See these little innocents, how first they stood fearing the sight of thine elephants ; then, forgetting that, were daunted by the aspect of thy hall ; and now stand trembling with troubles ever new !

Hear me, and then follow the promptings of thine own desire !"

A panegyric by Mār̤ōkkattu Nappaśalaiyār applauds in equal measure and with much art the generosity, justice and heroism of this king. †

"Descendant of him who to save a dove from grief entered the balance whose beam was tipped with the carved white tusk of the heavy-footed elephant ! Giving in grace was born with thee, and is not thy peculiar praise.

And, when one ponders how thy sires of old destroyed the mighty fort suspended in the sky which foes dreaded to approach,—to slay thy foes is not thy peculiar praise !

And since the council of Ur̤aiyūr, impregnable city of the valiant Śōl̤ar, is the home of Equity ;—Justice is not thy peculiar praise !

O Val̤avan, swift horseman, whose stout arms are like fortress-bars, whose wreath attracts every eye, how then shall I sing thy praises ?

* *Pur̤am* 46 ; *IA.* xxix p. 256.

† *Pur̤am* 39 ; *IA.* xxix pp. 253-4.

How shall I tell of thy glorious prowess that withered the fadeless Vañji, destroying the Cēran king with his mighty chariot cunningly wrought, who planted his guarded bow-banner on the immeasurably lofty gold-tipped peaks of Himalaya."

Two short odes on the death of the king, though they reveal nothing of the identity of Kuḷamuṟṟam where he died or of the circumstances attending his death, are noteworthy for the quaintness of their conceits. One of them is by the gifted poetess, Māṟōkkattu Nappaśalai: *

If in his mind against thee he were wroth,
Or if in outward act he showed his rage,
Or if he touched thee with afflictive hand,
Thou couldst not have escaped, O Death !
Thou took'st great Vaḷavan, entreating him,
Like minstrels, bowing low, with suppliant hand,
Praising, thou didst bear off his life,
Leader of hosts that crowd the glorious field,
Crowned with gold wreath, Lord of the mighty car !

The other, by Māśāttanār of Āḍuturai, though somewhat commonplace, as observed by Dr. Pope, still does not lack power : †

Death ! Right silly art thou, ruthless one :
Through lack of sense thou eat'st thine own seed-corn !
Thou yet shalt see the truth of what I say.
Warriors with gleaming swords, and elephant and horse
Fell on the battle-plain that flowed with blood ;
Daily he was insatiate, slew his foes,
And fed thine hunger ! Like thyself a strengh
He had that knew no ruth nor vengeance feared.
This Vaḷavan who wore great golden ornaments,
Whose flowery garland swarmed with humming bees,
Since thou hast borne away,—who shall appease thine hunger now ?

* *Puṟam* 226 ; *IA.* xxix 283.

† *Puṟam* 227 ; *IA.* xxix 284.

Kopperuñjōḻan.

Another renowned Cōḻa king of the time was Kōpperuñjōḻan who also ruled from Uṟaiyūr. Himself a poet, * he was an intimate friend of two poets—Āndaiyār of (Irum) Piśir and Pottiyār. Āndai (owl) sounds more like a nick-name than a name proper † ; but the poet is not known by any other name. He was a native of the Pāṇḍya country and gave some good counsel ‡ to the king of that country, Aṟivuḍai Nambi. Pottiyār was a native of the Cōḻa country and resided at Uṟaiyūr. The intimate friendship between these and Kōpperuñjōḻan became a classic example in later literature § like that between Damon and Pythias. Āndai was a jolly good fellow and his poems ring with the true enjoyment of life. Asked once why, though old, his hair had not turned grey, he gave the answer : ¶

My years are many, yet my locks not grey :
You ask the reason why, 'tis simply this
I have a worthy wife, and children too ;
My servants move obedient to my will ;
My king does me no evil, aye protects ;
To crown the whole, around me dwell good men
And true, of chastened souls with knowledge filled.

Here is another poem evincing the attachment felt by him to Kōpperuñjōḻan, in preference to the king of his native land : ||

If you ask us ' who is your king ? ' Our king is he who
To the labourers gives strong palm-wine strained and mellow,
And with the fat of turtle satiates their desire,

* Author of *Kuṟundogai* Nos. 20, 53, 129, 147.

† The grammarians explain it, however, as Ādan tandai (Ādan's father).

‡ *Puṟam* 184.

§ Parimēlaḻagar on *Kuṟaḷ* 785 ; and Naccinārkkiniyar on *Tol. Karpu. Su.* 52.

¶ *Puṟam* 191 ; *IA.* xxviii, p. 30.

|| *Puṟam* 212 ; *IA. ibid.*

And fills their mouths with lampreys' rich roast flesh.
They leave short toil for feast; the feast prolong!
In that good fertile land the minstrels with their kin
Find our king the foe of want and hunger's pangs.
He is the lord of Kōḻi, the mighty Cōḻa king.
He loves converse with Potti, whose friendship knows [no flaw. *
All the day long he laughs with heart right glad!

A beautiful poem † by Pullāṟṟūr Eyiṟṟiyanār which deprecates civil strife by a fine appeal to the simple parental emotions of the king is the sole relic left to us of what was possibly a serious quarrel between Kōpperuñjōḻan and his two sons. By a strange irony of fate, this winsome monarch, who engaged the deepest affection of two poets for life and in death, was unable to compose his differences with his own children. His agnostic utterance on suicide is perhaps sufficient proof that he found in it his last refuge from the troubles of life: ‡

They who have not assured their minds
By the doubt-free vision pure, that aye endures,
Say not, 'shall we do good deeds or shall we not.'
Who hunts an elephant may gain an elephant;
Who hunts a quail, may come back with empty hand.
Therefore if men have lofty aspirations,
They must carry them out in successful deeds, and so gain
Enjoyment of the world beyond the reach of sense.
Should this not be theirs, in some future birth they may [win release.
And if there be no future birth,—yet to found
Their fame on earth like Himalaya's lofty peak,
And to pass away with body unstained by evil,
Is surely asceticism's highest gain.

* A play on words: *potti* means 'hollow', but there is no hollowness in this Potti.

† *Puṟam* 213; *IA. ibid.* p. 29.

‡ *Puṟam* 214; *IA.* xxviii pp. 29-30.

Two other short poems * express the king's eagerness to meet Āndai before the end came, as also his quiet confidence that his friend would not fail him. When Āndai turned up in good time and joined the king in his resolve to quit the wicked world, Pottiyār evinced † great admiration for the nobility of the king and the wisdom of Āndai, and the deepest concern for the country which was losing a monarch whose great qualities captivated the mind of Āndai, though he owed him no allegiance. Two short pieces ‡ commemorate the suicide of Āndai in the king's company. One of them records that Āndai starved himself to death under the shade of a tree in the river-bed. When Pottiyār wanted to follow, the king forbade him asking him to postpone his suicide till after his son had been born, § and Pottiyār had to go back. In the following lines the poet gave vent to his feelings as he returned to Uṟaiyūr : ¶

> The keeper who has lost the huge elephant which he daily supplied
> With its ample meal, and tended for many a year,
> Is sad as he surveys the vacant pillar where it stood,
> And weeps. Even so, did I not grieve when I beheld
> The courtyard in the ancient town where Kiḷḷi lived and died ;
> Kiḷḷi, with wealth of chariots, o'er which waves the conqueror's wreath ?

When, a little later, he visited the spot of the king's death, marked by a stone (*naḍukal*), he was greatly moved by the recollection of his noble traits. ‖

* *Puṟam* 215, 216.

† *Puṟam* 217.

‡ *Puṟam* 218, 219.

§ *Puṟam* 222. Apparently this means that persons with *enceinte* wives were ineligible for *vaḍakkiruttal*.

¶ *Puṟam* 220. *IA*. xxviii p. 32

‖ *Puṟam* 221 , *IA*. *ibid*.

He had the praises manifold of minstrels whose wants he [relieved;
He was most loving to the dancers who resorted to his [court;
He swayed his sceptre in accordance with the teaching [of the sages;
His friendship had the firmness honoured of the wise;
He was gentle to women, brave in the face of the strong;
He was the refuge of the spotless learned ones.
Such an one death did not spare, but carried off his [sweet soul.

Therefore, my afflicted kinsfolk, let us
Embracing one another join in reviling death.
Come, all ye bards, whose words are true!
He hath become a pillar planted in the wild,
Crowned with imperishable praise!
While the wide world in sorrow mourns.
Such is the lot of him who was our protector!

Perunaṟkiḷḷi.

Perunaṟkiḷḷi must have been a powerful monarch, as he is the only one among the Tamil sovereigns of the Saṅgam age who performed the *Rājasūya*; it is likely that the Cēra Māri Veṇkō and the Pāṇḍya Ugrapperuvaḻudi both attended this great inauguration of Perunaṟkiḷḷi's rule, and that the fine benediction of Auvaiyār in which she includes all the three was, as suggested by Kanakasabhai, pronounced on this occasion: *

"This heavenlike country with its divisions, whether it is yours or is owned by others who do not go with you but are against you, belongs in truth to the saintly; may you, in your lifetime, pour out with water flowers and gold into the outstretched hands of the Brahmans; drink of the sweet liquor which your servant maids glittering with jewels hold before you in golden cups, and in your exultation, bestow costly gifts without limit on the needy; only the good deeds that you do now will stand by you at the time of your death. Ye monarchs!

* *Puṟam* 367; Kanakasabhai, p. 78.

(lords) of the white umbrella and the pennoned chariot! Seated together, you appear like the three sacred fires which the twice-born preserve day and night with ceaseless vigilance. Only this can I say: may your days be as many as the stars in the sky or the rain-drops in heavy showers."

Nothing is known of the events of this king's reign. That he had his share of fighting, we may, however, infer from a poem which gives a rather conventional description of the havoc wrought on enemy countries by his forces, * and from the colophon to another poem which mentions a fight between this king and a Cēra Māndarañ-jēral-irumpoṟai, in which the chieftain Tērvaṇmalaiyan fought on the side of the Cōḷa king. Neither the friend nor the foe † of the Cōḷa on this occasion could now be ascertained.

Minor Cōḷa Princes.

Before giving an account of Kōccengaṇāṉ who was doubtless among the latest, if not the last, of the Cōḷas mentioned in Śangam literature, the minor celebrities of the Cōḷa line may be briefly noticed. It is certain that many of them were petty princelings, members of the ruling family rather than kings themselves. There are two princes of the name Ilañjēṭcenni, distinguished by the epithets Neydalangāṉal and Śeruppāḻi-yeṟinda, both of them celebrated by Ūn-podi-paśungudaiyār, a poet otherwise unknown. The first is said to have distinguished himself by the capture

* *Puṟam* 16. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar assumes that this poem is an account of a war in which the king "had to defeat recalcitrant Śōḻa princes before bringing the whole of the Śōḻa country under his sway." *Tamils* p. 432. The other poem mentioned above is *Puṟam* 125.

† Pandit V. Swaminatha Aiyar has indeed suggested (*Aingurunūṟu*-introd. p. 15.) that the Cēra enemy was the same as Yānaikkaṭcēy-māndarañ-jēral-irumpoṟai who was defeated and captured by Pāṇḍya Neḍuñjeḻiyan, the victor of Talaiyālangāṉam. Great as is the weight of his authority, I hesitate to follow him here. See, however, Mr. K. V. S. Aiyar, *Ancient Dekkhan* p. 202.

of Pāmuḷūr, a Cēra fortress; * how he earned the prefix to his name, Neydalanganal, is not known. Śeruppāḷi, overthrown by the second prince, is also only a name. The Cōḷa Muḍittalaik-kōpperunaṟkiḷḷi (the great good Kiḷḷi, the king with the crowned head) is remembered by a single poem of Muḍamōśiyār (Mōśi, the Lame), who lived in the part of Uṟaiyūr known as Ēṇiccēri. The poem † is a fine piece giving expression to the poet's grave concern for the safety of the Cōḷa who was riding an elephant, which, having suddenly turned mad, was carrying him past Karuvūr. The poet was then in the company of a Cēra prince, and explained to him what was happening before their eyes. The rushing elephant is picturesquely compared to a ship sailing on the high sea.

Perum Tirumāvaḷavan, ‡ who died at Kurāppaḷḷi, was the contemporary and ally of the Pāṇḍya Peruvaḻudi who died at Veḷḷi-yambalam. Kārik-kaṇṇanār of Kāvirip-pūm-paṭṭinam while applauding their alliance, warns them against evil counsellors ever intent on dividing them: §

"Thou art the Lord of the Kāviri and its cool waters; this king is the lion of the warlike race of Pañcavas, who, not disheartened by the death of his elders, valiantly protects his good subjects, like the long shoots of the shady banyan tree, which strike root in the ground and keep the tree alive though the parent trunk is withered; and who, though young, has speedily scattered his enemies like the thunderbolt which smites whole broods of serpents. Thou art the warrior of Uṟandai, where virtue abides; this king, thinking that paddy and water are cheap, has made himself Lord of the mountain sandal and the

* *Puṟam* 203.

† *Puṟam* 13.

‡ This king was wrongly identified with Karikāla by Kanakasabhai.—See P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar *Tamils*, p. 367. *n.*

§ *Puṟam* 58. Kanakasabhai, 68-9.

sea pearl together with the thundering drums, and rules with mercy Kūḍal, the seat of Tamil (learning). Majestic like the two gods standing together, one of whom is white (in complexion) and holds the palm-flag and the other of dark hue carries the wheel, you are now both terrible to your enemies. Is there anything pleasanter than this ? Listen, yet, (to my words). May your fame last for ever ! May you stand by each other, and if you do not break your friendship, you would not fail to conquer the whole of this sea-girt earth. Therefore, without giving heed to the specious words of thoughtless people which, though they appear good and wise and in keeping with ancient tradition, are intended to break the love that binds your hearts, may your friendship continue exactly as it is to-day ! May your lances rise victorious on the bloody field of battle ! May the lands of your enemies bear on the peaks of their mountains the crests of the striped tiger and the water carp."

Tiru-māvaḷavan had the misfortune of being pilloried in song by an irate poet who was kept waiting too long for a gift. In a song of great power and beauty, * the angry bard proudly declares that his race has a greater regard for the poverty of small discerning chieftains than for the vain pomp of heartless monarchs.

Vēr - pahṛaḍakkaip - peru-viṟar(naṟ)k - kiḷḷi is the name of another Cōḷa prince celebrated by Paraṇar and Kaḷāttalaiyār, of the age of Karikāla and his father. Three poems † in the *Puṟanāṉūṟu* describe the sad fate of this prince and his Cēra opponent Kuḍakkō Neḍuñ-jēral-Ādan, both of whom fell on the field of battle. Another prince with a strongly marked individuality was Pōrvaik-kōpperunaṟk-kiḷḷi who figures in a dozen compositions, three of which are short lyrics composed by Nakkaṇṇai, ‡ a lady who appears to have loved this

* *Puṟam* 197.

† *Puṟam* 62, 63, 368.

‡ *Puṟam* 83, 84, 85.

erratic prince with a real passion. Śāttandaiyār, the poet of the remaining three pieces, * celebrates the prince's power as a pugilist and his quickness in taking cities. He also suggests that no love was lost between him and Tittan, who is said to have been his father, and who figures in several poems † in the anthologies as a celebrated king of Uṟaiyūr. Tittan once forced the chieftain Kaṭṭi and his companion Pāṇan to fall back in disorder after a hasty advance on Uṟaiyūr. ‡ As this incident is recorded by Paraṇar, Tittan and his eccentric son must have preceded Karikāla. Tittan had also a daughter Aiyai. § Śōḻan Nalluruttiran and Nambi Neḍuñjeḻiyan are represented each by a single poem. The former was a poet himself, and in fact we have no knowledge of him except as an author. A whole section on *Mullai*, comprising seventeen songs in the anthology called *Kalittogai*, is said to be his work, and in a short poem in the *Puṟanāṉūṟu* ¶ he sings his ideal of a felicitous life: to shun misers and seek the company of strong and noble friends. Nambi Neḍuñjeḻiyan forms the subject of a fine eulogium ‖ from Pēreyil Muṟuvalār (the Laughing Man of the Big Fortress),—a poem, remarkable for its fine array of short sentences and its vivid portraits.

Kōccengaṇān.

The life of Kōccengaṇān, like that of Karikāla, came to gather a haze of legend round itself; and it is necessary to avoid mixing up facts drawn from contemporary sources with the beliefs of later times. A song in the *Puṟanāṉūṟu* **

* *Puṟam* 80 2.
† *Puṟam* 80, 352, 395; *Aham* 6, 122, 152, 188, 226
‡ *Aham* 22ff.
§ *Aham* 6- Paraṇar.
¶ *Puṟam* 190.
‖ *Puṟam* 239.
** *Puṟam* 74.

and the forty verses that constitute the poem *Kaḷavaḻi* by Poygaiyār form the earliest evidence on this king's life. The references to him in the hymns of Tirugñāna-sambandar and Tirumangai Āḻvar as well as Sundara-mūrti take us to the next stage in which the emphasis falls on the religious side of the king's life. He figures also in the legendary genealogy of the Cōḷa copper-plates of the tenth and eleventh centuries though his place in the list is not the same in all. * It is worth noting that the story which, after the manner of the Jātaka tales of Buddhism, makes a spider of this king in his previous birth is first noticed by Appar and repeated by the Tiruvālangāḍu plates † of the reign of Rājēndra Cōḷa. The *Kalingattupparaṇi* and the *Vikramaśōḻan-ulā* more or less agree with the copper-plates, but the main stream of legend flows through the *Andādi* of Nambi-Āṇḍar-Nambi to the *Periya Purāṇam* of Śēkkiḻār, the ocean in which all the streams of Śaivite legend mingle in the Tamil country.

The *Kaḷavaḻi* ‡ is a poem of moderate length, giving a somewhat conventional, though occasionally gruesome, description of the battle of Kaḻumalam, near Karuvūr in the Kongu country, § in which Śengaṇān defeated and made captive the Cēra king Kaṇaikkāl Irumpoṟai. The poet Poygai, a friend of the Cēra, placated the Cōḷa conqueror by singing of his valour in the battle-field and thereby secured the release of the Cēra from captivity. The verse in the

* See Hultzsch's discussion of this point—*SII.* ii. pp. 152-3, 253, 377-9.

† Appar-Kuṟukkai v. 4, Tiruppāśūr-(Tiruttāṇḍakam)-v. 6; Also Sundarar Tiruvāḍuturai v. 2. Tiruvālangāḍu plates-v. 43 : *lūna-lūtānga-bandhaḥ*.

‡ See *IA.* xviii pp. 259-65 for a translation and critique of the poem by V. Kanakasabhai.

§ See *Śēran Śenguṭṭuvan* p. 183. *Aham* 44 seems to give some details of the events which preceded the battle.

Puṟanāṉūṟu to which reference has already been made purports to have been composed by the Cēra, while still in captivity in the Cōḷa prison at Kuḍavāyiṟ-kōṭṭam (West Gate Prison), and makes a sad confession of his cowardice in surviving the disgrace that had befallen him:

> "Even a babe that dies, and a mole that is born, though they are not men, are still put to the sword. * Can it be, that such a race gives birth to one who, subjected to misery like a dog held in leash, yet begs for water from his unkindly jailors, and drinks it, in his weakness, to allay the fire in his stomach ?"

The story is that he declined to drink the water he had so obtained, and slept away his thirst. † Poygai's successful intercession must have taken place soon after. So far the evidence of contemporary literature. There seems to be nothing incredible in the situation thus depicted. No deep-seated grounds of public policy governed the actions of kings and chieftains in those days, and the relations among them were more or less personal. Nothing seems more natural in such a state of things than for a prince, who fell short of the heroic ideal cherished by his age and who pined in captivity, to obtain his release owing to the intercession of a clever bard who made a subtle appeal to the vanity of the victor by celebrating his success in very glowing terms ‡) Very good reason can be shown for holding that Poygai, the friend of the Cēra captive, was no other than the celebrated Vaiṣṇava devotee Poygai-Āḷvār.

* The allusion is to a custom by which kings who died a natural death were supposed to secure the *vīrasvarga* if their corpses were cut with a sword before their final disposal ; cf. *Maṇimēkalai*, xxiii, ll. 11-14.

† '*Tuñjiya*' in the colophon to this *Puṟam* verse must be taken to mean 'slept,' not 'died', as this is the only way in which it can be reconciled with the colophon to the *Kaḷavaḻi*. See *Studies* pp. 14-16.

‡ By understanding 'Kaṇaiyan' in *Aham* 44 as the abbreviation of Kaṇaikkāl-irumporai, it is possible to avoid much unnecessary confusion. *Contra* Pandit Anantarama Aiyar, *Kaḷavaḻi*-introdn. pp. 6-7.

Though we have no contemporary evidence bearing on Kōccenganān's religious persuasion, there seems to be little reason to doubt that Tirumangai and Sambandar represent a correct tradition about him in their allusions to his religious zeal. And the probable identity of Poygaiyār of the *Kaḷavaḻi* with the Āḻvār of the same name strengthens this supposition. * Tirumangai-Āḻvār in one of his hymns on Tirunaraiyūr † makes the achievements of Kōccenganān and his

* It must, however, be noted here that several scholars of repute are opposed to the identification of the two Poygais, and Pandit E. V. Anantarama Aiyar who is among them proposes to postulate two Śenganāns as well (see his edn. of the *Kaḷavaḻi*-introdn. p. 9). The debate has not been altogether academic, as religion, always an explosive subject, seems somehow to have got mixed up in it. On the strength of data drawn from the *Yāpparungala-virutti*, a work of the tenth century A. D or the eleventh at the latest, Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar first proposed the identification of Poygai of Sangam fame with the Āḻvār (The *Śen-Tamiḻ* Vol. i p. 6; also his *Āḻvārkaḷ Kālanilai* 2nd edn. pp. 23ff). The author of the *Virutti* quotes a number of verses as those of Poygaiyār, and some of them are from the first *Tiruvandādi* of the Āḻvār (see the *Virutti* pp. 220 where the text seems to be defective, 350 and 459–60); he also counts the poet among the sages whose vision comprised eternity (350). Among the verses quoted in the whole work, however, there is not one from the *Kaḷavaḻi*. And Tirumangai's pāśuram is silent about Kaḻumalam and the *Kaḷavaḻi*. But considering that the religious hymns of Poygai-Āḻvār are all, like the *Kaḷavaḻi*, in the Veṇbā metre, the presumption arises (especially as there seems to be no essential difference in style between the two) that they are compositions of the same writer. One argument that has been urged against this view is worth serious consideration, and that is the argument that a bhakta like Poygai-Āḻvār would not have stooped to the base flattery of an earthly monarch; the Āḻvār himself declares this expressly in his hymns. A complete answer to this position is furnished by the fact that some of the verses quoted in the *Yāpparungala-virutti* and ascribed to the Āḻvār are on secular subjects and include the praise of kings. We may suppose the Āḻvār's statements about his exclusive devotion to Viṣṇu to have been made in the later stages of his life when he had found his true self. So that, unless we pit the late traditions of the *Guruparamparai* regarding his age against the categorical evidence of Guṇasāgara, the author of the *Yāpparungala-virutti*, it seems necessary to accept the correctness of Pandit Raghava Aiyangar's position. See, on the other side, K. S. Srinivasa Pillai–*Tamiḻ Varalāṟu* pp. 176–7, *Śentamiḻccelvi* Vol. ii, article on Poygaiyār by Pandit N. M. Venkatasami Nattar, and *Kaḷavaḻi*, ed. Pandit Anantarama Aiyar, introduction. The novel suggestion of Pandit Anantarama Aiyar that Śenganān, the Śaiva nāyanār, was different from Kōccenganān of the *Kaḷavaḻi* is based entirely on the silence of the *Periyapurāṇam* on the *Kaḷavaḻi*. The Pandit naively discovers another reason in that, according to him, Śēkkiḻār has marked off the nāyanār from the other person by calling the former Śenganān I!

† *Periya Tirumoḻi* VI, 6.

worship at Tirunaraiyūr the refrain of his song. Here is no room for doubting that the Āḻvār was thinking of the great Cōḻa king distinguished for heroism on the field of battle as the Śaiva devotee who was reputed to have constructed seventy beautiful shrines to Śiva, besides offering worship to Viṣṇu in Tirunaraiyūr. His pointed mention of the elephant corps of Śenganān's enemy, the cavalry of Śenganān himself and the part it played in his wars * is an important link which establishes a connection with the *Kaḻavaḻi*, which in like manner states repeatedly that the successes of the Cōḻa king against the Cēra elephants was primarily due to the infantry and cavalry in his army. Tirumangai also implies that Śenganān's sway extended far outside the Cōḻa country, † that he fought at Aḻunda, and Veṇṇi, and that he killed in fight a chieftain Viḻandai Vēḷ. In the hymns of Gñānasambandar and Sundaramūrti the great temples to Śiva at Ambari Vaigal, and Nannilam are definitely said to have been founded by Śenganān. The Anbil plates ‡ of Sundara Cōḻa state generally that Kōccenganān built temples to Gaurīśa all over the country, while the Tiruvālangāḍu plates, as we have seen, hint at the spider story. The Anbil plates give the name of Śenganān's son, Nalladikkōn. It is not till we get to the *Periya Purāṇam* that the king gets transformed out of recognition and figures as the son of Śubhadēva and Kamalavati, and the founder of Jambukēśvara. That Śēkkiḻār's account

* Verse 3 line 3 of the hymn looks almost a copy of the *Kaḻavaḻi*, of course allowing for the difference in metre: *Kavvai-mākaḻirundi veṇṇi-yēṟṟa-kaḻal-mannar maṇimuḍimēl kākamēṟa*; also verse 4, l. 3.

† *Ten - Tamiḻan Vaḍapulakkōn Śōḻan* (5); *Tennāḍan Kuḍakongan Śōḻan* (6); see vv. 4, 6, 9 of the hymn. Also Pandit Raghava Aiyangar *Āḻvārkaḷ Kālanilai* pp. 157ff. The Vēḷ of Viḻandai might have been a commander on the Cēra side.

‡ *Akhila-janapadā-klpta-gaurīśa-dhāmā* (v. 13), *EI.* xv p. 60.

includes the absurd story of the birth of Śengaṇān being delayed by artificial means in order to ensure its taking place at an auspicious moment, is clear proof that we have here a highly embellished account of things long since forgotten. The name Śengaṇān, his birth in the Cōḷa family and the foundation of numerous Śiva temples besides the Jambukēśvara are the only elements in Śēkkiḻār's narration which indicate the ultimate identity of the Nāyanar.

Chronology.

Before this straggling notice of the early Cōḷas is brought to a close, some attempt must be made to fix their age a little more precisely than has been done up to this point. One thing is clear, that these kings are anterior to the earliest time to which we are taken by the existing monuments of the historical period. Though the names of Uṟaiyūr and Kāvēripaṭṭnam still survive, nothing has been discovered yet in these places that furnishes even a trace of their former greatness. * We are left only with the evidence of literature and synchronisms with the history of neighbouring lands. When the suggestion was first made that Gajabāhu, the king of Ceylon, who was the contemporary of the Cēra Śenguṭṭuvan, was no other than Gajabāhu I of the *Mahāvamsa*, who ruled from A. D. 113 to 135, Dr. Hultzsch entered a caveat, saying: † "With due respect to Mr. Kumaraswami's sagacity, I am not prepared to accept this view, unless the identity of the two Gajabāhus is not only supported by the mere identity of name, but proved by internal reasons, and until the chronology of the earlier history of Ceylon has been subjected to a critical examination." Now, the chronology of

* *ARA.* 1909-10, pp. 16-17.

† *SII.* ii, p. 378.

Ceylonese history has been the subject of considerable discussion, and as a result, * the dates of the early kings of Ceylon are as well established as can be desired. There is only one Gajabāhu in the Ceylon list before the twelfth century, and he ruled from A. D. 173 to 195. † The only question, therefore, is whether the synchronism suggested by the *Śilappadikāram* between Śenguṭṭuvan and Gajabāhu is to be taken into account, or whether, in view of the romantic and the supernatural elements in that poem, this synchronism must be rejected as untrustworthy. If there were no other factors to be considered, our answer to such a question must remain inconclusive. But there are several important factors which render it difficult, not to say impossible, for anyone to reject the synchronism, and with it the scheme of chronology arising from it.

There is perfect concord between the Śangam anthologies, the notices of South India by classical works of the early centuries of the Christian era, like the *Periplus* and Ptolemy's geography, and the numerous finds of Roman coins of the early Roman Empire in several places in Southern India. This would lead any unbiassed student to the conclusion that the Tamil anthologies were contemporary with the classical works and the Roman coins. ‡

Attention has been drawn already to the occurrence, in the *Mahāvamsa* account of the early relations between Ceylon and the Tamil country, of names of

* See *EZ.* iii pp. 1-47.

† *ibid* p. 9, No. 43.

‡ *Periplus* and Ptolemy have been noticed above p. 28. Sewell's discussion of the Roman finds in the South in the *JRAS*. (1904) is still the most comprehensive. Recent studies of the nature and direction of the foreign trade of the Roman Empire tend, as will be seen later, to confirm the soundness of our position.

Tamil chieftains which, with variations natural in the circumstances, are repeated in the poems of the *Puṟanāṉūṟu*, *Pattuppāṭṭu* and so on. The story of Eḷāra in the *Mahāvamsa* is doubtless the Ceylonese version of the Tamil Cōḷa story of the king who condemned his son to death for calf-slaughter. The *Mahāvamsa* places Eḷāra in the second half of the second century B. C. and the other Tamil princes mentioned in the latter half of the first. If we remember that the early chapters of the *Mahāvamsa* were composed in the fifth century A. D. from earlier chronicles, * we shall see that the somewhat confused account of the Tamil invasions of the island in this early part of its history are not bottomless fabrications, but preserve for us the faded memory of real events, and the dates assigned to these events cease to be altogether valueless for Tamil chronology. †

Again, the dates of the three Dēvāram hymnists and of Tirumangai Āḻvar have been fixed on proper grounds in the seventh century and after; Appar, the oldest of them all, must have lived in the early part of that century. The most superficial student of Tamil literature can hardly fail to notice striking differences in vocabulary, diction, and metre between the compositions of these holy men and the entire body of Śangam literature, which surely indicate a growth through some centuries. The fact that Appar knows of Śenganāṉ as a spider transformed into a Cōḷa king, by showing that Śenganāṉ had already become a legendary figure, points in the same direction; and Śenganāṉ was apparently among the latest of the early Cōḷas of whom we have spoken in this chapter.

* Geiger. Eng. Tr. pp. x-xv.

† See *Ante* pp. 33ff. Notice also the names Paṇaya māraka and Piḷaya-māraka in the Ceylon list recalling Paḻaiyan Māṟan of Tamil literature.

With these considerations before us, it is no longer true that one has to depend on the mere identity of the name to accept the Gajabāhu synchronism. Once that is accepted, it follows that, as Śeṅguṭṭuvan and his contemporaries had some generations of predecessors and successors, the best working hypothesis is to assign the Śangam Age to the first three or four centuries of the Christian era.

Maṇimēkalai and Diṅnāga.

Recent discussions centering round the twenty-ninth canto of the *Maṇimēkalai* and its relation to Diṅnāga's *Nyāyapraveśa* have turned out to be less conclusive than they appeared at first. The resemblance between the *Nyāyapraveśa* and this canto of the *Maṇimēkalai* is, doubtless, "so complete that the *Nyāyapraveśa* must be supposed to be either inserted in or extracted out of the *Maṇimēkalai*." * We may go further and assert with some confidence that the *Nyāyapraveśa* has been inserted in the *Maṇimēkalai*. † But one can hardly fail to notice

* *Nyāyapraveśa* ed. A. B. Dhruva p. xv.

† The grounds for this view may be briefly indicated here. The publication of the Sanskrit text of the *Nyāyapraveśa* makes the *Maṇimēkalai* account much more intelligible than it was when Dr. S. K. Aiyangar wrote his '*Maṇimēkhalai in its Historical Setting.*' In reproducing almost word for word the treatment of fallacies in the *Nyāyapraveśa*, the *Maṇimēkalai* (xxix ll. 111-468) differs from it in some remarkable ways. It compresses the N. in parts and expands it sometimes as in the treatment of Ubhayavyāvṛtti in Vaidharmya Dṛṣṭāntābhāsa, (two lines and a half of the Sanskrit text being rendered into ll. 424-49). Again some refinements are introduced by the Tamil author, which, though not found in the *Nyāyapraveśa*, are clearly suggested by it. The instance cited above is a good example of this also: and in discussing the example ākāśavat as an instance of avidyamāna-ubhayāsiddha-sādharmya-dṛṣṭāntābhāsa, the N. explains the example only as referring to the asattva-vādi; but the M. (ll 383-4) applies it to the sattva-vādi as well. Again there are differences in terminology which can only be noted, without criticism, as some at least of them may be merely textual errors in the Tamil work: (a) In the enumeration of pakṣābhāsas the M. has aprasiddha-sambandha, the ninth category, in the place of prasiddhasambandha of the N.; (b) for anyatarasiddha and sandighdā-siddha of the N. among hetvābhāsas, the M. substitutes anyathāsiddha and siddhāsiddha; (c) for

that a different and a simpler exposition of logical principles has already been given earlier in the canto, * and that the exposition of fallacies in accordance with the *Nyāyapraveśa* has come in as a clumsy afterthought, introduced by the impossible statement † that *upanaya* and *nigamana* may be subsumed under *dṛṣṭānta*. This statement gives, in our view, the clue to the real history of the chapter. In its original form it contained only the exposition which takes the first place in the chapter, was pre-Diṅnāga in its content, and stood for a syllogism of five members. Some pious student of Diṅnāga, in his anxiety to glorify his master, by giving a rendering of the *Nyāyapraveśa* to the Tamil world, hit on the idea of putting it into the standard romance of Tamil Buddhism, and when he was up against the five-member syllogism in the original work, he solved the difficulty in a crude manner and annexed to the chapter a discussion of fallacies based on the three - member syllogism. This conclusion gains in force from a study of the other systems of philosophy, like the Sāṅkhya, which are reflected in the *Maṇimēkalai* in their earlier phases. ‡

viruddhāvyabhicāri of the N. we have viruddha - vyabhicāri in M, (d) in naming dṛṣṭāntābhāsas where the N. has sādhanadharma-asiddha etc., the M. gives sādhana-dharma-vikala etc. It may be noted that Dharmakīrti too uses 'vikala' for 'asiddha'. See *JIH.* x pt. *ii*, for a review of the Nyāyapravēśa (ed. Dhruva) by S.S.S.

* ll. 45-108.

† ll. 109-110. On this Mr. Dhruva remarks: "The author of the *Maṇimēkalai* does not perceive that the last two *avayavas* can never be included in the *dṛṣṭānta* as he ignorantly imagines." (p. xv).

‡ Mr. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, has studied the Sāṅkhya in the *Maṇimēkalai* and proved its early character. Vide *JIH.* Vol. viii (1929) pt. *iii*. See also ix pt. *iii* for his paper on *Buddhist Logic in the Maṇimēkalai*.

CHAPTER IV

GOVERNMENT AND SOCIAL LIFE IN THE ŚANGAM AGE.

In the present state of our knowledge, it is not possible for us to view the political events of the Śangam age as a connected whole and study them in their sequence. They pass before us in kaleidoscopic confusion, more or less the same accidental results of the ambitions and fears, the hopes and blunders of kings and chieftains that they must have appeared to their contemporaries. We totally miss the mutual connection and the perspective in which it is the task of history to set the events of the past. What we lack in this direction seems, however, to be more than made good in another. There is no age without its peculiar background of social and cultural ideas and ideals, a kind of communal psychology, which possesses men's minds and to a large extent supports their institutions and determines their actions. Of this psychological background, the literature of the Śangam gives us an unusually complete and true picture.

A composite culture

The most striking feature of the culture of the age is its composite quality It is the unmistakable result of the blend of two originally distinct cultures, best described as Tamilian * and Aryan. There is no task more fascinating, and none less easy, in the study of the pre-history of Southern India than that of disentangling

* The old term Dravidian, now fallen into much contempt with some writers, does not mean anything essentially different. Inferences from language or culture to race are of course not warranted.

the primitive elements of these disparate cultures, the stages by which they mingled and the consequences of their mixture. * Our task is the simpler one of studying the resultant culture as it is reflected in the extant literature of the Śangam. In the absence of a settled internal chronology, and of reliable data bearing on the growth of the Tamil language in this period, the relative dates of individual poems can hardly be fixed with any confidence. Attempts to base inferences on a fifth century date for Karikāla, or on subjective tests like the assumption that kings began to loom large only after Karikāla's time, † or the assumption that minor chieftains gained power after the eclipse of the three dynasties in the Kaḷabhra interregnum, ‡ cannot be received with too much suspicion. Our course must

Method.

be to treat the entire corpus of the Śangam works, (including also the *Śilappadikāram* and the *Maṇimēkalai* in this description but making more cautious use of them than of the other poems), as depicting the culture of a definite epoch extending for a period of three centuries; and thus to gain some knowledge of the background against which must be set the wars and disputes, the friendships and jealousies that have been sketched in the last chapter.

* Much recent writing on this subject makes one reflect on the justice of the remark made in another context by Wingfield-Stratford: "This is a field that has hitherto been largely left to free lances, and it is perhaps a pity that a closer liaison has not been maintained between orthodox historians, and imaginative pioneers, the boldness of whose conclusions is apt to take one's breath away, and demands from the reader exercise of the critical faculty not always apparent in the author. The argument from words, of which the free lance is so glibly prolific, is one that ought to be used with the utmost caution, considering how easy it is, with a little ingenuity, to make out a philological case for the wildest absurdity." (*The History of British Civilisation*, i p. 14).

† P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar *Tamils* p. 485; surely there were heroes before Agamemnon.

‡ *ibid.* p. 537.

GOVERNMENT AND SOCIAL LIFE

Blend of cultures.

To trace fully the elements of pre-Aryan Tamil culture that survived into historical times would involve an extensive application of comparative methods to the literature of the Śangam age, such as cannot be undertaken here. These survivals are seen sometimes to exist by the side of the newer practices; just as the electric train and the country cart are both seen in use today, so in the *Maṇimēkalai* we see the prevalence side by side of no fewer than five modes of disposing of the dead which included cremation, exposure, and burial with and without urns. * Other instances show evidence of a conscious effort to blend the new with the old, and dovetail into one another modes originally distinct and self-contained. It is well-known that the earliest Dharmasūtras † mention eight forms of marriage as part of the Aryan code; these eight forms are mentioned in the Sūtras of the *Tolkāppiyam* ‡ and the *Iṟaiyaṉār Kaḷaviyal*, and much ingenuity is spent in accommodating them to Tamil forms. The Tamils had a relatively simple conception of marriage; they recognised the natural coming together of man and woman (*kāmak-kūṭṭam*), and the slight differences in the manifestation of love, perhaps ultimately traceable to differences in the physical conditions of the different parts of the country. These they recognised as the five *tiṇais*. They had also names for unilateral love, *kaikkiḷai*, and abnormal love—*perundiṇai*. Into this scheme the eight Aryan forms are squeezed with results not altogether happy. § The five *tiṇais* are treated as varieties of Gāndharva, and the Āsura, Rākṣasa and Paiśāca forms are grouped

* vi. ll. 66-7.

† E. g. Gautama iv. 6 ff. (Mysore ed. n.)

‡ *Maṟaiyōr-tē-ettu-manṟal eṭṭanuḷ*, Su. 92 in Poruḷ; *Iṟaiyaṉār*, Su. 1.

§ *Tolkāppiyam* Poruḷ. 104-6.

under *kaikkiḷai*, — courses not very satisfactory in themselves. But the attempt to impound the remaining Aryan forms, Brāhma, Prājāpatya, Ārṣa and Daiva under *perundiṇai* is even less happy, and shows that the synthesis was not easy or natural. But the most tangible result of the meeting of the Tamil and the Aryan is the tremendous richness and fecundity that was imparted to the Tamil idiom thereby, and the rise of a literature which combined a good deal of classic grace with vernacular energy and strength. This is the literature of the Śangam Age.

Rural Life.

In a few broad sweeps of his pen, the poet of the *Paṭṭinappālai* * conveys to us the general aspect of rural life in the ancient Cōḷa country studded with numberless small villages. The unfailing Kāvēri spread its fertilising waters on the wide fields yielding golden harvests. The white water lilies growing in wet fields withered under wreaths of smoke issuing from hot ovens on which was boiling the sweet juice of the dark cane. The buffalo crammed its maw with well-grown ears of corn, while its young ones slept in the shadow of the tall barns. Cocoanut palms and plantains with bunches of fruit, the areca-palm and the fragrant turmeric, the mango in its variety and the palmyra with clusters of palm-fruit, the broad based *śembu* (Colocasia antiquorum), and the tender ginger grew in abundance around each village. Bright-faced maidens, wearing tasteful jewels and innocent looks, keeping watch over the paddy drying in the open, flung their curved ear-ornaments of gold at the fowl that came to eat the grain. Little children, with anklets on their feet, played about on the thresholds of houses, with their

* ll. 1—28.

toy-carts with three wheels and no horses, and shouted out to people to get out of their way. Such were the many villages in which lived the rich families of the extensive Cōḷa country. The wonderful fertility of the soil is a favourite theme with the poets, and making all allowances for the license of poets, especially of court-poets, one can hardly deny the reality of the substance behind such utterances as that of Kōvūr-Kiḻār: *

Glory be thine, O giver, whose brow knows no sweat
From labour done, but only that from eager feasting!
[—Like drops of rain
That fall in the full lake, drips down the fat
From the meats they serve up; roasted flesh is
Carved and eaten; from their emptied porringers they
Quaff large draughts of milk!—
Thy fields of rice,—wide are their borders, where
The sweet cane flowers! Thy pasture lands,—with stalls
For herds,—there cattle graze!
Archers with fortified camps guard the flocks, and from
[tree-tops
On the wooded shore count the ships that cover thy sea!—
In the bay they load the abounding salt with which thy
[craggy mountains teem!

Āvūr Mūlam-kiḻār affirms † that the small space in which an elephant can lie down produced enough to feed seven; another poet ‡ states that a *vēli* of land produced a round thousand *kalams* of paddy.

Monarchy.

The government of the land was in form a hereditary monarchy. Disputed successions and civil wars were, as we have seen, not uncommon; and if the accounts we possess of the ravages that followed a conquest contain any truth,

* *Puṟam* 368, *IA.* xxix pp. 282-3.
† *Puṟam* 40, ll. 10-11.
‡ *Porunar-āṟṟuppaḍai*, ll. 245-6.

war was not, as so often made out, the pleasant diversion of a few professionals which left the normal course of life in the country untouched. The Sanskritic conception of the state (*rājya*) as an organism with seven limbs (*angas*) was known and accepted, and the *Kuṟal*, * introducing a slight but significant change, makes the remaining six

The Polity

elements subject to the king. In other respects as well, the concepts of polity gain a certain clarity and precision in the hands of Tiruvaḷḷuvar, unknown to their sources. The ten verses † in which he deals with the essentials of *nāḍu* (*rāṣṭra*) are far more clear-cut in their analysis of the physical basis of the life of the state than the corresponding statements in the Arthaśāstras known to us, and the concluding declaration ‡:

> "Though blest in every other way, it avails nothing to a *nāḍu* if there be no peace between the people and the king"

shows a firm grasp on the part of the author of the fundamentally moral foundations of political independence. Again, the same combination of shrewd practical wisdom and high political principle characterises his discussion of the place of treasure in state life, § and in this section we have the remarkable statement that the king's treasury is replenished from three sources ¶ —land-tax, customs and tolls, conquest. And in striking contrast to Kauṭilya's maxims on *praṇaya* ('benevolences'), is the sound rule of Tiruvaḷḷuvar: ||

* No. 381

† Nos. 731-40

‡ No. 740.

§ Nos. 751-60.

¶ No. 756 Parimēlaḻagar has taken *uṛuporuḷ* to mean escheat and treasure-trove ; but see *Divākaram*, sec. 9.

|| No. 552

"A sceptred king imploring a gift is like a robber with lance in hand crying 'give'."

It may be noted in passing that a verse in *Ahanāṉūṟu* * states that the Cōḻas had a strongly guarded treasury at Kumbakōṇam.

Nature of Monarchy.

The king was in all essential respects an autocrat, whose autocracy was tempered by the maxims of the wise and the occasional intercession of the minister. The sphere of the state's activity was, however, very limited, and in a society where respect for ancestral custom was very deep-rooted, even the most perverse of autocrats could not have done much harm; and it must be owned that the general impression left on the mind by the literature of the age is one of contentment on the part of the people who were proud of their kings and loyal to them. The great author of the *Kuṟaḷ*, much of whose work is devoted to a systematic treatment of the affairs of state, may be accepted as a safe guide to the prevailing theory of the time; and theory is never so completely divorced from practice that we can make no inferences from the one regarding the other. No better method can be availed of to understand the nature of Tamil monarchy in this period than to discuss some of the salient statements of Tiruvaḷḷuvar on the subject. He warns kings, for instance, against the corrupting influence of unlimited power, saying: †

The king with none to censure him, bereft of safe-[guards all
Though none his ruin work, shall surely ruined fall.

The possibility of oppression and its consequence to the tyrant form the subject of some verses which seem

* No. 60, ll. 13-5—*Koṟṟac-cōḻar kuḍandai vaitta nāḍu taru nidiyinuñ-jeṟiya-varun-gaḍi.*

† No 448, Pope's translation.

to imply that even in the face of intolerable misrule there were no formal remedies open to the people : *

His people's tears of sorrow past endurance, are not they
Sharp instruments, to wear the monarch's wealth away ?

... ...

'Ah ! cruel is our king' where subjects sadly say,
His age shall dwindle, swift his joy of life decay.

The importance attached to espionage would likewise imply that the king had little direct means of ascertaining popular opinion : †

These two : the code renowned, and spies,
In these let the king confide as eyes.

And the duty is cast on the minister of even braving the anger of a worthless king and speaking out to him when the occasion demanded it : ‡

"Though, himself unwise, the king might cast his wise words away, it is the duty of the minister to speak the very truth."

Lastly, the important place of learned men in the polity of the land and the potency of their influence in the country and on the court is neatly brought out in the *Kural* : §

Although you hate incur of those whose ploughs are bows,
Make not the men whose ploughs are words your foes !

Nothing can furnish more striking evidence of the great gulf that separated royalty from common humanity than the awe with which the power of the king for good and for ill was contemplated. In theory, he was not merely, nor even primarily, the guardian of the people from physical danger,

* Nos. 555, 564.

† No. 581.

‡ No. 638.

§ No. 872.

internal and external, but he was the custodian of the Universal Order. On his right rule rested the penance of the sage, the purity of the wife, * nay the very course of the seasons. The *Kuṟaḷ* affirms: †

> The learning and virtue of the sages spring from the [sceptre of the King;

again,

> Where King, who righteous laws regards, the sceptre [wields,
> There fall the showers, there rich abundance crowns the [fields.
> Not lance gives kings the victory,
> But sceptre swayed with equity.

The result of misrule then is not rebellion, but famine. Some of these ideas, though not in so clear-cut a form, are also the common stock of Sanskrit treatises on polity. These statements, doubtless, are by no means to be understood literally; they are only meant to emphasise the importance and the glory of a just rule: and are part of the armoury of maxims and exhortations intended for the guidance of kings and for the good of their subjects. But from this mystic conception of kingship, it is a far cry to the control of the royal power by popular representation and the power of the purse. The early Sanskritic political thinkers, like some Roman Catholic writers of the sixteenth century, justified tyrannicide under conditions. Tamil literature does not seem ever to sanction resistance to the king's will.

The *kuḻus* and *āyams*.

Mention is made in the *Śilappadikāram* and the *Maṇimēkalai* of groups called *aimperunguḻu* and *eṇpērāyam*. Another group of five categories of persons is sometimes added to these to make up the 'eighteen *kiḻaippālōr*'

* *Maṇi.* xxii l. 208.

† Nos. 543; 545—6. cf. also *Maṇi*—vii ll. 8 ff.

as the early lexicon *Divākaram* calls them, or the 'eighteen *śuṟṟam*' as they are more commonly known. There are noticeable divergences among the earliest authorities on the content of *aimperunguḻu* and *eṇpērāyam*: * this, taken along with the contexts in which these phrases occur outside the lexicons, is enough to convince a student of Tamil Literature that these various groups are part of the royal paraphernalia which accompanied kings on ceremonial occasions. The *Kuṟaḷ* knows nothing of them. Kanakasabhai, † who recognised that the '*eṇpērāyam*' were the eight groups of attendants who contributed to the 'pomp and dignity' with which the king was surrounded, somehow convinced himself that the '*aimperunguḻu*' was of another order, and has made a number of statements not one of which is warranted by his sources. "The council of representatives safeguarded the rights and privileges of the people; the priests directed all religious ceremonies; the physicians attended to all matters affecting the health of the king and his subjects; the astrologers fixed auspicious times for public ceremonies and predicted important events; the ministers attended to the collection and expenditure of the revenue and the administration of justice. Separate places were assigned in the capital town, for each of these assemblies, for their meetings and transaction of business. ...The power of government was entirely vested in the king and in the 'Five Great Assemblies.' It is most remarkable that this system of government was followed in the three kingdoms of the Pāṇḍya, Cōḷa and Cēra, although they were independent of each other. There is reason to believe therefore that they followed this system of government which obtained in the country

* See *PK.* pp. 32-3.

† *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago.* pp. 109-10.

from which the founders of the 'three kingdoms' had originally migrated, namely, the Magadha Empire." Of this string of astonishing assertions, we can only observe that everything in them except the names of the groups is pure imagination, and the reader will search the texts in vain for support for these statements. What is here called 'the council of representatives' is described by the vague term '*māśanam*' which at best may mean 'elders'. *

Assembly.

For the germ of a popular assembly, not organised on any scientific basis of representation, but still virtually representing such public opinion as there was, we must turn really to the institution called '*manṟam*' (hall) and '*podiyil*' (common place) in this early literature. The two sections on '*avai*' (*sabhā*) in the *Kuṟaḷ* are quite general, and some verses in them may raise a doubt whether anything more than meetings for purposes of learned disputation is contemplated by them; but the term '*avai*' is also applied in other works to the '*manṟam*' and in the *Kuṟal* itself, the *avai* is clearly part of the mechanism of politics. We may therefore hold with Parimēlaḷagar that these sections have

* As may be expected, scholars who are not in a position to control Kanakasabhai's statements by going to his sources have been much intrigued by them. In his thoughtful work on *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, for instance, R. C. Majumdar takes a big leap forward from the point to which Kanakasabhai had taken him, and affirms: "It appears to me that the so called Five Assemblies were really the five committees of a Great Assembly. The writer has traced them to the Magadha Empire, but they seem to me rather the modifications of the Vedic Samiti which left its reminiscence in every part of India." And these hoary assemblies also by a miracle anticipated the most modern developments in political organisation! For Majumdar continues: "In any case the representative character of these bodies, and the effective control which they exercised over the administration is clearly established. It is interesting to note also that the 'ministers' formed one of the assemblies. The assemblies, taken together, may justly be compared with the Privy Council referred to above, the assembly of the ministers corresponding with the Cabinet composed of a selected few." (Second Edition pp. 130-1). Aho niraṅkuśatvam utprekṣāyāḥ!

reference to the king's *sabhā*. Frequent as are the allusions to the '*sabhā*' or '*manṟam*' in the works of the period, few specific details of its nature and working are forthcoming. Its place in the administration of justice, especially in the capital city of the king, is well attested. The sons of Malaiyamān were tried and sentenced, and later released by the intercession of Kōvūr-Kiḻār, in the *manṟam* of Uṟaiyūr; * and Pottiyār, after the death of his friend Kōpperuñjōḻan, could not bear the sight of the same *manṟam* bereft of him. The *Porunar-āṟṟuppaḍai* † makes a pithy statement about adults setting aside their feuds while they entered the *sabhā*, which might mean either that they got their disputes adjudicated or laid their private quarrels aside for the discharge of common duties. We can infer naturally that the *sabhā* or *manṟam* was also availed of by the king for purposes of general consultation; Tiruvaḷḷuvar lays stress on the importance of ready speech in the assembly by saying that the learning of a man who is afraid to speak out in the assembly is like a bright sword in the hands of a eunuch on the field of battle. ‡

Urban.

Even less specialised and more entangled in the social and religious complex of village life was the *manṟam* of the rural areas. Each village had its common place of meeting, generally under the shade of a big tree where men, women and children met for all the common activities of the

Rural.

* *Puṟam* 46.

† ll. 187-8 —*mudiyōr-avai-puku-poḻudiṟ-ṟam pakai muraṇ śelavum.* Here '*mudiyōr*' is to be taken in contrast with the '*iḷaiyōr*' immediately preceding in the sentence *iḷaiyōr vaṇḍal-ayaṟavum.* Naccinārkkiniyar indeed does not do so, and understands '*mudiyōr*' to mean 'old men', and finds occasion to introduce the legend about Karikāla putting on a wig of grey hair in order to appear older than the old men who came to lay their differences before him.

‡ No 727.

village; there were held the folk dances in which the women took part and which were suspended in the midst of a war or siege. * Lacking evidence on the place occupied by the *manṟam* on the political side of rural life, we may still trace to these primitive folk-gatherings, at least in part, the beginnings of the highly developed system of village-government which came into existence and functioned so admirably in later Cōḷa times. †

Taxation.

The chief sources of royal revenue appear to have been land and trade. The *mā* and the *vēli* as measures of land were already known; ‡ but we have no means of determining precisely the king's share of the produce of agriculture. The peasant was the backbone of the country's prosperity and was held in great esteem. The author of the *Kuṟaḷ* affirms that his was the only life worth the name, the life of all the rest being one of servitude and sycophancy. § The importance of foreign trade in the period, and the vivid account of the activity of customs officials given in the *Paṭṭinappālai* ¶ must go a long way to convince us of the high place occupied by customs duties as a source of revenue.

"In the broad street near the sea beach where are seen (to grow) white long-petalled clusters of *tāḻai* (Pandanus), officials of established renown guarding the property of the good king, collect customs from day to day, untiring like the horses yoked to the chariot of the hot-rayed sun; yet, without abating, in the manner of showers in the rainy (season) when the water absorbed by the clouds is poured on the hill, and the water

* *Puṟam* 373.

† See *Studies* pp. 74ff.

‡ *Porunar.* ll. 180, 246.

§ No. 1033.

¶ ll. 118-137.

poured on the hill is despatched to the sea, immeasurable quantities of various articles are being brought ashore from the sea and sent to the sea from land; in heavy bales, precious articles come crowding in endlessly into the strongly guarded enclosure, and are sent to the stack after being stamped with the (seal of the) mighty and fierce tiger."

Prisons.

The prison formed part of the system of administration. * The Cēra Kaṇaikkāl-Irumpoṟai was detained by Śeṅgaṇāṉ in a prison, which, from its name Kuḍavāyiṟ-kōṭṭam, is sometimes taken to have been in Kumbakōṇam or a smaller place, also near it, now called Koḍavāśal. †

Army.

An army of well-equipped professional soldiers was regularly maintained and no doubt found frequent employment in those bellicose times. The captains of the army were distinguished by the title of *ēnādi* conferred on them in a ceremony of formal investiture at which the king presented his chosen commander with a ring and other insignia of high military rank. ‡ The *Puṟanāṉūṟu* contains two poems § on such military leaders who served the Cōḷa monarchs; of these, one gives a very clear notion of the ideals cherished by a good soldier in those days:

"You, when you see a fight, you rush to the front, divide your enemy's forces, stand before them, and get your body scarred by the deep cuts of their swords; thus are you (your fame is) pleasant to the ear, not so your body to the eye. As for them (your enemies), when they see you, they turn their backs, and with bodies whole and unscarred, they are pleasant to the eye,

* *Maṇi* xix ll. 42-3.

† See *Kaḷavaḻi*-ed. Anantarama Aiyar p. 10. (Introdn.)

‡ See Naccinārkkiniyar on *mārāyam-peṟṟa-neḍumoḻiyānum* (*Tol. Poruḷ. Puṟattiṇai*, Su. 8.)

§ Nos. 167, 394.

not so (their infamy) to the ear. Hence, you are pleasant in one way, they in another; what is there else in which they do not equal you? Yet, what wonder is it, tell us, noble one! that this world cherishes you, O! Kiḷḷi, of the fleet steed and of the victorious anklet-adorned foot."

Hero stones.

Even the common soldier when he fell fighting was cherished by his compatriots. The spot was usually marked by a stone bearing on it the name and the fame of the fallen hero. Such hero stones also sometimes became objects of worship.* This custom survived till at least the tenth century in the Tamil and Kanarese country where several inscribed hero stones bearing dates in the ninth and tenth centuries and answering to the description given of them in Śangam literature have been brought to light. The setting up of memorial stones for this and other purposes was so common that, at an early date, literary convention came to standardise the procedure adopted on such occasions. †

War.

Kings often took the field in person and delighted to rejoice with the common soldiers in their successes; on the other hand, if a king was killed or even seriously wounded in the midst of the fight, his army gave up the struggle and accepted defeat. ‡ Yet only a warrior's death was held worthy of kings; one Cēra monarch, as we have seen, having been wounded in his back, decided to starve himself to death; another, less heroic, mourned his captivity in pitiful terms. It was a common practice to lay on a bed of *kuśa* grass the corpses of kings who died otherwise than in a fight, and cleave them with a sword before burial or cremation in order to ensure

* *Kuṟaḷ* 771; *Aham* 131; *Puṟam* 306, l. 4.

† *Tol Poruḷ* Su. 63 (end.)

‡ *Puṟam* 62, l. 13.

for them a place in the Valhalla of the Tamils. * The vanity of the victor often inflicted deep personal humiliations on his vanquished foe, the memories of which rankled and brought on further strife. The crowns of defeated kings furnished the gold for the anklets of the victor. † The horse, the elephant and war chariot, the sword, lance and bow, and the war-drum are among the paraphernalia of war most frequently described in the literature of the age. Elephants are often said to have carried flags in the battle-field, no doubt, the distinctive standards of each side which had, besides, other less prominent emblems like flowers and garlands of a particular variety. The *Kaḷavaḷi* is one of the most detailed descriptions we possess of the battle-field in the Tamil country, and the poem supplies in a casual way much interesting information on military affairs. ‡ The soldiers, infantry and cavalry alike, wore leather sandals for the protection of their feet. § The nobles and princes rode on elephants, and the commanders drove in pennoned chariots. Poygaiyār mentions that women who had lost their husbands bewailed their loss on the field of Kaḷumalam ; ¶ unless this is mere rhetoric, we may suppose that women, at least of the higher orders, sometimes accompanied their husbands to the field.

Bards.

Besides being the head of the government and leader in war, the king also held the first rank in social life. He patronised poetry and the arts, and kept an open house. War

* *Maṇi.* xxiii ll. 13 ff and n.

† *Puṟam* 40. Modern warfare is no stranger to such unchivalrous practices. Witness enemy guns cast into memorial shields.

‡ Kanakasabhai has edited and translated the poem, *IA.* xviii. p. 253.

§ *Kaḷavaḷi* 9.

¶ Verse 29.

and women were, in fact, the universal preoccupations of the leisured classes, besides wine and song. The king and his *ēnādis* with their retinues must have formed a gay boisterous crew at the top of society with a huge capacity for enjoying the simple pleasures of life such as eating and drinking. No occasion was lost for holding a feast and the poets are most eloquent in their praise of the sumptuous fare to which they were so often asked. One poet declares to his patron: *

Feasts.

"I came to see you that we may eat together the unctuous chops of meat, cooled after boiling and soft like the carded cotton of the spinning woman, alternating with large pots of toddy."

Another records in grateful detail his exhilarating reception at the hands of the great Cōḷa king Karikāla: †

"In his palace, beautiful women decked in fine jewels and sweet smiles, often poured out and filled the ever-ready goblet of gold with intoxicating liquor, unstinting like the rain ; thus drinking my fill, and chasing out my fatigue and my great distress, I experienced a new elation. * * * In good time, he plied me with the soft boiled legs of sheep fed on sweet grass, and hot meat, cooked at the points of iron spikes, in large chops which were cooled by being turned in the mouth from one side to another ; when I said I would have no more of these, he kept me on, and gave me to eat sweets made in varied shapes and of excellent taste. In this wise, entertained by the music of the sweet drum and the well tuned lute of the bright faced *viṟaliyar*, I spent many pleasant days. On occasions, he entreated me to eat food prepared from rice ; then I ate fine cooked rice which, with unbroken edges and erect like fingers, resembled the buds of the *mullai* (flower), together with curries sweetened with milk, in such quantity that they filled me up to the neck. So I stayed happily with him, and by eating flesh day and night, the edges of my teeth became blunt like the

* *Puṟam* 125.

† *Porunar-āṟṟuppaḍai* ll. 84-9 ; 102-21 ; see also *Puṟam* 34 translated by Pope *IA.* xxix p. 251.

ploughshare (after) ploughing dry land. Getting no time to rest, I began to dislike food ; and one day I said : 'O! prosperous (king)! expert in collecting tribute from your angry foes, let me go hence, back to my old city."

Betel.

The habit of eating betel leaves after food was well-known. Women are said to have given up eating betel leaves and bathing in cold water when their husbands fell in battle. * Kōvalan's wife Kaṇṇaki gave him, after his last meal, betel leaves and areca-nuts to eat, before he went out on his fatal mission for the sale of the anklet in Madura. †

Literature.

Easily the most cultured among the amusements open to the upper classes in those days were poetry, song and dance. The poets were men and women drawn from all classes; they composed verses to suit the immediate occasion and were often rewarded very well for their literary exertions. How much we owe to these occasional songs, gathered subsequently and arranged in 'the eight anthologies', must be clear from the numerous examples quoted already. The profits of poetry in this age were believed, at any rate by people of later times, to be absurdly high; and the author of the *Kalingattup-paraṇi* tells us that Kaḍiyalūr Rudrangaṇṇanār got for his *Paṭṭinappālai* over a million and a half gold pieces from Karikāla. ‡ If legend says true, only a small part of early Tamil poetry has come down to us; but what we possess of this literature bears evidence of its great qualities. The poems, specially the shorter ones, are full of colour and true to life. They abound in fine

* *Puṟam* 62 l. 14.

† *Śil* xvi l. 55.

‡ v. 185-The figure given is 1600,000; '*Pattoḍāṟunūṟāyiram*,'

phrases giving compact and eloquent expression to the physical and spiritual experiences of the poet. They are generally free from the monotony and the artificiality that mar much of later Tamil poetry. And they do not lack width of range. The short poem, the long ode, the dramatic epic and the religious lyric were all known; and in the *Kuṟal* of Tiruvaḷḷuvar we have a work that transcends the limitations of time and place.

Minstrels.

Besides these poets, some of whom were resident companions of kings and chiefs, while others, the humbler ones, moved from one court to another in search of patronage, there were also roving bands of musicians followed by women who danced to the accompaniment of music. They were the *pāṇar* and *viṟaliyar* who moved about the country in companies carrying with them all sorts of quaint musical instruments. They seem to have been the representatives of primitive tribal groups * who preserved the folk-songs and dances of an earlier age. Their numbers and their poverty form a frequent theme of the poetry of the age, and, from all accounts, they seem to have lived from hand to mouth and seldom known where their next meal was to be had. Here is a very humorous account † of their experiences after meeting a generous patron:

"The Cōḷa king showered great quantities of wealth in (the form of) fine and costly jewels not suited to us; on seeing this, some among the large group of my kinsfolk, used (only) to abject poverty, put on their ears ornaments meant for the fingers; others wore on their fingers things meant for the ear; others put on their necks jewels meant for the waist; yet others adorned their waists with ornaments properly worn on the neck; in this wise, as on the day when the mighty *rākṣasa* carried off Sītā, the wife of Rāma of the swift chariot, the great

* *Puṟam* 335.

† *Puṟam* 378, ll. 10-22.

group of red-faced monkeys shone in the fine jewels (of Sītā) that they discovered on the ground, we were the cause of endless laughter."

Of the class of poems called *āṟṟuppaḍai*, in which a poet narrates his experiences of a patron and invites others to bring themselves to his notice, some are addressed to the *pāṇar* and one of these poems, a relatively short piece, may be reproduced here. *

"Minstrel, with little lute of sweetest strain !

Suppliant with words of ancient wisdom full !

Importunate thou askest me to rest and listen to the pleasant sounds of thy tambourine.

But hear what I shall say !

The modest home of Paṇṇan, whose hands are full of gifts, is near the wide city.

There food inexhaustible is found like the waters of the cool tank under January's moon, and the humming bees explore the sweets of the fragrant water-lily.

There he meditates the praise and glory of Kiḷḷivaḷavan, king of the good land that yields in abundance rice and sweet water, and that knows the fire that cooks, but not the fire that consumes.

If thither,—together with thy songstress, whose hair diffuses fragrance of the 'trumpet-flower,' the bright-browed, sweetly smiling—you softly advance, you shall prosper well.

His gifts are not mere chance, like gold found by the woodman in the forest.

Hesitate not.

Long may he flourish !"

Music and dancing.

That the arts of music and dancing were highly developed becomes clear from the celebrated third canto, the *Araṅgēṟṟu-kādai* of the *Śilappadikāram* which gives a full account of the technique of the theatre

* *Puṟam* 70; *IA.* xxix p. 281.

and the dance, and of the music and musical instruments accompanying the dance. If we may trust the earliest glossator to whom we have access on this highly abstruse section of the *Śilappadikāram*, the dancing and music, of which hetaerae like Mādhavi were the exponents in high society, comprised at least two strains which had come together to form a complex scheme. These were the *dēśi* and *mārga*, the former doubtless as its name implies the strain indigenous to the country, and the latter an exotic Aryan mode. We may also infer the existence of an extensive literature on these arts most of which has been lost to us. Eleven scenes * from Aryan mythology seem to have been selected for standardised presentation and formed the classics of the arts. The *Maṇimēkalai* †, like Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, indicates that the *nāḍaka magaḷir*, the hetaerae, underwent a regular course of instruction extending over a number of years and comprising royal dances, popular dances, singing, lute-playing, flute-playing, cookery, perfumery, painting, flowerwork and so on. Several varieties of the *vīṇai* and the *yāḻ* are mentioned; it is not easy to understand their exact forms now, though it is clear that a high stage of development had then been reached in these arts, apparently after a long evolution.

Houses and high life.

The richer classes dwelt in houses built of brick and mortar, ‡ of which the walls were often covered with paintings of divine figures and pictures of animal life, § and surrounded by tastefully laid out pleasure gardens. ¶

* These are detailed in *Śil.* vi 39 ff.

† *Maṇi* ii ll. 18-32.

‡ *Puṟam* 378.

§ *Maṇi.* iii, ll. 127 ff.

¶ *Maṇi* xix ll. 102 ff.

Such gardens possessed shallow wells or tanks with mechanical fittings, artificial hillocks, rivulets and waterfalls, bowers of flower plants and glass houses, for the amusement of the inmates of the mansions that stood in their midst. Mirrors were also known and used. * The opening canto of the *Śilappadikāram* gives an account of a wedding in high society which, though no doubt slightly idealised, may perhaps be accepted as based upon reality. The bride, Kaṇṇaki, was twelve years of age; the bridegroom, Kōvalan, was sixteen. Their marriage was arranged by their parents, who were wealthy merchants, and announced to the citizens of Puhār by ladies riding on an elephant.

Marriage.

"On the day when the moon was in conjunction with Rōhini, in a *maṇḍapa* adorned with pearls and flowers and supported on jewelled pillars with flower-festooned capitals, underneath an azure canopy, Kōvalan, led in the Vedic rituals by an aged Brahman (priest), went round the fire in the company of her who rivalled Arundhati—blessed are the eyes of those who saw the sight."

The ceremonial over, the women strewed flowers and prayed for the life-long happiness of the couple, and the prosperity of the Emperor, and then followed the consummation. †

Of the life of the common folk, literature furnishes fewer details. The *Paṭṭinappālai* gives a vivid account of the life ‡ of the *Paradavar*, the deep-sea fishermen of Puhār, including some of their holiday amusements. On the wide dune of black sand, the large clan of the rough working

The common folk.

* *Maṇi.* xix 90.

† See also *Aham* 86, quoted by P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar *Tamils* pp. 78-80.

‡ ll. 59-117

Paradavar were seen eating the cooked flesh of the sea-fish and the boiled field-turtle. Wearing flowers of the *aḍumbu* (*Ipomaea bilboa*) and the water-lily, they gathered in the spacious *manṟam* like the stars and planets revolving in the blue sky. The stronger ones among them entered the wide arena and, without turning back, they fought fierce duels hurting one another with their fists and their weapons. Birds flew from the mottled palms, frightened by stones shot from slings. In the outer streets, pigs were wallowing in puddles with their young ones, together with many kinds of fowl, and rams and quails were seen fighting. Their huts with low thatched roofs in which were stuck the long handles of fishing rods resembled the little enclosures round hero stones made of rows of shields and spears. In the midst of these huts, fishing nets were drying on sandy thresholds, like patches of darkness in bright moonlight. Wearing the garlands of the cool white convolvulus growing at the foot of the screw pine (with aerial roots) they planted a branching jaw-bone of the sword fish and invoked a mighty god to dwell in it. Decked in the long-petalled *tāḻai* (pandanus) flowers, the big red-haired fishermen drank the toddy of the rustling palm in the company of their dark women clad in garments of green leaves. Refraining from going afishing on the wide blue water, they ate and sported on the sandy beach reeking of the smell of fish. Like the ruddy cloud embracing the high mountain, like the baby clinging to its mother's breast, the red waters of the Kāviri mingled with the clear sea water roaring at its mouth; there, the *Paradavar* washed their sins in the sea and the salt of the sea in the water of the river. They played with the crabs and, amidst the spreading waves of the sea, made dolls of sand and, feasting their senses in other ways, they spent the whole day in

games. In the night, they heard music and witnessed the plays acted in pillared mansions; lovers, changing silks for lighter robes and drinking wine without limit, slept on the sands in the last watch of night.

Puhār.

Puhār or Kāvirippūmpaṭṭinam was one of the few great cities of the time, and, being on the sea coast, it was also the great emporium of the kingdom. The city, its port and trade are fully described in the poems. The author of the *Śilappadikāram* says that the wise considered the prosperity of Puhār as stable as the Himalaya and the Podiya mountains; * again,

> "This celebrated city, full of riches coveted by kings and teeming with sailors, is so well stocked that it will not fail in its hospitality even if the whole world encircled by the roaring sea become its guest; indeed in the hoards of (merchandise) brought in ships and carts, (the city) resembles a congregation of (all) the alien tracts producing precious goods."

A poet, † addressing the Cōḷa king, says that big ships entered the port of Puhār without slacking sail, and poured out on the beach, inhabited by the common people, precious merchandise brought from overseas.

Its bazaar.

In the extensive bazaar of Puhār, ‡ says the author of *Paṭṭinappālai*, were seen many tall mansions surrounded by platforms reached by high ladders. These mansions had many apartments and were provided with door-ways, great and small, and wide verandahs and corridors. Well-dressed damsels glittering in jewels were looking out from the windows of the upper floors, and their palms joined in their front in salutation to Muruga resembled bunches

* i, ll. 14–19. ii, ll. 1 ff.

† *Puṟam* 30 ll. 11-14.

‡ *Paṭṭinappālai* ll. 142-158.

of *śengāndaḷ* (*gloriosa superba*) flowers seen high on the slopes of mountains. When Muruga was taken out in procession in the bazaar, which was done quite often, music and dancing parties accompanied him, and the sound of the flute, lute and drum mingled with the noises in the street.

Flags.

In all parts of the town there were flags of various kinds and shapes * flying in the air; some were flags that were worshipped by many as a high divinity, and the entrances to their precincts were decorated with flowers. Others were white flags raised on frames supported by posts, below which were made offerings of rice and sugar to precious boxes of merchandise. Yet others were flags that announced the challenge of great and renowned teachers who had mastered many sciences. † There were also flags waving on the masts of ships heaving in the port of Puhār like huge elephants chafing at their posts. Yet others, flying over shops where fish and flesh were being sliced and fried and whose thresholds were strewn with fresh sand and flowers, announced the sale of high-class liquor to their numberless customers.

Merchants.

In the same poem which so vividly describes the external appearance of the city, there occurs the following idealised description of its merchants and traders and their moral: ‡

"They shunned murder, and put aside theft; pleased the gods by fire offerings; raised good cows and bulls; spread the glory of the Brahmans; gave (their guests) sweets to eat and (sometimes) foodstuffs raw; in these ways was their kindly life filled with endless good deeds. Holding to the golden mean,

* *ibid* ll. 159-183.

† This method of exhibiting one's learning in public disputations is also mentioned in the *Maṇimēkalai* i, ll. 60-1. It was quite common in Europe till modern times; and in India, it is well-known even now among pandits.

‡ ll. 199-212

like the peg of the loving farmer's long yoke, they feared the untrue and ever spoke the truth; they regarded others' rights as scrupulously as their own; they took nothing more than was due to them and never gave less than was due from them; trading thus in many articles of merchandise, they enjoyed an ancient heritage of prosperity and lived in close proximity to one another."

Divisions of the city.

The general plan of the town of Puhār is described in considerable detail in canto V of the *Śilappadikāram*. The town built on the northern bank of the Kāvēri near its mouth comprised two parts, Maruvūr-pākkam near the sea and Paṭṭinap-pākkam to its west. These were separated by a stretch of open ground taken up by a garden of trees under the shade of which was held the daily market of the city. Near the beach, in Maruvūr-pākkam were terraced mansions and warehouses with windows shaped like the eyes of the deer. There was the abode of the prosperous *yavanas* whose pleasant features arrested the eyes of spectators, and of other foreigners who, for the gains from their maritime trade, lived close to one another on quite friendly terms. Vendors of fragrant pastes and powders, of flowers and incense, weavers who worked silk, wool or cotton, traders in sandal, *agil*, coral, pearls, gold and precious stones, grain-merchants, washermen, dealers in fish and salt, sellers of betel-leaves and spices, butchers, sailors, braziers and copper-smiths, carpenters and blacksmiths, painters and sculptors (stucco-workers), goldsmiths, tailors and cobblers, makers of toys in pith and cloth, and the numerous *pāṇar* who were experts in the music of the lute and flute—these and others had their residence in Maruvūr-pākkam. In the Paṭṭinap-pākkam were the broad royal street, the car street and the bazaar street. Rich merchants, brahmans, farmers, physicians,

Maruvūr.

Paṭṭinam.

astrologers lived in their respective quarters. "Surrounding the palace were the houses of charioteers, horse and elephant riders and the soldiers who formed the body-guard of the king. Bards, minstrels and panegyrists, actors, musicians and buffoons, chank-cutters and those skilled in making flower garlands and strings of pearls, time-keepers whose duty it was to cry out the *nāḻikais* or divisions of time, as each passed, and other servants of the palace also resided within the limits of Paṭṭinap-pākkam." *

Foreign trade.

Of the overseas trade of the Cōḷa kingdom in the Śangam Age again we get an excellent idea from a few lines of the *Paṭṭinap-pālai*. The city of Puhār had a large colony of foreign merchants from different parts of the world.

"Like the large crowd gathered in a city of ancient renown on a festival day when people from many different places betake themselves to it with their relatives, persons from many good countries speaking different tongues had left their homes and come to reside (in Puhār) on terms of mutual friendship". †

Of the articles of foreign trade we have the following description from the same source: ‡

"Under the guardianship of the gods of enduring glory, horses with a noble gait had come by the sea; bagfuls of black pepper had been brought in carts; gems and gold born of the northern mountain, the sandal and *agil* from the western mountain, the pearl of the southern sea, the coral of the western sea, the products of the Ganges (valley), the yield of the Kāvēri,

* *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, p. 25. The *Maṇimēkalai* xxviii ll. 31-67 has a description of Kāñcīpuram which, apparently similar to the description of Puhār reproduced above from the *Śilappadikāram*, strikes one as too conventional to be accepted as having any close relation to facts. The *Śilappadikāram* account is much more convincing.

† ll. 213-17.

‡ ll. 184-193.

foodstuffs from Ceylon, and goods from Kāḷagam, * all these materials, precious and bulky alike, were heaped together in the broad streets overflowing with their riches."

Of the ports in other parts of the Tamil country we have similar descriptions in the literature of the Śangam. † Even inland cities like Madura had guards of 'dumb *mlecchas*' and '*yavanas*' in complete armour keeping watch in the king's palaces. The *Perumbāṇ-āṟṟuppaḍai*, ‡ a poem of the same period, speaks of tall lighthouses on the coast summoning ships to harbour by the night.

Classical writers.

If we compare this evidence with that of the classical writers of the early centuries of the Christian era, we shall see that the data drawn from these two disparate sources work into one another so closely that it becomes quite obvious that they relate to the same period of history. The author of the *Periplus* says positively that the Roman merchants raised every year beautiful maidens for the harems of Indian kings and the fact is confirmed by what passes in some dramas of India. § The chart of Peutinger, prepared at a time when the Roman Empire was flourishing in all its power, carries on the sheet devoted to India, by the side of the names of Tyndis and Musiris, the words 'Temple of Augustus.' ¶ Large quantities of Roman coins found in the interior of the Tamil land || attest the extent of trade, the presence of Roman settlers in the Tamil country and the periods

* The annotator makes this Kaḍāram (Sumatra).

† *PK.* p. 35. Kanakasabhai *op. cit.* Chh. ii and iii.

‡ ll. 346-50.

§ Reinaud *JA.* 1863. i. pp. 301-2, cf. *Periplus*, sec. 49.

¶ *ibid* p. 183.

|| Thurston *Coins*, Cat. No. 2. (Madras Museum), Second edition 1894. Sewell *JRAS.* 1904.

of the rise, zenith and decay of this active commerce. Casual statements made by the classical authors and, more decidedly, the evidence of the early Chinese annals, prove that along the sea-route from the Far-East to the West, India acted as an intermediary for many generations. The maritime trade of the Indian ocean in the early centuries of the Christian era is in itself a subject too vast, and authentic evidence on it is too extensive, * for us to attempt anything more than to draw attention to a few of its aspects that should interest students of Cōḷa history.

History of overseas trade.

The feeble beginnings of the trade between the Roman Empire and India, confined at first to articles of luxury, may be traced to the reign of Augustus, if not to an earlier time. Trade with the East was one of the chief factors that brought about the extension and consolidation of the Roman Empire in that direction, and the Arabian expedition of Aelius Gallus, though not a complete success, secured good harbours in the south of Arabia for the Roman traders on their way from Egypt to India. In the reign of Augustus, despite the 'embassies' to him from the Pāṇḍya country, this commerce was by no means extensive or economically important; the notices of some contemporary writers, whose imagination was struck by such trade, has led modern scholars, on the whole, to exaggerate its significance. But it soon assumed new and unexpected proportions, and ceased to be the negligible branch of Roman trade that it was in the beginning. The growth proceeded steadily through the times of the Julii and Claudii, and though there was a lively trade by land, the maritime commerce of

* Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India* (Cambridge 1928.)

Egypt with Arabia, and through Arabia with India, was the most considerable branch of the commerce with the East. So long as the trade was confined to luxuries and carried on through Arab intermediaries, the Romans paid for it mostly in gold and silver, and the oft-quoted statement of the elder Pliny that not a year passed without the Empire paying out a hundred million sesterces (about £ 1,087,500) to India, China and Arabia * has, most likely, reference to this early phase. After Augustus, the trade with India grew naturally in the favourable atmosphere of a great Empire. "The discovery of the monsoons by Hipparchus of Alexandria in the late Ptolemaic or early Roman times, as well as the natural tendency of a growing trade to become more than a trade in luxuries and a merely passive trade on one side, led to the establishment of a direct route by sea between Egypt and India. The main centre of traffic was now Alexandria. The Arabian harbours lost their importance. . . . The new route was fully established at the date of the *Periplus*, that is, under Domitian. The trade with India gradually developed into a regular exchange of goods of different kinds between Egypt on the one side and Arabia and India on the other. One of the most important articles which came from India was cotton, † another probably was silk. Both of these products were worked up in the factories of Alexandria, which sent in exchange glass, metal ware, and probably linen." ‡ Nothing can prove better the increasing volume and regularity of the Indian trade of the Roman Empire than the contrast

* Warmington *op. cit.* pp. 274 ff. W. thinks that Pliny's 'Seres' were the Ceras. But see Hudson, *Europe and China* (Arnold, 1931) pp. 100-2. Roman coins need not actually have reached China.

† *Periplus* Sec. 59.

‡ Rostovtzeff-*Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire.* p. 93 (Oxford 1926) ; cf. Warmington Pt. I, ch. ii.

between the meagre description of the direct trade route to India given by the author of the *Periplus* and the elaborate precision of Ptolemy's descriptions in the first half of the second century A.D. Ptolemy's account shows that the Roman trade now reached beyond India to Indo-China and Sumatra, and that the trade with India and China was highly developed and quite regular. Relatively few Roman merchants visited the lands of the Far-East themselves; Southern India obviously acted as intermediary in the trade between China and the West. The carrying trade between the Malaya Peninsula and Sumatra in the East and the Malabar coast in the West was largely in the hands of the Tamils.* The direct trade between Rome and Southern India declined and died out in the period of military anarchy in the Roman Empire of the third century. "Practically no coins of the third century have been found in India. Business relations were not resumed till order and a stable gold currency had been re-established in the Byzantine period," † and then mostly through intermediaries.

Share of the Cōḷas.

Of the carrying trade of the Indian ocean and the Arabian sea, the Cōḷas had an important share and controlled 'the largest and most extensive Indian shipping' of the Coromandel coast. ‡ In the harbours of the Cōḷa country, says the author of the *Periplus*, "are ships of the country coasting along the shore as far as Damirica; § and other

Tamil Shipping.

* Warmington *op. cit.* pp. 128–31.

† Rostovtzeff-*op. cit.* p. 421. Warmington, pp. 139–40.

‡ Warmington, p. 65.

§ This means the west coast of India. "Naura and Tyndis, the first markets of Damirica" (Sec. 53)

very large vessels made of single logs bound together, called *sangara*; but those which make the voyage to Chryse and to the Ganges are called *colandia* and are very large." * Here three kinds of craft are distinguished by the author of the *Periplus*—light coasting boats for local traffic, larger vessels of a more complicated structure and greater carrying capacity, and lastly the big ocean-going vessels that made the voyages to Malaya and Sumatra, and the Ganges. Quite obviously, the light coasting craft is what the poet Rudraṅgaṇṇanār had in mind when he described rows of roomy boats which had returned laden with grain secured in exchange for the white salt they had sold and which were seen in the back-waters of the port of Puhār tied to rows of pegs and looking like so many destriers. † The same writer mentions elsewhere larger ships which carried flags at their mastheads and which he compares to big elephants. Navigation in the high seas and the dangers attendant on it in foul weather are picturesquely described in the *Maṇimēkalai* in a forcible simile in which the mad progress of Udayakumara in search of Maṇimēkalai ‡ is compared to that of a ship caught in a storm on the high sea:

> "The captain trembling, the tall mast in the centre broken at its base, the strong knots unloosed and the rope cut asunder by the wind, the hull damaged and the sails rent and noisy, like the ship caught in a great storm and dashed about in all directions by the surging waves of the ocean."

This coincidence of testimony drawn from the early literature of the Tamil country and the *Periplus* on the conditions of maritime trade in the Indian seas in the early centuries of the Christian era is indeed very

* Section 60 and Schoff's notes thereon.

† *Paṭṭinappālai* ll. 29-32.

‡ iv. ll. 29-34.

remarkable in itself. When one considers this in the light of other evidence from Indo-China and the islands of the archipelago on the permeation of Indian influences in those lands from very early times, one can hardly fail to be struck by the correctness of the conclusion reached by Schoff: * "The numerous migrations from India into Indo-China, both before and after the Christian era, give ample ground for the belief that the ports of South India and Ceylon were in truth, as the *Periplus* states, the centre of an active trade with the Far-East, employing larger ships, and in greater number, than those coming from Egypt." We shall see that, when after a long eclipse, the power of the Cōḷa kings revived in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the sea-faring instincts of the people had not deserted them and that, in the favourable conditions then obtaining, they attempted tasks more venturesome than anything they had achieved in the earlier age.

Silver dish of Lampsacus.

Before turning to a study of the internal trade and industry of the Cōḷa country, mention must be made of a unique example, in the second or third century A.D., of the working of Indian influence on the art and culture of the Roman Empire. The wide sway of Greco-Roman influences in India in Gāndhāran art and the art of Amarāvati is now generally admitted. A silver dish found at Lampsacus, partly inlaid with gold and partly enamelled, † "furnishes a valuable proof of the excellent knowledge which the Romans possessed about India and of the interest which they took in that country." The dish figures a "personification of India seated on a peculiar Indian chair, the legs of which are formed by elephant tusks. Her right hand is lifted in the

* *Periplus* p. 261

† Rostovtzeff *op. cit.* p. 126.

gesture of prayer, in her left she holds a bow. Around her are grouped Indian animals—a parrot, a guinea hen and two pet monkeys. Under her feet are two Indians leading a pet tiger and a pet panther, ready to fight, and making the gesture of adoration." * It is possible that the animals represented on the dish formed the chief objects of trade by the land route from India to the Roman Empire.

Agriculture and Industry.

Among the industries of the Cōḷa country as of South India in general, in this period as always, the chief place was held by agriculture. The high place of agriculture in the national economy and the phenomenal fertility of the soil in the basin of the Kāvēri are, as we know, clearly reflected in the literature of the time. Many agricultural operations were done by women especially of the lower classes, the 'last classes' † (*kaḍaiśiyar*) as one of the poets of the *Puṟanāṉūṟu* calls them. There is no clear evidence of the prevalence of predial slavery, though it is possible that most of the labourers of the 'last classes' did not differ much from slaves in their status. The bulk of the land was owned by *veḷḷāḷar*, the agriculturists *par excellence*, who commanded a high social rank. The late commentator Naccinārkkiniyar distinguishes between the rich and the poor veḷḷālas by describing them ‡ as 'those who maintained themselves by causing (land) to be ploughed, and 'those who maintained themselves by ploughing (land).' Of the former he says that besides owning land, they held official posts under the king in the civil and military administration, and the titles of *Vēḷ* and *Araśu* in the Coḷa and of *Kāvidi* in the Pāṇḍya country,

* See also Warmington *op. cit.* p. 143 for a slightly different interpretation.

† *Puṟam* 61, l. 1.

‡ *Tol. Poruḷ. Ahattiṇai* Su. 30.

and enjoyed the *jus connubii* with royal families. These were doubtless the nobles of the land who shared with the king the pleasures of war and chase and the table. The poorer veḷḷāḷas did not shun manual labour and for the most part worked on their own lands, and not as hired day labourers on estates belonging to others. They were in fact the peasantry of the country who worked themselves and sought the assistance of hired labour as necessity arose. A casual simile in the *Puṟanāṉūṟu*, * which mentions the poor farmer who having no income from his fields had to eat up the seed-corn, may lead us to infer that drought and failure of crops were not altogether unknown. We have no information on tenancy-rights or on the taxation of land in this period.

Spinning and weaving of cotton, and perhaps also of silk, had attained a high degree of perfection. Spinning was then, as in later times, the by-occupation of women. † The weaving of complex patterns on cloth and silk is often mentioned in literature, and we have the authority of the *Periplus* that Uṟaiyūr was a great centre of the trade in fine cotton stuffs. The *Porunar-āṟṟuppaḍai* mentions ‡ cotton cloth, thin like the slough of the snake, bearing fine floral designs and so finely woven that the eye cannot follow the course of the yarn. The same poem alludes elsewhere § to silk cloth with its threads gathered in small knots at its ends. The *Maṇimēkalai* speaks ¶ of artistic patterns of cloth giving evidence of the marvellous dexterity of expert weavers. The cotton and silk trades, therefore, must have provided occupation to a considerable part

* No. 230 ll. 12-3.

† *Puṟam* 125, l. 1.

‡ ll. 82-3.

§ l. 155.

¶ iii. 167-8.

of the population. No detailed or specific information is forthcoming on the other trades of which a general idea may be gathered from the descriptions of city life quoted above. Cots made of leather straps plaited apparently on wooden frames are mentioned; and the leather workers came from the low class of the *pulaiyas.* * If the mention, in the *Maṇimēkalai,* † of Magadhan artisans, Mahratha smiths, blacksmiths from Avanti and Yavana carpenters working by the side of Tamil craftsmen is not mere rhetoric, we may believe that by the side of foreign merchants from different countries in India and outside, there were also some industrial workers who had found more or less permanent employment in the Tamil lands by their exceptional skill in particular crafts. Much of the internal trade was carried on by barter, paddy forming the most commonly accepted medium of exchange. Salt, we have seen, was sold for paddy. We learn also ‡ that honey and roots were exchanged for fish-oil and toddy, the sweet sugar-cane and *aval* § for venison and arrack. The ladies of the prosperous agriculturist families in the Pāṇḍya country poured the white paddy from their barns into the pots in which the hunter from the forest had brought venison, or the shepherdess had fetched curds. ¶ Paddy was accepted as the most common measure of value in rural economy in the Cōḷa empire of the tenth century and later; the numerous inscriptions of that time furnish unmistakable evidence of the subordinate role of coin in the transactions of everyday life; the

Barter.

* *Puṟam* 82.

† xix ll. 107–9.

‡ *Porunar.* ll. 214–17.

§ Rice-flakes obtained by pounding fried paddy-corn.

¶ *Puṟam* 33, ll. 1-7.

same feature survived until very recently in the rural parts of the Tamil country. It may be inferred, therefore, that in the early centuries of the Christian era paddy was the common measure of value in internal trade; and that metallic currency entered only in transactions of foreign commerce. It must be noted however that some evidence, not quite conclusive, seems to indicate the presence at this period in Madura, and only there, of a body of foreign colonists who appear to have used regularly small copper coins in their day to day transactions. *

Religion and Mythology.

In no sphere is the influence of Aryan ideas on Tamil culture in early historical times more evident than in that of religion and ethics. These ideas embodied in a number of myths, legends and social practices which form the common stock of practically the whole of India, had already become an integral part of the civilisation of the Tamils, and the Śangam literature affords instances without number of the thorough acquaintance of the Tamil poets with the Vedic and epic mythology of Sanskrit, and the ethical concepts of the Dharmaśāstras. An exhaustive study of the history of Indian Mythology, by tracing the stages through which each single legend passes before attaining a final and fixed form which it retains ever after, might lead to results of value to the internal chronology of the body of Śangam literature. Even otherwise, one can see that poems like the *Śilappadikāram* and the *Maṇimēkalai* which differ from the other poems of the Śangam, not only in their great length and their literary form, but in the much freer use they make of these northern legends and myths, must be

* Sewell *JRAS.* 1904, pp. 609-15.

accounted to come rather late in the period and towards its close. Care must, however, be taken not to press this consideration too far, as it may, after all, be that the more or less epic form of these longer poems enabled their authors to paint the life and faith of their times more fully than the vignettes of the shorter pieces in the anthologies. In any case, it seems best not to mix up the evidence of the anthologies in these matters with that of the *Śilappadikāram* and the *Manimēkalai*, and to keep these apart.

The burning of the Three Cities (*tripura*) by Śiva, a feat often attributed also to a mythical Cōḷa king; Śibi saving the dove from the claws of a falcon; perhaps also the excavation of the eastern ocean by the Sagaras, and the stories of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* are among the legends known to the poets of the anthologies. In the *Śilappadikāram* and the *Maṇimēkalai* we come across a much larger body of Aryan myth and legend more freely used by the authors in many contexts. The whole cycle of Kṛṣṇa legends including his adventures with shepherdesses, Viśvāmitra eating dog's flesh, Indra's misconduct with Ahalyā and the curse of Gautama, the incarnation of Viṣṇu as a dwarf to bring ruin on Bali, the demon king *—these and other stories are used in these epics in so casual a manner that there can be no doubt about their common currency in the Tamil land at the time they were composed.

Some social Customs.

A number of quaint social customs and beliefs, some of which may be of a non-Tamil origin, can be traced in the literature we have been dealing with. The practice of speeding the parting guest known as *saptapadi*

* *Maṇi* xi ll. 84-87, xviii ll. 90 ff., xix ll. 51 ff.

in Sanskrit, is clearly mentioned in the *Porunar-āṟṟup-paḍai,* * which says that Karikāla accompanied his guest on foot for a distance of 'seven steps' before requesting him to mount a chariot drawn by four milk-white steeds. Each householder laid out some food, rice mixed with flesh, every day before his meal, for crows to feed on. † The slaughter of a cow, the destruction of a foetus, the killing of a brahman were counted among the most heinous offences, but worse than these was ingratitude, according to the established code. ‡ Women of the courtesan class when they were guilty of unprofessional conduct were punished by being compelled to carry seven bricks on their heads round the public hall (*arangu*) and apparently expelled from the class thereafter. § A bath in the sea at Kanyākumari was held to absolve a woman from the sin of incest; at any rate it was accepted as an act of penance for those who had incurred the sin. ¶ After child-birth women bathed at night in tanks on the tenth day. ‖ The phenomena of possession and the evil eye were believed in ** and carefully guarded against by the hair of children being dressed with ghee and white mustard. Divination was practised †† and faith in omens was common. The author of the *Śilapp-adikāram* says picturesquely that coming events were foreshadowed by the throbbing of the left eye of Kaṇṇaki and the right one of Mādavi ‡‡ on the day of the festival of Indra.

* ll. 165-7.

† *Porunar.* ll. 182-4.

‡ *Puṟam* 34, ll. 1-7.

§ *Maṇi* xviii, ll. 33-4 cf. *Śil.* xiv, l. 146.

¶ *Maṇi* v. 37 ; xiii, 5-7.

‖ *ibid* vii, 75-76 and *n.*

** *ibid* vi. l. 127 ; iii, 134.

†† *ibid* xxi, 128-9.

‡‡ *Śil.* v, 237-40.

Disposal of the dead.

There was no single method adopted for the disposal of the dead, and both cremation and inhumation with or without urns are freely mentioned. And there appears to have prevailed considerable latitude in the choice of the method to be followed on each particular occasion in the same family. * And the *Maṇimēkalai* mentions the construction of brick tombs of various shapes built by the relatives of the dead whether they were sages or kings or women who had become *Sati.* † It would appear that the shapes of these structures varied with the caste and rank of the persons commemorated by them. The funeral drum striking terror into the hearts of listeners is also mentioned in the same poem. ‡

Sati.

Sati is frequently mentioned and was fairly common, but by no means universal. The celebrated utterance of the queen of Bhūta Pāṇḍya § shows that it was more or less the general practice to dissuade women who had lost their husbands from immolating themselves and that the practice was by no means encouraged, much less enforced. There can be no manner of doubt, however, that the heroism and devotion of the *Sati* were applauded by public opinion. The true wife was indeed she who, at the death of her husband, entered his burning pyre as if she were entering the cool water in a tank for bathing. ¶ Still, the more human, though less heroic, ideal that women were ordinarily expected to adopt is perhaps best expressed in the lines of the

* *Puṛam* 239, ll. 20-21.

† *Maṇi.* vi. 54-59.

‡ *ibid.* l. 71.

§ *Puṛam*, 246.

¶ *Puṛam* 246 and *Maṇi.* ii ll. 42-5 ; xvi 23 ff. ; xviii 11-15

Maṇimēkalai, * which contrast the daily life of the family woman with that of the hetaera by saying that the former was under guard in her maidenhood as in her married state, and so also when her husband was no more, that she controlled her mind and did not meet strangers and that she offered worship to no god other than her wedded husband. The *Kuṟaḷ* is silent on *Sati.* To lead a life of religious devotion in widowhood was recognised as proper for women of all classes. The *Sati* then was the exception rather than the rule, and we do not hear of a single instance of an unwilling woman being forced to it.

Brahmanism.

That the ritualism of Brahmanical Hinduism had struck root in the Tamil country in this early period must have become clear from the references already cited to the costly sacrifices performed by the Cōḷa monarchs of the time. The regular day to day fire-worship of the Brahmans is mentioned by the *Maṇimēkalai* ; † and a song of Avūr Mūlam-kiḻār in the *Puṟanāṉūṟu* which eulogises the Brahman Viṇṇandāyan of the Kauṇḍinya-gōtra who lived in Pūñjāṟṟūr in the Cōḷa country gives an idea of the high position held in society by prominent Śrōtriya families : ‡

"O ! Scion of the celebrated race of wise men who laid low the strength of those that opposed Śiva's ancient lore, who saw through the sophistry of the false doctrines, and preferring the truth and shunning error, completed the twenty-one ways of Vedic sacrifice ! § Worn by you on the occasion of the sacrifice, the skin of the grass-eating stag of the forest shines over the sacred cord on your shoulder. Your wives, suited

* xviii, ll. 98-102.

† v, l. 133.

‡ *Puṟam* 166.

§ ie., performed the twenty-one varieties of Vedic sacrifices.

to your station, gentle and of rare virtue, wearing the netlike garment laid down in the *Śāstra* (for such occasions), sparing of speech, with small foreheads, large hips, abundant tresses, are carrying out the duties set for them. From the forest and from the town, having twice seven *paśus* in their proper places, supplying ghee more freely than water, making offerings which numbers cannot reckon and spreading your fame to make the whole world jealous, at the rare culmination of the sacrifice your exalted station gains a new splendour. May we ever witness it so! I, for my part, shall go, eat, drink, ride and enjoy myself in my village by the cool Kāviri, which gets its flowery freshes when the thunder cloud roars on the golden peaks of the Western mountains; may you, for your part, stand thus stable without change, like the tall Himalaya which towers above the clouds and whose sides are covered with bamboos."

This ode shows not only the dominance of Vedic ritualism, but contains an allusion to disputes between the followers of the Veda and other religionists, the latter being stigmatised as followers of false doctrines and sophists who make the false appear true. What these other religions were can only be guessed; most likely they were Buddhism and Jainism which had a vogue in the Tamil country from very early times. The ceremony of *upanayana* is clearly known to the *Maṇimēkalai* which mentions Brahmans who began the study of the Veda soon after they were invested with the sacred cord. * The twice-born are mentioned in the *Puṟam.* † Even in the houses of merchants marriages were, as has been seen, performed according to Vedic ritual. The *Tolkāppiyam* defines *kaṟpu* in a manner which implies that, in one important respect, the distinction between *kaḷavu* and *kaṟpu* was based on the difference between the indigenous Tamil form of marriage and the exotic Aryan form which had been superposed on it:

* xiii ll. 23-24.

† No. 367, l. 12.

" *Karpu* is that (form) in which a bridegroom from a family fit to accept, accepts a bride given by persons of a family fit to give her and takes her to wife with the (proper) ritual." *

We learn further that the rites of marriage might be performed even when there happened to be no one to dispose of the marriageable girl, and that the rites primarily meant for the three higher classes, might also be adopted on occasions by the lower. † We are told, in fine, that these rituals were ordained by the sages (*aiyar*) after falsehood and sin had made their appearance. ‡ This last statement distinctly recalls the legends of the origin of human marriage current among Sanskrit writers and detailed fully in the *Mahābhārata*. As has been rightly pointed out, § such "myths are interesting but of no scientific value. . . . When men meditated upon the marriage ceremonial and system, they would naturally infer a time when there was not only no rite, but no institution of marriage."

The Pantheon.

From all accounts, Hinduism was the dominant religion in the Tamil country in this period. Within its spacious fold were worshipped all the gods of an extensive and eclectic pantheon ranging from the Great God with an eye on his forehead to the little demon (*būtam*) of the cross-roads. ¶ Four divinities seem to have occupied a more distinguished position than the rest, ‖ and they were Śiva who is often placed at the head of the pantheon, Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa who are frequently described together, and Murugan, apparently the favourite deity

* *Tol. Poruḷ. Karpu*, Su. 1.

† *ibid.* Su. 2, 3.

‡ *ibid.* Su. 4.

§ Crawley-*The Mystic Rose* ii, 259.

¶ *Maṇi.* i ll. 54-5.

‖ *Śil.* v ll. 169-72, xiv ll. 7-10.

of the Tamils. The worship of Murugan embodied some indigenous features like the *vēlanāḍal.* Indra came in also for special worship as on the occasion of the festival held in Puhār in his honour. That music and dance were from early times closely intertwined with religious rites is seen from the descriptions in the *Śilappadikāram* of the more or less primitive worship of Koṟṟavai by *vēṭṭuvar,* of Kṛṣṇa (Kaṇṇan) by shepherdesses and of Murugan by *kuṟavas.* A temple of Saraswati is mentioned in the *Maṇimēkalai,* * which also alludes to the presence of *kāpālikas.* † If the author of the *Kaḷavaḻi* was the same as the Vaiṣṇava saint Poygaiyār who is counted among the three earliest *āḻvārs,* then we shall have to trace to this period also the beginnings of the *bhakti* cult of the Vaiṣṇavas, and there is nothing improbable in this. The *Maṇimēkalai* appears to mention even the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa.* ‡

Influence of Buddhism.

Belief in reincarnation, the effects of karma in successive births and the power of Fate was part of the common basis of all religion in India, and this is clearly seen to have been generally accepted in the Tamil country also. The practice of austerities (*tapas*) was held to be meritorious and productive of great good. § The joyous faith in good living that breathes through the poems of the Śangam age gradually gives place to the pessimistic outlook on life that is, in the last resort, traceable to the emphasis laid by Buddhism on the sorrows of life and its doctrine that the only way of

* xiii, l. 106.

† vi, 86.

‡ xxvii l. 98. See *PK.* pp. 20-21.

§ *Porunar.* ll. 91-2.

escape was the repression of the will to live. This note of sadness, already traceable in Uṟaiyūr Mudukaṇṇan Śāttanār, * becomes more pronounced in the setting of the *Maṇimēkalai* which contains a round denunciation of the fools who, not meditating upon the ruthlessness of Death, spend their time in the blind enjoyment of carnal pleasures. † In all important centres in the Tamil country there were Jaina temples and Buddhist *caityas* and monasteries in which Buddhist and Jaina monks lived and preached their tenets to those who cared to listen. ‡ Aṟavaṇavaḍigaḷ, the celebrated Buddhist monk, whom the *Maṇimēkalai* connects successively with Puhār, Vañji and Kāñcī, even though he may not be a historical figure, § may well be looked upon as a type familiar to town-dwellers in those times. We have no means whatever of estimating with any certainty the numbers professing these religions or the extent of their influence in society.

* *Puṟam* 27 ; see *ante* p. 48.

† vi ll. 97 ff.

‡ See s. v. *Arugan* and *Puttan* in the Indexes to the *Śilappadikāram* and *Maṇimēkalai* ; and *Maduraikkāñji* ll. 475-87.

§ He has been identified on rather insufficient grounds with Dharmapāla, *JOR*. 1927, pp. 197 ff.

CHAPTER V

FROM THE ŚANGAM AGE TO VIJAYĀLAYA

After the Śangam Age.

The transition from the Śangam age to that in which the Pāṇḍyas of the line of Kaḍungōn and the Pallavas of the Simhaviṣṇu line divide for three centuries the Tamil land between them is completely hidden from our view. The same darkness shrouds the fortunes of the Cōḷas for three centuries more, until the accession of Vijayālaya in the second quarter of the ninth century. Epigraphy and literature, however, provide a few peep-holes through which we obtain glimpses of the interesting transformations that come over this ancient line of kings in this long interval. One thing seems certain, that when the power of the Cōḷas fell to a low ebb and that of the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas rose to the north and south of them, the scions of this ancient royal line found themselves compelled to seek service and patronage under their more successful rivals; this is a feature common to several dynasties of Indian kings in the days of their tribulation. The Western Cāḷukyas in the period of Rāṣṭrakūṭa power, the Eastern Cāḷukyas between Rājarāja's conquest of Vengi and the accession of Kulōttunga I to the Cōḷa throne, the Pāṇḍyas and the Pallavas themselves, besides the Gangas and the Bāṇas after the expansion of the Cōḷa power under the successors of Vijayālaya, are among the most conspicuous examples of this common feature of Indian history. Ancient memories die hard, and great dynastic names, though borne for a time in obscurity, have often, with a turn in the wheel of fortune, been the cause of a renascence of power and glory. It may be

doubted if, for all their troubles in this period, the Cōḷas ever completely lost their hold on Uṟaiyūr. Vijayālaya when he comes into prominence rises from the same neighbourhood, and the remotest claimants to Cōḷa descent in the Telugu country, and even further north, glory in the names of Uṟaiyūr and the Kāvēri; contemporary epigraphical evidence may also be cited pointing to the same conclusion. The dispersion of the Cōḷas in the period of their weakness, the poor and dispossessed among them going out in quest of fortune, is attested by the occurrence of names of princes and chieftains claiming Cōḷa connections in places as far removed from one another as Koḍumbāḷūr (Pudukottah), Śiyyāḻi (Shiyali), Hēmavati and Mālēpāḍu. The Pāṇḍyas of Uccangi, the Mauryas of Konkan, the Guttas of Guttal (Bombay), like the Cōḷas of the Telugu country, are examples of what may be styled dynastic drift in Indian History. *

Dispersion of the Cōḷas.

The Vēḷvikuḍi grant of the Pāṇḍyas and some Pallava charters mention the obscure clan of the Kaḷabhras who were responsible for much political unsettlement in the country, and whose overthrow formed the first step in the resuscitation of the power of the Pāṇḍyas and the Pallavas

Kaḷabhras.

* Venkayya observes: 'It is at present impossible to ascertain how these Telugu chiefs came to claim the relationship with Karikāla.' (*ARE.* 1900, paragraph 45). Strictly, this is quite true. As I understand the matter, however, there was a somewhat live connection between the Cōḷas of the Telugu (Rēnāṇḍu) country and the Tamil Cōḷas; the Mālēpāḍu plates of Puṇyak·māra, I think, form an important link in the chain of evidence, and suggest that the Pallava dominion of the Simhaviṣṇu line may have been the medium through which the drift of Cōḷas to the north took place. The attempts to explain the origin of the Telugu-Cōḍas by supposing that the Telugu country formed part of the empire of the early Cōḷa king, Karikāla, appear to be so much wasted effort. We can hardly treat the legends of the eleventh and twelfth centuries as the history of the third or fourth. See *Studies* pp. 33-6, 61-6. *Contra* Venkayya *ASI.* 1905-6 p. 175 n. 8.

towards the end of the sixth century. We may assume that the predatory activities of the Kaḷabhras * brought the power of the early Cōḷas also to an end. The absence of any allusion to this fact in the Cōḷa inscriptions and copper-plates of the Vijayālaya line is easily accounted for. Unlike the Pāṇḍyas and the Pallavas who quickly succeeded in wresting from the hands of the Kaḷabhras what they had lost to them sometime before, the Cōḷas were submerged for nearly three centuries under the rising tide of the Pāṇḍya and Pallava powers. They could not find their feet again until these newly risen forces had spent themselves in mutual hostility. In the writings of Buddhadatta † we have singularly interesting evidence on the rule of the Kaḷabhras in the Cōḷa country. The date of Buddhadatta is, unfortunately, not as certain as has sometimes been assumed; the tradition that makes him a contemporary of Buddhaghōṣa is late, and not warranted by any statement in the extensive works of either of these divines. ‡ Buddhadatta might have been the earlier of the two to visit Ceylon for studying Buddhism. It is quite certain, however, that he lived in the dark period of South Indian history after the light of the Śangam literature fails, and before a fresh dawn commences with the Pāṇḍya and Pallava charters mentioned above; and his evidence is all the more welcome. At the close of his *Abhidhammāvatāra*, he gives a glowing account of Kāvēripaṭṭaṇa, with its concourse of rich merchants,

Buddhadatta.

* See *PK.* pp. 47-9.

† *Buddhadatta's Manuals*-Part I (1915) and Part II (1928)-ed. A. P. Buddhadatta (Pali Text Society).

‡ Cf. A. P. Buddhadatta's introduction to Part II of the *Manuals*; *contra* P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar-*Tamils* p. 528. He makes nonsense of the line '*Ayam sumatinā sādhu yācitena kato tato*' by translating it: "(By me) who am intelligent and good and a beggar, this was composed and propounded extensively."

its palaces and pleasure-gardens, * and states that, in a great monastery built there by Khaṇḍadāsa, he lived for a time and composed that work at the very proper request of Sumati, evidently one of his pupils. Likewise he informs us at the end of his *Vinayaviniccaya* that he composed that work for the sake of Buddhasīha, while he was residing in the lovely monastery of Veṇhudāsa in a city on the banks of the Kāvēri, by name Bhūtamangalam, † described by him as the hub of Cōḷaraṭṭha. He adds also that this work was begun and finished when Accutavikkanta of the Kaḷabhrakula was ruling the earth. ‡ This Accuta could have been no other than the king of the same name who is reputed, in literary tradition, § to have kept in confinement the three Tamil kings, the Cēra, Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya. Some songs about him are quoted by Amitasāgarar, the author of the *Yāpparungalak-kārikai*, in the tenth century A. D. Possibly Accuta was himself a Buddhist. At any rate, by calling the Kaḷabhras a tribe of Kali kings and stating that they uprooted many *adhirājar* and meddled with *brahmadēya* rights, the Vēḷvikuḍi grant makes it clear that there was no love lost between these interlopers and the people of the lands overrun by them. In the colophons to his works, Buddhadatta is called an inhabitant of Uragapura which perhaps means that Uṟaiyūr was his native place.

Accuta Kaḷabba.

* This fine description may raise a doubt whether the story of the destruction of the city by a tidal wave (*Maṇimēkalai* xxv ll. 194–204) is to be accepted as literally true.

† The identification of this place with Būdalūr (P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar *op. cit.* p. 531) is doubtful.

‡ Accut Accutavikkante Kalabbhakulavaddhane /
Mahim samanusāsante āraddhō ca samāpitō //
A. P. Buddhadatta adopts the reading Kaḷambakula, and holds them to be Kaḍambas.

§ *Tamiḻ Nāvalar Caritai* vv. 154-57.

Of these Dhanañjaya is represented by a single stone inscription * in the Cuddapah district and possibly by some others in Hēmavati and Niḍugal. Though several of the stone inscriptions mentioned above belong to Cōḷa Mahārāja, none of them adds anything to our knowledge of the king's reign, and we have no direct means of explaining his titles, among which occurs an ambitious claim to the overlordship of the three Tamil kingdoms of the South. The title of Pṛthivīvallabha borne by Puṇyakumāra, and the name of his queen Vasanta-Pōṟi-Cōḷa-Mahādēvi † show his connection with the Cāḷukyas. It is difficult to say whether he or his father was ruling at the time of Yuan Chwang's visit; but there can be no doubt that this line of rulers had an important role in the hostilities between the Pallavas and Cāḷukyas of this period. King Cōḷamahārājādhirāja Vikramāditya Satyāditya and his queen Eḷañcōḷa Mahādēvi ‡ are no doubt other members of the same family who do not figure in the short genealogy of the Mālēpāḍu plates. It is to be observed that this king has a higher title than the usual Cōḷa Mahārāja, his territory including Siddhi 1000 (Sidhout country) besides the Rēṇāṇḍu 7000. A Cōḷa Mahārāja Kumārāṅkuśa figures as the *vijñapti* in the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates of the sixth year of the Pallava king, Nandivarman III. § The history of this line cannot be fully understood until fresh discoveries are made. But it is already clear that they form the link connecting the early Cōḷas of the Tamil country and the numerous dynasties of petty chieftains in the Telugu and Karnataka country claiming to have

* 380 of 1904 (Rangachari–Cd. 435).

† 384 of 1904 (Rangachari–Cd. 560);

‡ 393 and 400 of 1904 (Rangachari Cd. 453 and 409). Vikramāditya II claims to have conquered the Cōḷas among others. *SII.* i p. 146 : *EI.* v. p. 204.

§ *SII.* ii 509 v. 26.

been of the Kāśyapa Gōtra and to have descended from Karikāla and ruled at Uṟaiyūr. *

Cōḷas in the Tamil land.

Of the Cōḷas of the Tamil country in this period we know even less than we do about the Rēnāṇḍu Cōḷas; for though there are fugitive references to them in the epigraphs and the literature bearing on the age, which show that the Cōḷas lingered on the banks of the Kāvēri all the time, they tell us little else of historical interest. And no epigraphical or architectural monuments of this period that can be directly attributed to the Cōḷas have yet been discovered. No conclusion can be based on the absence of any reference to the Cōḷa kingdom in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, as the limits of his conquests are now known to have been much narrower than they appeared once. † The Pallava charters furnish the bulk of the epigraphical evidence on the Cōḷas during this period, and this is, at times, finely supplemented by the W. Cāḷukya and Pāṇḍya grants.

Epigraphy.

The Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates describe Buddhavarmā of the late fourth or early fifth century A. D. as 'the submarine fire to the ocean of the Cōḷa army.' ‡ Again, Simhaviṣṇu (*c.* 575-600 A. D.) is stated to have seized the Cōḷa country watered by the Kāvēri and adorned by groves of areca-palms and rich paddy fields. § About the same time the Cāḷukyas claim to have conquered the Cōḷas; ¶ either the

* 231 of 1908 (Bastar) *EI.* xi p. 338. Even the Kākatīyas sometimes connected themselves with Karikāla. See also *EI.* v p. 123, *n.* and *Cat. of copperplates* (Mad. Mus.) p. 14 for the undated plates of Śrīkaṇṭha.

† Much less can anything be made of the silence of the Sātavāhana inscription recording Gautamīputra's conquests. *Contra* Venkayya-*ASI.* 1905-6 176 *n.*

‡ *SII.* ii p. 508 l. 14.

§ *ibid* ll. 16-17.

¶ Kielhorn's List of *SII.* No. 5 (*EI.* vii).

claim is false, or the Rēnāṇḍu Cōḷas are meant. Mahēndravarman (c. 600-630 A. D.) was proud of his sway over the Cōḷa country; and in his inscriptions the Trichinopoly rock is called the crown of the Cōḷa country, * and Lord Śiva enjoins the king to build a temple for him on the rock as otherwise he would miss the sight of the rich splendour of the land of the Cōḷas. † In a grandiose and apparently meaningless enumeration of kings overthrown by Narasiṃha-varman I (c. 630-660 A. D.), the Kūram grant (of Paramēśvara-varman I) includes the Cōḷa among the countries conquered by him. ‡ The Aihōḷe inscription of Pulakēśin II (634 A. D.) states that he confined the power of the Pallavas inside the four walls of Kāñcī-puram and thus brought prosperity to the Cōḷa, Kēraḷa and Pāṇḍya. § Vikramāditya I, the successor of Pulakēśin II, also claims conquest of the Cōḷa country, and his Gadvāl plates (674 A. D.) mention his victorious camp in the ancient Cōḷa capital Uṟaiyūr on the southern bank of the Kāvēri. ¶ The Vēḷvikuḍi grant tells us that the Pāṇḍya king Kōccaḍaiyan Raṇadhīra (c. 710-40 A. D.) assumed the title Śembiyan, among others, thereby implying that a part of the traditional Cōḷa country passed under his sway. The Trichinopoly inscription ‖ of Māṟañjaḍaiyan calls him the *tilaka* of two races, the lunar and the solar. The Cōḷas are

* *SII.* i, 33.

† " *Vibhūtim Cōḷānām katham - aham avekṣeya vipulām* ",—*ibid*, 34. Hultzsch understands by '*vibhūtim Cōḷānām*' 'the great power of the Cōḷas'. But as it is not a proper description of the position of the Cōḷas after their conquest by Simhaviṣṇu, and as such a description is hardly likely to be found in a Pallava grant, I take '*Cōḷānām*' to mean the country.

‡ *SII.* i, p. 151 ll. 14-5.

§ *EI.* vi, p. 6, verses 29-31.

¶ *EI.* x, p. 103. Uragapura is not as Hultzsch thought Negapatam, but Uṟaiyūr near Trichinopoly.

‖ *ASI.* 1903-4 p. 275.

counted by the Śinnamanūr plates among the allies of the Pallavas who sustained a severe defeat near Kumbakōṇam at the hands of Śrī Māra Śrī-Vallabha (c. 815-62 A. D.).

Literature.

Religious tradition confirms our general inference that the Cōḷas, though they had lost their power, did not disappear totally from the banks of the Kāvēri at this time. The *Periya Purāṇam,* a work of the twelfth century A. D., contains traditional information of some value. It tells us that the Pāṇḍya contemporary of Tiru-Ñānasambandar had for his queen a Cōḷa princess of the name Mangaiyark-karaśi. Pugaḻccōḷa-Nāyanār was a Cōḷa ruler of Uṟaiyūr who held Karuvūr in subjection, conquered an Adigan * and promoted Śaivism. The *Purāṇam* also affirms that when a petty chieftain of Kaḷandai, who became, later, celebrated as Kūṟṟuva-Nāyanar, wanted the Brahmans of Cidambaram to invest him with the diadem and thus confer the dignity of royalty on him in recognition of his extensive conquests, they declined to do so on the ground that only the ancient family of the Cōḷas was entitled to this high privilege, and, to avoid further trouble, migrated to the Cēra country in a body. The family of another Nāyanār, Ēyarkōn-kalikkāman, was living in a village on the banks of the Kāvēri, and devoting itself to agriculture and military service under the Cōḷa monarchs. † Lastly, a Cōḷa prince married a Pāṇḍyan princess and lived at Madura when Sundaramūrti visited the place in the company of Śēramān

* The dynastic name of the chiefs of Tagaḍūr (Dharmapuri).

† The references are easily got in any edition of the *Periya Purāṇam.* See also *ASI.* 1905 6 pp. 176-7. I cannot discover why Venkayya should have included Iḍangaḻi, a *vēḷ* chieftain of Kōnāḍu (Pudukkottah) in his account of the Cōḷas of this period.

Perumāḷ.* Though Śēkkiḻār, the author of the *Periya Purāṇam*, is our main authority for these statements, many of them are also found in Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi's brief *andādi* which was the basis of the *Purāṇam*, and the names at least of the kings and chieftains go back to the time of Sundaramūrti, in the eighth century A. D. The *Divyasūri-carita* and the *Guru-paramparā* tell the same tale from the Vaiṣṇava side. Dēvadēvi, the hetaera who captivated *āḻvār* Toṇḍaraḍippoḍi for a time, met the holy man first when she was returning from the court of the Cōḷa king at Uṟaiyūr. The celebrated Uṟaiyūr-nācciyār, who declined to marry a mortal, and insisted successfully on her union with Lord Ranganātha, was a Cōḷa princess, the daughter of Dharmavarmā of the solar line ruling at Uṟaiyūr. Tirumangai-āḻvār started life as a military official appointed by the Cōḷa king. Possibly, some of these literary references to the Cōḷas are due to the mere fact that the works in which they occur were composed in the days of Cōḷa ascendancy; but the unmistakable references to the Pallava contemporaries of the earlier *āḻvārs* and *nāyanārs* in these works are sufficient indication that some old and genuine traditions must have survived at the time and that a few, though not all, of the allusions to the Cōḷas culled from these books may be quite trustworthy.

We see then that in the long historical night that envelops the Cōḷas from the third or fourth to the ninth century A.D., their condition is best described as one of suspended animation. They managed, in some manner hidden from view, to find a second home for themselves in the Rēnāṇḍu country. In their original abode, they bent low before every storm that passed

* *Śīramān Perumāḷ-Nāyanār Purāṇam* v. 92.

over them and bided their time. For aught we know, they were occupied in finding suitable matches for their children, often with a view to political influence, with their more successful rivals, and in promoting the religious movements of the time. Buddhism and Jainism seem to have dominated the land for a while; Accuta, the Kaḷabhra king, was a Buddhist; and there were adherents of Jainism among the Pāṇḍya and Pallava rulers; the rich monastery of Negapatam with its large Buddha image of solid gold was, according to the *Guruparamparā*, looted by Tirumangai-āḻvār. Buddhadatta gives testimony to the construction, at an earlier period, of two large monasteries in the Cōḷa country. But, thanks to the pious exertions of the *āḻvārs* and *nāyanārs*, who led a great Hindu revival, and gave fervent expression to the cult of *bhakti* in the language of the people, the spread of the protestant faiths was stopped and the orthodox creeds restored to their place of dominance. The Cōḷas, in an unostentatious way, assisted the Hindu revival by lending their support impartially to the apostles of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism.

CHAPTER VI

THE RISE OF VIJAYĀLAYA. ĀDITYA I

(c. 850-907 A. D.)

Śrī Puṛambiyam.

"At the head of the great battle of Śrī Puṛambiya, this hero (Pṛthivīpati I) quickly defeated Varaguṇa, the Lord of the Pāṇḍyas; and having, at the expense of his own life, secured that his friend was Aparājita (unconquered) in fact as in name, he ascended to heaven." * In these terms the Udayēndiram plates of Ganga Pṛthivīpati II record the part of his ancestor and namesake in the decisive battle which proved to be a turning-point in the history of Southern India. For the Pāṇḍyas never recovered from this staggering blow, and the Pallavas, though victory remained with them in the battle, owed it more to their allies than to their own strength. Thoroughly exhausted by incessant warfare on two fronts, against the Cāḷukyas and Pāṇḍyas, they were themselves in no position to pursue the advantage gained. Among the allies of the Pallavas were, besides the Ganga feudatory, the Cōḷa ruler Āditya I who, though he must have taken a subordinate place in the battle of Śrī Puṛambiyam, very soon discovered his advantage, and commanded the strength and energy to pursue it. The latest date known for Pṛthivīpati I is A. D. 879; † the battle in which he lost his life must have taken place about that date.

* *SII.* ii, No. 76, v. 18; 337 of 1912.

† Rangachari, NA. Nos. 536-7; *EI.* iv, pp. 180-3.

Vijayālaya.

Āditya I was the son of Vijayālaya, the first of the Imperial line of Cōḷas. An inscription from the Trichinopoly district * mentions a grant of land made in accordance with an earlier charter issued by Parakēsari Vijayālaya, and this shows that the revival of Cōḷa power at this time begins from the neighbourhood of Uṟaiyūr, their ancient home on the banks of the Kāvēri. The Tiruvālangāḍu plates † quaintly affirm that Vijayālaya caught hold of Tanjore for his pleasure as if the city were his lawful spouse, and that he founded a temple to goddess Niśumbhasūdinī (Durgā).

Conquest of Tanjore.

Notwithstanding the high authority of Hultzsch, we can scarcely think that Vijayālaya became powerful enough to leave stone records in distant places like Kāñcīpuram and Ukkal ‡ and Śucīndram. On the other hand, in a record of the fifth year of Vikrama Cōḷa from Kiḷputtūr in the North Arcot District, there is a specific reference to a stone inscription of the fourth year of Vijayālaya. Possibly Vijayālaya, though a vassal of the Pallava ruler, still dated records in his own regnal years—a privilege exercised by certain vassals at all times and by all of them when the power of their suzerain was on

* 675 of 1909. A Vijayālaya-caturvēdimangalam is mentioned among the *brahmadēya* villages which were required to supply men for service in the Tanjore temple in Rājarāja's reign (*SII.* ii 69, para 139). See also 164 of 1915 (Vikrama Cōḷa 5) for a reference to a *kal-veṭṭu* of the fourth year of Vijayālaya in the North Arcot district. A Pāṇḍya inscription of the thirteenth century from Nārttāmalai (Pd. 282) mentions a Vijayālayacōḷēśvara temple.

† *SII.* iii, No. 205 vv. 45 and 46. The Kanyākumāri inscription of Vīrarājēndra (*TAS.* iii, p. 142, v. 54) exaggerates this and says that Vijayālaya founded Tanjore. The Anbil plates pun on his name Vijayālaya in praising his valour on the battle-field (v. 16).

‡ See *SII.* i, Nos. 85, 148 and iii, No. 11, and Kielhorn's List *EI.* vii, App. Nos. 672-75. Krishna Sastri's argument at *SII.* iii, p. 207 and n. 2 does not convince me.

the decline. It is certain, however, that some of the Parakēsari records nearer home are really his. *

His political position.

What was the political position of Vijayālaya and from whom did he capture Tanjore? In order to answer these questions, we must try and establish the probable date of Vijayālaya's rule. This is easily ascertained by calculating backwards from the accession of Parāntaka I, the grandson of Vijayālaya. The accession of Parāntaka has been fixed by Kielhorn between 15th January and 25th July A. D. 907. † This date rests on the copious and unimpeachable testimony of astronomical data drawn from his numberless stone inscriptions, and forms the sheet-anchor of Cōḷa chronology in this period. The duration of the reign of Parāntaka's father, Āditya I, was at least twenty-seven years, possibly more. A very interesting record from Tirukkaḻuk-kuṉṟam, ‡ dated in the twenty-seventh year of Rājakēsari, may for very good reasons be ascribed to Āditya; palaeographically, it certainly belongs to the time before Parāntaka; the subject-matter of the record is the renewal of the gifts of some lands to the local temple, made originally by Skandaśiṣya and continued by Pādāvikoṇḍa Naraśinga-pōttaraiyar, both well-known Pallava kings. Such a renewal is normal after a conquest, and as Āditya I is known to have conquered the Pallavas and annexed the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam to the Cōḷa country, it is practically certain that this inscription is one of Āditya's. It should also be observed that in the earliest copper-plate grant, so far known, of this line, Āditya I is simply

Chronology.

* 436, 439 of 1908 from Tiruvīḻimiḻalai.

† *EI.* viii. p. 260.

‡ 167 of 1894; *EI.* iii, p. 279.

called Rājakēsari, * without any other name. How much longer Āditya ruled after the date of the Tirukkaḻuk-kunṟam inscription cannot now be ascertained. But an inscription from Takkōlam dated in the 24th year of Rājakēsari, no doubt Āditya I, mentions a solar eclipse which occurred in 894 or 895 A. D. † This would give A. D. 870 or 871 for the accession of Āditya, and a rule of about 36 years for him till 907 A. D. We thus get 870 or thereabouts for the close of the reign of Vijayālaya, which might have begun, therefore, sometime before 850 A. D. ‡

Contemporaries of Vijayālaya.

The date thus obtained for the beginning of Vijayālaya's rule is some years earlier than the date of the accession to the Pāṇḍyan kingdom of Varaguṇavarman, who sustained defeat at Śrī Puṟambiyam, near Kumbakōṇam in the Tanjore district. The power of the Pāṇḍyas was still, at the accession of Varaguṇa, quite considerable in spite of the set-back it suffered after the battle of the Ariśil in the reign of his father. § At this time, moreover, the enterprising chieftains known to history as the Muttaraiyar were in possession of part of the fertile delta land in the Tanjore district; their inscriptions come from Śendalai ¶ and clearly describe them as ruling Tanjore also, though they had

* Anbil Plates (*EI.* xv) vv. 17-18.

† *EI.* xix, No. 12.

‡ K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar observes: "If Vijayālaya came of the same family as the Cōḷa Mahārāja Kumārānkuśa, it is very likely that he was the grandson of his". *TAS.* iii, p. 108. Kumārānkuśa,as we have seen, figures as the *vijñapti* in the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates of Nandivarman III. It is extremely doubtful, however, if he and Vijayālaya belonged to one and the same branch of the Cōḷas. See ante p. 124.

§ *PK.* pp. 73 ff.

¶ *EI.* xiii pp. 134 ff. where these records are tentatively referred to the first half of the 8th century A.D. (p. 136). Note particularly *Tañjait-tiṟam pāḍi ninṟār*; *Tañjaik-kōn*; *Tañjai naṟpugaḻāḷan* occurring in them.

their head-quarters at Śendalai or Niyamam. Like the Cōḷas, the Muttaraiyar found it impossible to set up an independent rule, and had to support themselves by clinging to the Pāṇḍyas or the Pallavas.

The Muttaraiyar.

Their inscriptions and their titles show that they played a clever game and were ready to change their allegiance to suit their interests. In Varaguṇa's time, either of their own accord or as a result of temptations offered by Varaguṇa, they appear to have thrown in their lot with the Pāṇḍyas. The result was that they lost Tanjore, which was captured by Vijayālaya acting in the interest of the Pallavas. Little could the Pallava ruler have suspected that in thus employing his Cōḷa subordinate, he was, as the Indian saying has it, training his tiger-cub to a taste for blood. Nor could Vijayālaya have dreamt that his vicarious victory was to be the beginning of one of the most splendid empires known to Indian History.

The success of Vijayālaya meant the weakening of the Muttaraiya allies of the Pāṇḍya Varaguṇavarman, who undertook an expedition calculated to redress the balance. This began well enough, and Iḍavai, on the north bank of the Kāvēri in the Cōḷa country, was reached. * But the Pallava ruler Aparājita who succeeded Nṛpatungavarman, just before this Pāṇḍya invasion, made a great effort. He got all his allies together, most prominent among them being the Ganga king Pṛthivīpati I. The alliance between the Gangas and the Pallavas was of ancient standing, and though there is no definite evidence to prove it, we may assume

* 690 of 1905 (Rangachari - Mr. 8). The name Pāṇḍiyanai - ven - kaṇḍa - śōḷa-caturvēdimangalam is applied to this place in a late record (42 of 1914) dated Ś. 1369; this can hardly be a reference to the discomfiture of Varaguṇavarman. *Contra* Rangachari Tj. 185.

that the Cōḷa Āditya, who succeeded his father in the meanwhile, also fought on the side of Aparājita * in the great battle of Śrī Puṟambiyam. More lucky than the Ganga monarch, Āditya lived to share the spoils of victory. Possibly, in his gratitude to his Cōḷa ally, Aparājita not only allowed Āditya to keep what his father had taken from the Muttaraiyar, but added some new territory in the neighbourhood to the sphere of his rule. Such were the humble beginnings of the great empire of the Cōḷas.

Āditya I.

Of Āditya (*c.* 871–907 A. D.) the Anbil plates state only that on both the banks of the Kāvēri he built in honour of Śiva rows of tall stone temples which stood, the monuments of his success, from the Sahayādri mountain to the wide

* Inscription 337 of 1912 (Rangachari Ct. 226) of Puduvayya mentioning the Cōḷa-rāja is too fragmentary to throw any light on the political relations of the age. *Contra* Dubreuil, *Pallavas* p. 83. T. A. Gopinatha Rao writes (*E.I.* xv, p. 49) · 'It is known from other records that Āditya and the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa marched against the Pallava Nṛpatungavarman, otherwise known also by the name of Aparājitavarman, defeated and killed him.' Apart from the identification of Aparājita with Nṛpatunga for which there is no evidence, it is difficult to believe that the expedition which led to the overthrow of Aparājita had anything to do with Varaguṇavarman's campaign. As I understand the evidence, it was different, and most probably, some years later. (See Dubreuil-*Pallavas* p. 84)

It must be admitted, however, that our view of the relation between the Cōḷas and the Pallavas in the time of Vijayālaya and in the early years of Āditya I is not final. It is quite likely that the aggrandisement of Vijayālaya at the expense of the Muttaraiyar had nothing whatever to do with the struggle between the Pāṇḍyas and the Pallavas. In that case, Vijayālaya took advantage of the confusion in the borderland between the dominions of the Pāṇḍyas and the Pallavas, and his son also gained by the weakening of both after Śrī Puṟambiyam. See, however, *E.I.* xix p. 87 n. 6. Yet another view may be taken: The Muttaraiyar being allies of the Pallavas, the Cōḷas may, under Vijayālaya, have found occasion to join the Pāṇḍyas and to throw off the Pallava yoke. On this supposition the capture of Tanjore by Vijayālaya would be at once an act of aggression undertaken by him against the Pallava, to favour the Pāṇḍya, and a decisive step in the assertion of Cōḷa independence from Pallava suzerainty. On this assumption, it is not unlikely that Āditya fought on Varaguṇa's side at Śrī Puṟambiyam. An objection to this view is the difficulty of explaining how, after the defeat he suffered on this occasion, Āditya recovered sufficiently to overthrow Aparājita later, and why Aparājita failed, after his success at Śrī Puṟambiyam, to reassert his supremacy over the Cōḷa.

ocean. * The Tiruvālangāḍu plates state that he overthrew the strong Pallava ruler Aparājita, † and deprived him of his territory. The Kanyākumāri inscription gives him the surname Kōdaṇḍarāma, and states that in a battle he pounced upon and slew the Pallava king who was seated on the back of a tall elephant. ‡ A record from Tillaisthānam § confirms this evidence by clearly stating that Rājakēsari extended his power to the Toṇḍaināḍ. Āditya must be taken, therefore, to have put an end to the Pallava power by annexing Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, and to have extended the Cōḷa dominions, till they bordered on those of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Aparājita's inscriptions mention his eighteenth regnal year; and no record from Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam that can be attributed to Āditya bears a date earlier than his twenty-third regnal year. But as a gift, a *dēvadāna*, was made in the 21st year, ¶ the conquest and annexation of the Pallava territory may be dated roughly about 890 A. D.

Aparājita overthrown.

The Ganga king may have assisted Āditya in this conquest; at any rate we find him soon after acknowledging Āditya's suzerainty; Pritipatiyār, son of Māramaraiyar, no other than the well-known Pṛthivīpati II, son of Mārasimha of the Udayēndiram grant, presented a silver vessel (*keṇḍi*) to the temple of Takkōlam in the twenty-fourth year of Rājakēsari || (Āditya). The Cōḷa overlordship, which is elaborately acknowledged in the reign of Parāntaka in the Udayēndiram plates, is in this stone inscription briefly recognised by the record being dated in the regnal year of Rājakēsarivarman. Attention has been drawn already to the

Relation to the Gangas.

* v. 18. † v. 49. ‡ v. 55.

§ 286 of 1911. ¶ *SII.* iii No. 142.

|| 5 of 1897; *EI.* xix No. 12.

Tirukkaḻukkunṟam inscription recording the renewal of an ancient Pallava grant to the local temple. Āditya married a Pallava princess, as may be inferred from an inscription of his twenty-third year which says that the mother of the Cōḻa queen was a Kāḍupaṭṭigaḷ. * Another record from Niyamam mentions that Aḍigaḷ Kaṇḍan Māṟambāvai, queen of Nandipōttaraiyar of the Pallavatilaka race, granted to the local temple some money for certain specified purposes. † In the eighteenth year of Rājakēsari (Āditya I), the same lady had made another gift to the Piḍāri temple in the same place. ‡ Despite her regal titles, the identity of this lady and her Pallava lord must remain somewhat doubtful. §

Conquest of Kongu.

The *Kongudēśa-rājākkaḷ* affirms that Āditya, after being crowned at Tañjāvūr-paṭṇam, came to Kongudēśa, conquered the country and governed it in addition to his own; it also says that he took the town of Taḷaikāḍ. Despite the lateness and the general untrustworthiness of this chronicle, this statement looks very

* 161 of 1928.

† 16 of 1899. The regnal year 24 is given by Krishna Sastri (*SII.* iii No. 94) but does not seem to be borne out by the text.

‡ 13 of 1899.

§ The place of Aparājita, though not his relation with his predecessor Nṛpatunga, is well attested. The narrow range of the provenance of his inscriptions needs an explanation. It seems strange that the victor of Śrī Puṟambiyam appears to have left no inscriptions to the south of Kāñcīpuram. The death of Pṛthivīpati on the field perhaps left Aparājita at the mercy of his overbearing ally Āditya who managed to take the southern Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam as the price of his co-operation. He chose the next opportunity to complete the destruction of the Pallavas.

It seems unlikely that Māṟambāvai was the queen of Nandi III of Teḷḷāṟu, whose reign ended about A. D. 850. The earliest Cōḷa record which mentions her is in the 18th year of Rājakēsari, c. 889. She is also named in two of Nṛpatunga's inscriptions, both from the Tanjore Dt. (Nos. 300 and 303 of 1901). See *ARE.* 1901, paragraph 10 ; *SII.* ii. p. 513, *n.*

plausible. For one thing, Parāntaka's records are found in the Kongudēśa, and he does not claim to have conquered it. Early in his reign is mentioned an officer of his supervising temple affairs in Kongu. * So it is quite reasonable to suppose that Āditya conquered the Kongu country. The mention of Taḷaikāḍ implies that Āditya took the country from the Western Gangas; there is again nothing improbable in this, and we have seen Pṛthivīpati II acknowledging the overlordship of Āditya. About the same time the Pāṇḍya king Śrī Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa claims to have fought in Kongu; Āditya might have taken part of the Kongu country from him. The Anbil plates, which say that Āditya built temples along the entire course of the Kāvēri from the Sahyādri to the sea, also seem to lend support to the statement in the chronicle of Kongu kings.

Relation to Cēra.

An undated inscription † from Tillaisthānam shows that Āditya was on very friendly terms with his Cēra contemporary Sthāṇu-Ravi. This records a gift by Kaḍamba-mādēvi, on whose husband, Vikki-Aṇṇan, the two monarchs jointly conferred the personal privileges, of 'throne, chauri, palanquin, drum, a palace, *pōnakam* (?), bugle, elephant-corps' and the hereditary title Śembiyan Tamiḻa-vēḷ. Here is clear indication that Vikki-Aṇṇan who was so honoured must have distinguished himself in some manner that greatly pleased these two kings. Can it be that he was a Cēra general whom Sthāṇu-Ravi employed to co-operate with Āditya in his Kongu campaign against the Pāṇḍya? We know that Āditya's son Parāntaka married a daughter of the Cēra king.

* 258 of 1907. The regnal year of this record is 10, not 30.

† 286 of 1911.

COLA
KINGDOM
UNDER
VIJAYALAYA
&
ADITYA I

It is natural to assume that this friendship between the two ancient lines of rulers began with the extension of Cōḷa rule to Kongu. * There is mention of a Vikkiyaṇṇa, son of Pṛthivīpati, in a Ganga inscription † of this period.

Temples.

It is not possible to point with certainty to the temples erected by Āditya. We know of several stone temples whose consecration took place in the reign of Āditya's son and successor; some of these might have been commenced in the time of Āditya. ‡

Death.

Āditya died at Toṇḍaimānāḍ, near Kāḷahasti, in the Chittoor district. A temple was erected over his remains by his pious son Parāntaka and called by the names Kōdaṇḍarāmēśvara and Ādityēśvara; § he also provided for the feeding of a thousand brahmans on certain festival days. Āditya had besides Parāntaka another son, Kannaradēva by name. ¶

* *ARE.* 1912 II, 11 suggests the identification of Sthāṇu-Ravi with Kōkkandan Ravi of the Candrāditya family (148 of 1910) on palaeographical grounds. The epithet '*pal-yānai-kōk-kaṇḍan*' in the Tillaisthānam inscription, like the phrase '*Toṇḍai-nāḍu-pāvina-Śōḻan*', applies to Rājakēsari and not to Sthāṇu-Ravi, as *ARE.* (*ibid*) appears to suggest. "It is not impossible that Sthāṇu-Ravi substantially assisted Āditya in his conquest of the Pallavas and the acquisition of their territory, and that Vikki-Aṇṇan distinguished himself on this occasion as an able general." (*ibid*). In the same paragraph we find the suggestion thrown out that Vikki-Aṇṇan was, like his wife Kaḍamba-mādēvi, of Karṇāṭaka origin, and that he was a Vēḷir chieftain of Koḍumbāḷūr (Pudukōṭṭah).

† 332 of 1912. Śembiyan Mahābali Bāṇarasa (of this record) is no other than Pṛthivīpati II.

‡ *EI.* xv, p. 50.

§ 286 of 1906; also 230 of 1903. Before the Kanyākumāri inscription gave us the information that Āditya had the name Kōdaṇḍarāma, the only Kōdaṇḍarāma known was his grandson Rājāditya; but Rājāditya must have been living in the 34th year of his father's reign. *EI.* xviii pp. 23-24.

¶ 38 of 1895.

Śaivism.

It is remarkable that the kings of the Vijayālaya line were ardent Śaivites. Vijayālaya himself established a Durgā temple in Tañjāvūr after he captured it; Āditya built temples to Śiva. His son raised a shrine over his sepulchre, establishing a linga on it—a Śaivite adaptation of the Buddhist practice of erecting memorial stupas.

Dynastic Myths.

The Cōḷa rulers of this time were not slow to acquire for themselves a pedigree; and a mythical ancestry tracing their descent from the sun was soon provided, though some kings of lunar genesis were also mixed up in it. The earliest version of it is in the Anbil plates which give fifteen names before Vijayālaya including the genuinely historical ones of Karikāla, Kiḷḷi and Kōccengaṇān. The Tiruvālangāḍu plates swell the list to forty-four, and the Kanyākumāri list runs up to fifty-two, while the Leyden grant is satisfied with a dozen. There are others of varying lengths to be gathered from literary works like the *Kalingattupparaṇi*, the *ulās* of Oṭṭakūttan and so on. No two of these lists agree, though some names and details are common to all. An eponymous Cōḷa finds a place in all the copper-plates, and the Kanyākumāri inscription dresses up a pretty story * about his advent to the south. He was drawn in that direction in pursuit of a Rākṣasa who had assumed the form of an antelope, and he was followed by some of his commanders. Then he killed the Rākṣasa and moved along the banks of the Kāvēri, "the river which brings to the earth, in the guise of water, the nectar obtained by the gods after churning the ocean of milk." Having bathed in the river, when he looked for some brahmans, apparently to bestow some gifts on them,

* vv. 28-35.

he found none there; and so he summoned many excellent brahmans from Āryāvarta and settled them on the banks of the river. He then cleared the forest, planted groves of areca-palms and laid out fruit-gardens and otherwise improved the country. Such is the quaint account of the origin of the Cōḷa kingdom as it was imagined by the court-poet of Vīrarājēndra. *

* See *TAS.* iii. for a full discussion of the legends in this record. Also *SII.* iii, Introd. pp. 4-5 for those in the copper-plates, and *EI.* xviii pp. 26 ff.

CHAPTER VII

PARĀNTAKA I (907–953 A.D.)

Cōḷa expansion.

At the time of the battle of Śrī Puṟambiyam, the Cōḷas held a small principality including Tanjore and Uṟaiyūr, perhaps in subjection to the Pallavas. But within twenty-five years their power had become formidable. This expansion was exclusively the work of Āditya I, a remarkable warrior and able diplomat. Circumstances favoured him and he made full use of his opportunities. The Pāṇḍyas, after Śrī Puṟambiyam, were engrossed in their own troubles at home; Varaguṇa died soon after the battle, and his successor Śrī Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa had to deal with a serious rising headed by the haughty Ugra. * With the Pallava Aparājita, Āditya was on friendly terms for some years after Śrī Puṟambiyam. He then turned against him and deprived him of the bulk, if not the whole, of his possessions; in this enterprise, Āditya was possibly aided by his Ganga contemporary; and the obscure conflicts that were engaging the Bāṇas, the Vaidumbas, the Gangas and the Noḷambas, of which the battle of Sorēmati was the central event, must have indirectly facilitated Āditya's success. Before the end of his reign Āditya conquered Kongu and annexed it to his territories. Thus at the accession of his son Parāntaka, 907 A. D., the Cōḷa kingdom embraced the whole country between Madras and Kāḷahasti in the north, and the Kāvēri in the south, with the exception of the Mysore table-land

* *PK.* p. 78.

and the strip along the west coast. It kept the Ganga power in a position of subordinate alliance and was friends with the Cēra. The first conflict with the Pāṇḍya power had perhaps already taken place in the Kongu country. *

Parāntaka I.

Parāntaka I ruled for about forty-five years, as the latest inscription of his reign is dated in his forty-fifth regnal year; † even the forty-sixth year seems to occur in a single inscription from Kaṇḍiyūr, near Tanjore. Parāntaka's rule was one of increasing success and prosperity for the best part of it; he followed up his father's victories by putting an end to Pāṇḍyan independence and extending the empire up to Kanyākumāri in the south; he even invaded Ceylon, though the raid, as we shall see, failed of its object. Elsewhere, he subjugated the Bāṇas, and the Ganga king Hastimalla acknowledged his sway. The last vestiges of Pallava power disappeared and the dominion of Parāntaka extended up to Nellore in the north. Towards the end of his reign, however, an unforeseen disaster overtook the Cōḷa empire; the Rāṣṭrakūṭas under the powerful Kṛṣṇa III invaded the empire in great force from the north-west, and in the conflict that ensued Parāntaka's eldest son Rājāditya lost his life, and Parāntaka himself did not long survive the cataclysm. A heavy gloom settles on Cōḷa power for a period of over four decades thereafter until the accession of the celebrated Rājarāja I in 985 A. D.

* Was it an accident that Āditya's Pāṇḍya contemporary was a Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa, and that Āditya's son also had the names Parāntaka and Vīranārāyaṇa? Or was it more common then to name the first children after their maternal grandparents than it is now?

† 465 of 1918. Krishna Sastri is sure that year 46 is clear in 15 of 1895.

Pāṇḍyan War.

Parāntaka invaded the Pāṇḍya country very soon after his accession. He bears the title Maduraikoṇḍa (who captured Madura) as early as his third year. * The conquest and subjugation of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom was, however, a gradual process; the earliest inscription of Parāntaka actually found in the Pāṇḍyan country is dated in his 24th year. † The Śinnamanūr and the Udayēndiram plates concur in the name of the Pāṇḍya king, Rājasimha, who suffered deprivation and exile at the hands of Parāntaka. Says the *Mahāvamsa* ‡:

"While thus the sovereign of Lankā (Kassapa V, 913–23 A. D.) held sway in justice, the Paṇḍu king was vanquished in battle by the Cōḷa king. To gain military aid he sent numerous gifts. The king, the ruler of Lankā, took counsel with his officials, equipped military forces, appointed his Sakkasēnāpati as leader of the troops, and betook himself to Mahātittha. Standing at the edge of the coast he spoke of the triumph of former kings, and having thus aroused their enthusiasm, he made his troops embark. With his army the Sakkasēnāpati thereupon safely crossed the sea and reached the Paṇḍu country. When the Paṇḍu king saw the troops and him, he spake full of cheer: 'I will join all Jambudīpa under one umbrella'. The king took the two armies; but as he could not vanquish him (the king) of the Cōḷa line, set out once more with the purpose of fighting further, made halt, and died of the *upasagga* (plague) to the undoing of the Paṇḍu (king). When the ruler of Lankā heard that the troops were also perishing of the same disease, out of pity he had the army brought back."

In this account we can recognise three stages in the conflict. In the first the Pāṇḍyan king suffers a

* The date in 29 of 1907 is not so clear, but see 157 of 1928 and 11 of 1931.

† 446 of 1917. The copper-plates furnish little assistance in the study of these campaigns; the Tiruvālangāḍu plates, however, give some information which is borne out by the contemporary account given by the Udayēndiram plates of Ganga Pṛthivīpati II. The stone inscriptions of Parāntaka and the *Mahāvamsa* provide a fairly clear and cogent account of what happened.

‡ *CV.* Ch. 52, vv. 70 ff.

defeat at the hands of Parāntaka. The second stage begins with his appeal for aid to the Ceylonese ruler and ends with a fight in which the Pāṇḍyan and Ceylonese troops together sustained defeat and retreated before the Cōḷa forces. Lastly, another effort made by the Ceylonese commander came to nothing owing to a plague which killed him and led to the recall of the Ceylonese army. The inscriptions so far as they go corroborate this account in every respect; only, they make no mention of the second effort of Sakkasēnāpati and the plague.

The first stage in the account of the *Mahāvamsa* corresponds, doubtless, to the raid on Madura in the first years of Parāntaka's rule which led to his adopting the title Madhurāntaka, the destroyer of Madura. The second stage in the war is thus graphically pictured by the Udayēndiram plates of Pṛthivīpati in 921–2 A. D. *

"His (Parāntaka's) army, having crushed at the head of a battle the Pāṇḍya king together with an army of elephants, horses and soldiers, seized a herd of elephants together with (the city of) Madhurā. Having slain in an instant, at the head of a battle, an immense army, despatched by the lord of Lankā, which teemed with brave soldiers (and) was interspersed with troops of elephants and horses, he bears in the world the title Sangrāma Rāghava (i. e., Rāma in battle) which is full of meaning. When he defeated the Pāṇḍya (king) Rājasimha, two persons experienced the same fear at the same time: (Kubēra), the lord of wealth, on account of the death of his own friend (and) Vibhīṣaṇa on account of the proximity (of the Cōḷa dominions to Ceylon)."

These events must have taken place some years before the date of the Udayēndiram grant. As early as 923 A. D. we find the title *Maduraiyum Īḻamum*

* *SII* ii, No. 76 vv. 9-11.

Konḍa, in a record of Parāntaka.* Two inscriptions of the twelfth year make casual allusions to incidents in the battle of Veḷḷūr in which the Pāṇḍya and Ceylonese forces were defeated by the Cōḷa. One is a gift to commemorate the victory of Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇḍan Amudanār on the occasion when the Pāṇḍya king, helped by the Ceylonese army, attacked the Cōḷa king at the battle of Veḷḷūr. † Another is an endowment for the merit of four soldiers (*śēvakar*) who died in a frontal attack (*neṛṛiśenṛa*) led by Śennippēraraiyan at Vēḷūr (Veḷḷūr) on the occasion when the Pāṇḍyan and Ceylonese kings came and fought a deadly battle with the Cōḷa. ‡ It is clear that there was a great and decisive battle at Veḷḷūr in which the Cōḷa troops had to fight hard before securing victory and which was well remembered for some years after the event for the exceptional heroism of its incidents. It seems probable that this battle was fought about 915 A. D.

Battle of Veḷḷūr

The victory of Parāntaka at Veḷḷūr paved the way for the progressive conquest and annexation of the Pāṇḍyan country. Frustrated in all his attempts to stem the tide of the Cōḷa invasion, the unlucky Rājasimha took to flight, leaving his ancient heritage to fall into the hands of his enemy. In the reign of Dappula IV (923-934 A.D.) the *Mahāvamsa* records: §

* 331 of 1927. *ARE*. 1927, II 10 seeks to effect a weak reconciliation between the new evidence and Venkayya's account of the wars by suggesting that this title was assumed after Vēḷūr (Veḷḷūr) and fully justified only later—a curious instance of academic orthodoxy. See, also *SII*. iii, Introdn. p. 11. No. 332 of 1927 is a Rājakēsari record, not one of Parāntaka, as stated in *ARE*. 1927, App. C.

† 231 of 1926. The Pāṇḍya did not die, as stated in *ARE*. 1926 II, 16. There must be some mistake here. The actual phrase in the inscriptions is '*astigaḍai śeyda ñānṛu*'

‡ *SII*. iii. No. 99. Another inaccuracy here—the Ceylonese king did not come to the fight himself, according to the *MV*.

§ *CV*. Ch. 53 vv. 5 ff.

> "At that time the Paṇḍu king through fear of the Cōḷa (king) left his country, took ship and came to Mahātittha. The king had him brought to him, rejoiced greatly when he saw him, gave him an abundant income and granted him a dwelling outside the town. When the king of Lankā had armed (with the purpose): 'I will make war on the Cōḷa king, take from him his two thrones * and give them to the Paṇḍu king,' the nobles dwelling on the island for some reason or other stirred up a sorry strife to the undoing of the Paṇḍu king. The Pāṇḍu king thought his sojourn here was of no use to him. He left his diadem and other valuables behind and betook himself to the Kēraḷas."

This is confirmed by a verse † in the Tiruvālangāḍu plates saying:

> "Encircled by the fire of his (Parāntaka's) prowess, the Pāṇḍya, as if desirous of cooling the heat caused by it, quickly entered the sea (embarked for Ceylon), abandoning his royal state and the kingdom inherited from his ancestors."

Rājasimha proceeded to Kēraḷa from Ceylon because it was the home of his mother Vānavan-mahādēvi. ‡ The rulers of Kēraḷa were in such close political alliance with the Cōḷas in this period, that Rājasimha depended more on the Ceylonese king for help in the first instance, and went to Kēraḷa only as a last resort, even then leaving his crown and other valuables behind in Ceylon. The flight of Rājasimha may be dated, following the chronology of the *Mahāvamsa*, sometime between the sixteenth and the twenty-sixth year of Parāntaka's reign.

Ceylon War.

Parāntaka spent many years in reducing the newly conquered country to subjection, and when he felt he was near the end of

* Meaning evidently his own Cōḷa throne, in addition to the Pāṇḍyan recently captured by him. See Geiger, *CV.* i p. 172 n. 1.

† No. 51.

‡ *PK.* p. 79.

his task, he wanted to celebrate his success by a formal coronation at Madura at which he was to invest himself with the insignia of Pāṇḍyan monarchy. These had been carried away by Rājasimha and left in the custody of the Ceylonese king, and Parāntaka made an unsuccessful effort to secure them in the reign of the slothful and intemperate Udaya IV (945-53 A.D.): *

"The Cōḷa king hearing of his sloth was greatly pleased, and as he wished to achieve consecration as king in the Paṇḍu kingdom, he sent (messengers) concerning the diadem and the other (things) which the Paṇḍu (king) had left behind (in Lankā). The king did not give them up, so the mighty Cōḷa equipped an army and sent it forth to fetch them by force. Now, at that time the Senāpati here (in Ceylon) was absent in a rebellious border province. The king had him fetched and sent him forth to begin the war. The Senāpati set forth, delivered battle and fell in the fight. Thereupon the king (Udaya) took the crown and the rest and betook himself to Rohaṇa. The Cōḷa troops marched thither, but finding no way of entering Rohaṇa, they turned and betook themselves through fear from here to their own country."

The exact date of these occurrences cannot be determined; the Ceylonese account is no doubt right in placing them in the last years of Parāntaka's regin. † His failure was remembered, and made up for, years later, by his powerful descendant Rājēndra I.

* *CV.* Ch. 53, vv. 41 ff.

† See Geiger, *CV.* i p. 176 n. 4. Also ii p. xx n. 18. It must be noted that Venkayya's proof that it is only in his latest inscriptions of 943/4 to 947/8 that Parāntaka calls himself "Conqueror of Ceylon" no longer holds good; and the date 948 accepted by Geiger for this invasion is not so trustworthy as it appeared to Hultzsch. (See 332 and 331 of 1927 of years 8 and 16 respectively of Parāntaka). The *MV.* goes on to add that a new Senāpati of Udaya "laid waste the borderland of the Cōḷa king and forced him with threats to restore all that he had carried away" as booty. What exactly is meant by the 'borderland' is not clear.

Allies of Parāntaka.

Besides the friendliness of the Kērala ruler and the assistance of the Paluvēṭṭaraiyar chieftains of Kīlappaluvūr, Parāntaka was aided in his Pāṇḍyan campaigns by the Vēlir chiefs of Koḍumbāḷūr. Records dated very early in Parāntaka's reign show that prince Arikulakēsari, one of the sons of Parāntaka, had already married Pūdi Ādicca Piḍāri, daughter of Tennavan Ilangōvēḷār of the Koḍumbāḷūr line. * Other evidence of the close connection in this period between the Cōḷa line and the Koḍumbāḷūr chieftains is furnished by records from Pudukottah and the Trichinopoly district. † Their hostility to the Pāṇḍya king Rājasimha becomes clear from the Śinnamanūr plates of the sixteenth year of Rājasimha (c. 916 A. D.). While giving an account of Rājasimha's relations with the Cōḷas in the early years of Parāntaka's rule, the Pāṇḍyan inscription says that Rājasimha "defeated the king of Tañjai (Tanjore) at Naippūr, fought a battle at Koḍumbai (Koḍumbāḷūr), the seat of one of the powerful Cōḷa subordinates, burnt Vañji and destroyed the king of Southern Tañjai (perhaps another subordinate of the Cōḷas) at Nāval." ‡ This rather obscure and, no doubt, highly embellished account, from the Pāṇḍyan side, of the early stages of the Cōḷa war is valuable in two respects. It confirms the impression derived from the *Mahāvamsa* and the inscriptions of Parāntaka that his conquest of the Madura kingdom was a gradual and difficult process which involved much fighting spread over many years. It provides, moreover, a clear idea of the alignment of the political powers in these struggles, and corroborates the view

* *SII.* iii 96.

† See *ARE.* 1908, II 84 ff.

‡ *SII.* iii p. 449.

that the Cēra and the Koḍumbāḷūr chiefs * were friendly to the Cōḷa and fought on his side.

Other Wars.

The intervals between his Pāṇḍyan wars were employed by Parāntaka in extending his power elsewhere. The Sholingur rock inscription † of the ninth year mentions that the Ganga Pṛthivīpati II got the title of Bāṇādhirāja from Parāntaka and that he distinguished himself in a fight at Vallāḷa. The Udayēndiram plates of Pṛthivīpati ‡ state that Parāntaka uprooted two Bāṇa kings and conquered the Vaidumbas.) The Bāṇas were an ancient line of kings who ruled for over two centuries in the tract that came to be called Perumbāṇappāḍi, the Bāṇa country. § This was the area to the north of the Pālār, between Punganūr in the west and Kāḷahasti in the east. There is reason to believe that at an earlier period they ruled the territory further north and were forced to migrate south in the period of the rise and expansion of the Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi. In the last stages of their existence as an independent power their

* We have only one inscription (129 of 1907, Pd. 14), its beginning lost, giving the genealogy of these chieftains for eight generations or so. It is probable that there were collateral branches of which we have as yet no information and if, failing to allow for this possibility, we seek to accommodate all the inscriptions in the genealogy of this single record, we come across a number of difficulties not easily settled. It should also be borne in mind that a title like Tennavan Iḷangōvēḷār may have been borne by several persons, and no identification can be confidently based on the recurrence of such titles in different inscriptions. At any rate, if Pūdi Vikramakēsari was, as there are strong reasons to believe, the contemporary of Āditya II who 'took the head of Vīrapāṇḍiyan,' it is difficult to believe that he was also the Tennavan Iḷangōvēḷār whose daughter Ādicca Piḍāri had become the wife of Arikulakēsari as early as the third year (910 A.D.) of Parāntaka I. These chiefs were Kaḷḷar (140 of 1928-Parāntaka I, year 17), and had dynastic connections with the Muttaraiyar (337 of 1904, Pd. 45). Iḍangaḷi-Nāyanār was believed to be of their family (*Periya Purāṇam*), *contra* Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi.

† *EI.* iv pp. 221-5.

‡ *SII.* ii No. 76, v. 9.

§ On the Bāṇas see *EI.* xi, pp. 229-40 ; and xvii pp. 1-7. I follow Hultzsch's table (*EI.* xvii p. 3) for the numbering of the Bāṇa kings.

capital was at Paṟivi * which is first mentioned in the Sholingur inscription and may be identical with Parigi, in the Hindupur Taluq of Anantapur district. The last ruler of the line was Vikramāditya III, Vijayabāhu, described as the dear friend of Kṛṣṇarāja, doubtless Kṛṣṇa III, his powerful Rāṣṭrakūṭa neighbour. The course of events which is nowhere described in explicit terms can only be inferred from a careful study of the dates which, fortunately, are clearly recorded in the inscriptions bearing on this topic.

With the Bāṇas.

Hastimalla got the title Bāṇādhirāja from Parāntaka before 916 A.D. (Sholingur record). Vijayāditya II Prabhamēru ruled the Bāṇa territory independently till 909 A. D. † The conquest of the Bāṇas by Parāntaka must have taken place in the intervening period of six or seven years. The great-grandson of Vijayāditya Prabhamēru is known from his Udayēndiram grant to have been the friend of Kṛṣṇarāja III, Rāṣṭrakūṭa. There were two Bāṇa kings intervening—Vikramāditya II and Vijayāditya III, Pugaḻvippavargaṇḍa. Considering the fact that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛshṇa III could not have begun his reign much earlier than A.D. 940, it seems proper to infer that the two Bāṇa rulers who were dispossessed of their kingdom and perhaps forced by Parāntaka to seek refuge within the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dominion were Vikramāditya II and Vijayāditya III. The title conferred on Pṛthivīpati II, Bāṇādhirāja, was not then an empty name; it carried with it the real overlordship of the Bāṇa country for some years. And this uprooting of the Bāṇas, so proudly proclaimed by the

* Paṟivi and Nandagiri occupy in late Bāṇa records a position similar to that of Uṟaiyūr and the Kāvēri in the Telugu Cōḻa records. It may be observed that Parigi answers to the description of the Bāṇa country being to the west of the Āndhra.

† 99 of 1899.

Ganga ruler who benefited thereby, contributed to the invasion of the Cōḷa lands by Kṛṣṇa III which ended so disastrously for the Cōḷas.

With the Vaidumbas.

Forming part of the campaign against the Bāṇas, or at any rate closely connected with it, was the war against the Vaidumbas. These were a Telugu family who have left behind a few records in that language and in Kanarese. In the ninth century they claim to have had the Rēnāṇḍu 7000 country under them, and their inscriptions tell us that in the great battle of Sorēmati (*c.* 880 A. D.) they took the side of the Bāṇas against the Noḷambas and the Gangas. This alliance with, and possibly subordination to, the Bāṇas continued until the time of Parāntaka's war with them. We have no direct means of identifying the opponent of Parāntaka. Some records * of Kannaradēva (Kṛṣṇa III) from the South Arcot district mention the Vaidumba Mahārāja Śandayan Tiruvayan and Tiruvayan Śrīkaṇṭha; the Vaidumba chief reduced to submission by Parāntaka about 915 A. D. must have been Śandayan Tiruvayan himself or his immediate predecessor. The Vaidumbas, like the Bāṇas, sought refuge with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas from the onslaught of the Cōḷas. In later times, under Rājarāja I and Rājēndra, when the Cōḷa empire regained its ascendancy, the son and grandson of Tiruvayan accepted subordinate positions under the Cōḷas.

Śītpuḷi Nāḍu.

Two inscriptions † from Tiruvoṟṟiyūr contain the most casual reference to a campaign in the Nellore district. An officer of Parāntaka, Māṟan Paramēśvaran, a native of

* 235, 267, 268 of 1902 (*EI.* vii pp. 142 ff) and 16, 743 of 1905; *ARE.* 1905 II, 28.

† Nos. 160, 236 of 1912, the former being *SII.* iii 108.

Śiṟukuḷattūr, overthrew Śīṭpuḷi and destroyed Nellūr, and on his way back to the south, he stopped at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr to make a thanks-offering to Mahādēva in the form of a grant of land, which four years later was released from the fiscal dues falling upon it. The original gift was made in the thirty-fourth year of Parāntaka (A.D. 941). This campaign was probably directed against the power of the Vēngī ruler Cāḷukya Bhīma II. Śīṭpuḷi was a district in the southern regions of the Eastern Cāḷukya kingdom. * Considering that no records of Parāntaka have been discovered in the east coast region to the north of Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, it may be doubted if the campaign had any permanent results. †

Growing Difficulties.

From about 940 A.D , Parāntaka experienced the increasing difficulty of defending an empire at a great many points; in less than fifty years a small principality had grown into a widespread dominion at the expense of its neighbouring states; the very quickness of the expansion was fraught with danger and dynasties which had been dispossessed and driven out of their traditional homes could not all be expected to give in without further struggle. Nor was it likely that other powers like the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Eastern Cāḷukyas would view without concern the progress of the Cōḷa power. We have seen already that some time after 945 A. D., Parāntaka experienced a repulse in Ceylon and failed to take from Udaya IV the Pāṇḍyan diadem. We must now turn to a narration of the occurrences elsewhere that must have had no small share in forcing

* *ARE.* 1913 II 18 and *SII.* iii 108 (introdn.) make Śīṭpuḷi a personal name, and suggest that Śīṭpuḷi was the general of Bhīma. But 79 of 1921 (Rājak. 6) mentions Śīṭpuḷi-nāḍu and Pāki-nāḍu. The latter is well known as Pāka-rāṣṭra.

† See Ch. viii below, under Ariñjaya.

Parāntaka to give up the fight in Ceylon and acquiesce in his failure.

Death of Pṛthivīpati.

The death of Ganga Pṛthivīpati II, the trusted friend and grateful vassal of Parāntaka I, which must have occurred about 940 A. D., * may be said to mark the commencement of Parāntaka's troubles from this quarter. Pṛthivīpati left no son, Vikkiyaṇṇa having pre-deceased him. † Būtuga II, who had married a Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess Rēvakā, the sister of Kṛṣṇa III, and assisted Kṛṣṇa in securing his throne from a usurper, was now left in unquestioned supremacy in the Ganga country, because he had murdered his elder brother Rācamalla and annexed his possessions also. ‡ And the Bāṇas and the Vaidumbas were already by the side of Kṛṣṇa soliciting his protection and aid against the powerful Cōḷa. Kṛṣṇa was in the prime of life and had just encountered and overcome opposition at home and was not reluctant to seize the favourable moment that chance offered to him for making a great advance to the south.

Rājāditya.

It is possible that these developments were foreshadowed even in the life-time of Pṛthivīpati and a little before the accession of Kṛṣṇa to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa throne. A record § from the North Arcot district commemorates the death of a hero in 936 A.D. in a cattle-raid by a Western Ganga king (Perumānaḍigaḷ), and this may be taken to

* Rangachari says that Pṛthivīpati became a vassal of Kṛṣṇa III, and was living in A.D. 953 (N A. 586). In saying this, he overlooks Hultzsch's warning that the Attimallar of this record is a different person (*EI.* vii p. 195)

† 332 of 1912.

‡ Rice *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 45

§ 1 of 1896 *ARE.* 1896, paragraph 6; *EI.* iv pp. 178–9.

give the first indication of the coming storm. There is also evidence to show that about this time Rājāditya, the eldest son of Parāntaka, was stationed with a large army including an elephant corps and some cavalry * in the district known in inscriptions and literature as Tirumunaippāḍi-nāḍu. Veḷḷangumaran, a Kēraḷa general of Rājāditya's forces, was present at Grāmam as early as 936 A. D., † where seven years later he constructed a stone temple to Śiva on the banks of the Peṇṇār. ‡ Tirunāvalūr, a village near Grāmam, called Rājāditta-puram till about 1140 A. D., § was the residence of Rājāditya for many years. We also find Arikula-kēsari ¶ in the same region about the same time, no doubt assisting his brother, Rājāditya. It is clear, therefore, that Parāntaka was not unmindful of the repercussions of his aggressive policy against the Bāṇas and the Vaidumbas, and that though he expected much from the loyal support of Pṛthivīpati II, he did not leave everything to him, but made his own preparations to meet an emergency.

In Tirumunaip-pāḍi.

Policy of Parāntaka.

The chronology of Kṛṣṇa's campaign against the Cōḷa has been the subject of some difference of opinion, but it is not incapable of precise determination. The Śōḻapuram inscription || which is dated in three different ways may furnish the starting point. This record which bears the Śaka date 871 (A.D. 949) is also

Chronology of Kṛṣṇa's invasion.

* *ASI.* 1905-6 p. 181. Also 180 of 1921. *ARE.* 1921, II 25.

† 739 of 1905.

‡ 735 of 1905 dated Saturday, 14th January 943 A.D.

§ 374 of 1902.

¶ 280 of 1902.

|| 428 of 1902 ; *EI.* vii p. 194.

dated in the second year of some king not named in direct relation to this regnal year. But as Kannaradēva started his rule in or about 940 A.D.,* the second year cannot be his. Venkayya, however, affirms † that this is 'evidently a record of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III' and suggests that the date is 'probably the second year after the occupation of the Toṇḍaināḍu' by him. But the suggestion is contradicted by the record itself which says that it was the year in which Kṛṣṇa entered Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam; and we have no other instance in his numerous records from that country of his using the date of his entry into Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam as the starting point of an era; they give invariably his regnal year. The only alternative is to assume with Hultzsch that it refers to Rājāditya's rule as the inscription comes from a place within the sphere of his jurisdiction as viceroy. It is not to be supposed ‡ that Rājāditya began to rule and issue inscriptions in his own name only after the death of his father; for nothing is more common in Cōḷa inscriptions than for records of successive rulers dated in different series of regnal years to overlap. Rājāditya had by A. D. 948 served his father actively in a subordinate capacity for over a dozen years, and it is not a violent assumption to make that Rājāditya was made 'co-regent' § in that year. There is one circumstance which may be said to support this suggestion. The Kanyākumāri inscription of Vīra-

* No. 236 of 1913 dates his death in Ś. 889 (A.D. 967). It is possible he started rule somewhat earlier. His earliest inscription is dated, however, A.D. 940; perhaps the conflict with Lalleya, the rival claimant to his throne, filled the early years.

† *ASI.* 1908-9. p. 122 *n.* 2.

‡ *Contra.* T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *EI.* xv pp. 51-2 and *EI.* xviii p. 24. See also *ARE.* 1911, II, 22.

§ Though not a happy term this may be retained as familiar to students of South Indian epigraphy.

rājēndra categorically affirms that Parāntaka earned the name Vīra-Cōḷa by his victory over the invincible Kṛṣṇarāja. * Despite the lateness of the testimony, it is so definite and so probable in itself that we can hardly brush it aside as of no value. If this victory was a fact, it can be placed only in the interval between 940 and 948 A. D., and it is quite likely that Rājāditya had an active share in gaining this success, and that Parāntaka in appreciation of his son's valour and his own growing age, conferred on Rājāditya the position of co-regent in the administration of the empire. †

The third method in which the Śōḷapuram record is dated is by describing it as the year in which Cakravartin Kannaradēva Vallabhan entered Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam after the overthrow of Rājāditya. It seems likely that this record was engraved very soon after Rājāditya's death, when the consequences of the battle of Takkōlam were not yet fully realised. By the evidence of this record the successful invasion of Kṛṣṇa took place in A.D. 949.

The Ātakūr inscription of Būtuga II affords striking confirmation of this date. It dates the battle of Takkōlam (in which Rājāditya lost his life at the hands of Būtuga) in the current Śaka year 872, i.e. A.D. 949-50. ‡ Again Parāntaka's own inscriptions tell the same tale. His inscriptions bearing dates in A.D. 948 are found in the South and North Arcot districts, §

* Verse 58. Note the phrase *ajitan-narādhipaiḥ*.

† This is indeed contradicted by the larger Leyden grant (verse 19). But see note † p. 162 (below).

‡ *EI.* vi p. 51.

§ 419 of 1903; 184, 313 of 1906; 149 of 1916.

and it is a remarkable fact that not only are his inscriptions not found in these districts after that date, but no inscriptions of his dated in his regnal years 42-44 (inclusive) are at all known—a fact clearly to be accounted for by some great disaster like the battle of Takkōlam. Thus all lines of evidence point to one date, 949 A.D., as the year which decided the fortunes of the contest between Parāntaka and Kṛṣṇa.

A spurious Inscription.

One inscription * from Siddhalingamaḍam (South Arcot), dated in the fifth year of Kṛṣṇa's reign, already in A. D. 944-5 gives him the title Kacciyum-Tañjaiyum-koṇḍa. This has created some confusion, and led some scholars to imagine that Kṛṣṇa's invasion and occupation of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam was earlier than the battle of Takkōlam. † But the difficulty of reconciling this datum with the rest of our evidence is so great as to be almost insuperable, and we can hardly help suspecting some mistake here. For if Kṛṣṇa was in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam as early as A.D. 944-5, how can we account for Parāntaka's inscriptions being found in the Arcot districts till 948 A. D., for the presence of Rājāditya at Takkōlam in 949 A.D., and for the battle of Takkōlam itself? Again, how can we account for the fact that, barring this single record from Siddhalingamaḍam, there is no other inscription of Kṛṣṇa dated before his sixteenth regnal year (956 A.D.) in the North and South Arcot districts? There is no alternative, in fact, to our rejecting this record as spurious at least in its date. It should be noticed that the Vyāghra-pādēśvara temple from which the inscription comes was renovated in the reign of Kulōttunga I

* 375 of 1909.

† K. V. S. Aiyar, *EI.* xii p. 123; xix pp. 82 ff. *ARE.* 1926 II 12.

by one of his officers, * and that it is quite probable that an error crept into the copy of this old inscription reproduced on the new walls more than a century after it was originally recorded, and this, I think, is the real explanation of the difficulty. †)

The Invasion.

We may now turn to the actual course of events connected with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion. It has been pointed out before that Parāntaka was quite alive to the danger from the north-west frontier of his dominions, and that he took early steps to maintain a strong frontier force intended to resist any hostile movements on the part of his enemies. It would seem that the arrangements made by Parāntaka fulfilled their purpose for quite a number of years, and that in this period the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler suffered a defeat at the hands of Parāntaka and his warlike son Rājāditya. But to a powerful ruler like Kṛṣṇa whose dominion extended over the whole of Western Dekkan from the Central Provinces to Mysore, and who had the Gangas and others in the south for his allies, such a defeat was only a spur to greater effort. This he made in 949 A.D., and the decisive engagement took place at Takkōlam, six miles to the South-east of Arkōṇam in the North Arcot district. ‡ The Ātakūr inscription tells us that Kannaradēva 'was making a display of triumph after fighting against and killing the Mūvaḍi-Cōḷa-Rājāditya at a place called Takkōla'; it also adds: 'when

Takkōlam.

* See Rangachari, p. 217; *Studies* pp. 178—9; 197.

† It may also be noticed that while in some records Kannaradēva is given the title *Kacciyum-Tañjaiyum-koṇḍa*, in others he is simply called by his name without any distinguishing title. But as the range of dates and the provenance of both sets of these records are identical, and as no palaeographical differences divide the two groups, they may both be treated as relating to Kṛṣṇa III.

‡ *EI.* iv, p. 331 n. 3.

Kannaradēva was fighting the Cōḷa, Būtuga made the howdah the battle-field, and aimed at, pierced and killed Rājāditya '—an act for which Kṛṣṇa rewarded him by granting him the districts of Banavāse 12,000, and Beḷvōla 300.* The Cōḷa version of what happened on the occasion is not different; the Tiruvālangāḍu plates † say that Rājāditya went to heaven after conquering Kṛṣṇarāja; the larger Leyden grant is more explicit and records ‡:

"The heroic Rājāditya, the ornament of the solar race, having shaken in battle the unshakable Kṛṣṇarāja with his forces, by means of his sharp arrows flying in all directions, was himself pierced in his heart while seated on the back of a large elephant by the sharp arrows of the enemy, and (thus) winning the praise of the three worlds, he ascended to the heaven of heroes in a tall *vimāna*."

This clearly implies that there was much hard fighting, and that the Cōḷa army lost the battle mainly on account of a well-aimed arrow of Būtuga having fatally wounded Rājāditya.

* This important inscription has been edited twice by Fleet——*EI.* ii pp. 167 ff; vi pp. 50-7. The text has: '*Mūvaḍi-Cōḷa-Rājādityana mēlē* (*ba*)*ndu Takkōla-doḷ kādi kondu bijayam-jeyyuttu iḻdu*' (l. 4); and "*Kannaradevam Cōḻanam kāduvandu Būtugam Rājādityanam bisugeye kaḷḷan-āgi guri (suri)-giridu kādi kondu Banavase Pannirccasiramum* etc." (ll. 20-1).

On both occasions Fleet translated the second extract so as to imply treachery on the part of Būtuga. And in discussing No. 181 of 1912, a most baseless conjecture was hazarded in *ARE*. 1913, II, 17 that Caturānana Paṇḍita betrayed his master and friend Rājāditya to his foes. But the phrase '*bisugeye kallan-āgi*' must really be read: '*bisugeye kaḷanāgi*'; the words '*bisuge*' and '*kaḷan*' mean respectively the howdah fastened to the back of elephants for riding on, and field (of battle). Būtuga made the howdah of Rājāditya's elephant itself the battle-field. This interpretation is borne out by the Cōḷa inscriptions. The larger Leyden grant says: "*Rājādityas-sa viro ravikulatilakaḥ Kṛṣṇarājam sasainyam saṃkṣobhyākṣobhyam-ājau* * * *nāgēndra-skandha-vartti vidaḷita-hṛdayaḥ* * * *viralokaṃ-jagāma*," a clear statement which leaves not the slightest room for the suspicion of treachery on the part of Rājāditya's opponent. See *JRAS*. 1909, pp. 443-6. Other Cōḷa inscriptions from Kumbakōṇam and Tirunāgēśvaram mention the 'king who died on the back of an elephant.' *ARE*. 1912, II, 14. Fleet's old mistake is repeated in the *Kadamba-kula* (Bombay, 1931) p. 86

† v, 54.

‡ *ASSI*. iv. pp. 206-7, ll. 42-45.

And after.

That even this decisive battle was not followed by the total collapse of all resistance to Kṛṣṇa's advance, and that he had some more years of rather hard fighting, may be inferred from the fact that inscriptions dated in his reign do not begin to appear till his sixteenth year, 956 A. D. or at the earliest 953 A. D. Inscriptions from South Arcot dated in Śaka years 874–876 (A.D. 952-954) * recording gifts of minor chieftains but not acknowledging either Cōḷa or Rāṣṭrakūṭa supremacy may be taken to support this inference. There is much uncertainty, however, about the exact course of the events that followed Takkōlam. We have no Cōḷa records from the districts of North Arcot, South Arcot and Chingleput for several years after the battle; Kṛṣṇa's records with dates ranging from the sixteenth to the thirtieth years of his reign are found in the same area. By assuming the tittle '*Kacciyum-Tañjaiyum-koṇḍa*,' Kṛṣṇa claimed to have captured Kāñcīpuram and Tañjāvūr. The 'spurious' Sudi plates † state that Būtuga, after conquering Rājāditya, assaulted Tanjore, Nālkōṭe and a number of other fortresses and handed over to Kṛṣṇa elephants, horses and a vast amount of treasure captured from these places. The Karhāḍ grant (959 A.D.), which shows Kṛṣṇa still in his camp at Mēlpāḍi (N. Arcot) at the end of his southern campaigns, states that in the course of his *digvijaya* in the south, he uprooted the family of the Cōḷas, distributed their territory among his followers, extorted tributes from several kings, including the king of Ceylon, and erected a pillar of victory in Rāmēśvaram ‡. We cannot say for certain if these are merely empty

* 338, 356 of 1902 (Tirunāmanallūr).

† *EI.* iii p. 179-80. Also the Kudlūr plates of Mārasimha (A.D. 963) ll. 88 ff. *MAR.* 1921, pp. 11, 26.

‡ *EI.* iv. p. 280.

boasts or the record of a triumphant raid across the Southern countries. No inscriptions of Kṛṣṇa or his vassals are found south of the latitude of Pondicherry. *

Effects.

But there can be no question that the effect on the Cōḷa empire was ruinous, and that as a consequence of the blow in the north, much of the south also slipped out of Parāntaka's hands. The Cōḷa empire was no more; it had to be built up all over again.

Close of Parāntaka's reign.

Only a few inscriptions from the neighbourhood of Tanjore attest the closing years of Parāntaka's reign, and they are dated in the forty-fifth and forty-sixth regnal years of Parāntaka who must have therefore lived up to 953 A.D. † He had many wives, of whom the names of no fewer than eleven occur in his inscriptions. Kōkkiḻān ‡ was the name of the mother of Rājāditya, called also Kōdaṇḍarāma, the eldest son of Parāntaka who died in the battle of Takkōlam. Another queen of Parāntaka, a Kēraḷa princess, § the mother of Ariñjaya, deserves special notice as her marriage, contracted

* Al-Birūni seems to say that Tanjore was in ruins and that in consequence the Cōḷa king built a new capital. Sewell, *Antiquities* ii p. 155. Is this a late reference to the effects of Kṛṣṇa's inroad, or merely the assignment of a wrong reason for the foundation of the new capital at Gangaikoṇḍa-Śōḷapuram ?

† Nos. 465 of 1918, 15 of 1895, and 135 of 1931. Krishna Sastri has said (*SII.* v, p. 226 n) that in 15 of 1895 the figure 6 is clear on the stone, and this must set at rest any lingering doubts on this question of fact. See also *ASI.* 1908-9, p. 122 n 1. The larger Leyden grant (v. 19) categorically asserts that Rājāditya began to rule after the death of Parāntaka, and then proceeds to give an account of Rājāditya's war with Kṛṣṇa. I am inclined to accept the contemporary stone records as more valid evidence than the statement in a copper-plate grant dated after more than half-a-century of the utmost confusion.

‡ 335 of 1902. Gopinatha Rao thinks that this queen and Parāntaka are named among the donors in the Huzur Treasury Plates of Tiruvalla. (*TAS.* ii. 141). But this is doubtful.

§ Anbil vv. 22 3. *SII.* ii p. 383 v. 8.

possibly in Āditya's lifetime, not only gave proof of the friendly political relations that obtained between the Cōḷa and Kēraḷa rulers, but apparently furnished the occasion for a large influx of Malaiyāḷis into the Cōḷa country in search of service under the king and his sons. Veḷḷangumaran, the Kēraḷa general of Rājāditya, who built a temple in Grāmam was only the leading example * of a large class of less known immigrants figuring as donors of small charitable gifts in the inscriptions of the period. Besides Rājāditya, Parāntaka had four other sons: Gaṇḍarāditya, Arikulakēsari, Uttamaśīli and Arindigai or Ariñjaya of the plates. One daughter of his, Vīramādēvi, called also Gōvinda Vallavaraiyar is mentioned; † and it is likely that another, Anupamā, was married to the chieftain of Koḍumbāḷūr. That Parāntaka was fond of many high-sounding titles ‡ is clear from his inscriptions, amongst which the most noteworthy, in this as well as in other respects, are the celebrated records of the twelfth and fourteenth years of his reign dealing with the constitutional arrangements of the *Sabhā* of Uttaramērūr. § He performed several *hēmagarbhas* and *tulābhāras*, and gave *brahmadēyas*. ¶ The Tiruvālangāḍu plates describe

* Iravi Nīli, the daughter of the Cēra King, Vijayarāga, is another. She gave 30-*kalañju* of gold for a lamp in the Tiruvoṟṟiyūr temple. (*SII.* iii No. 103).

† Nos. 245-6 of 1921 (year 31).

‡ T A. Gopinatha Rao (*EI.* xv. p. 50), basing himself on 110 of 1895 suggests that Vikramaśōḷa Iḷangōvēḷār of that record must have been Parāntaka. If that be so,—the name Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar favours the supposition,—the record must be one of Āditya I, as Iḷangōvēḷār would not apply to Parāntaka in the record of any other sovereign. Then the interval between this record mentioning the marriage of Parāntaka and his death would be eighty years (34 *plus* 46) at least, which looks improbable. There were many Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyars, and Iḷangōvēḷār is not the same as Iḷangō. Perhaps Vikramaśōḷa Iḷangōvēḷār was only a minor chieftain of some feudatory family.

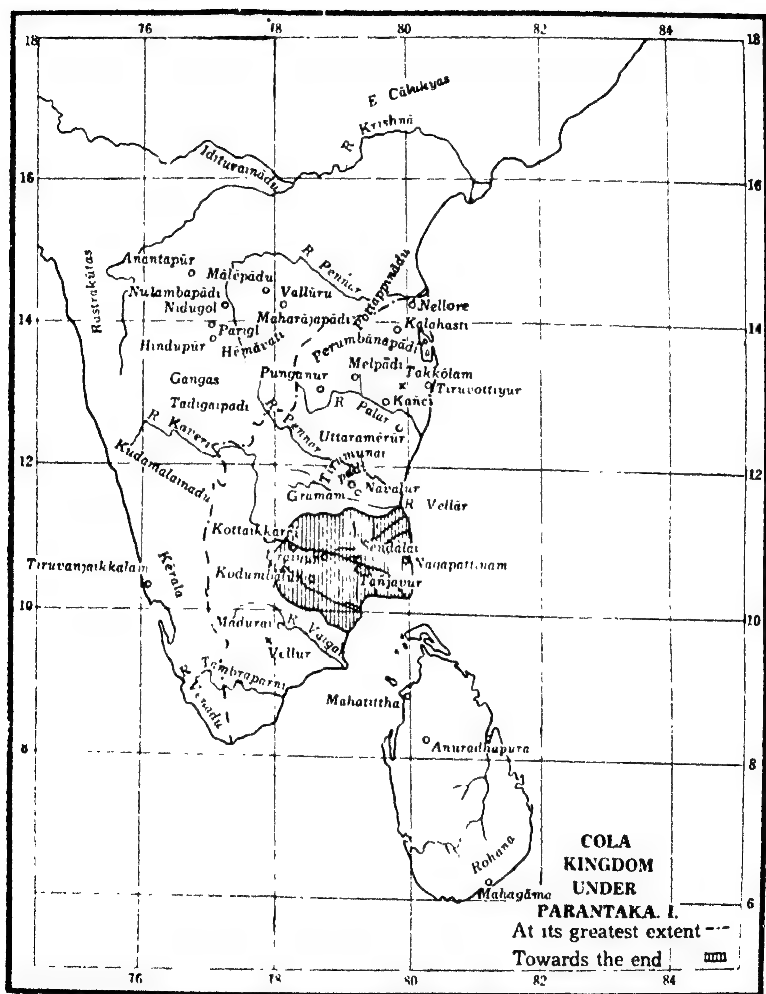
§ See *Studies* pp. 163 ff.

¶ *SII.* ii. 383 v. 7.

Parāntaka as the bee at the lotus feet of Śiva (Purāntaka), and they and the Leyden grant concur in stating that he covered with gold the Śiva temple of Cidambaram. * In fact Parāntaka's reign was a great epoch in the history of South Indian temple architecture, and the work of temple-building begun by Āditya was continued vigorously during the best part of his reign. We have also much valuable and interesting evidence from the inscriptions on the details of administration, central and rural, on the state of religious faith and so on. These matters have been reserved for detailed study at a later stage.

* See also Gaṇḍarāditya's *Tiruviśaippā* on Kōyil: *Tennanāḍum Īḻamum-koṇḍa tiṟaṟ-ceṅgōṟ-cōḻan kōḻi-vēndan Śembiyan ponnaṇinda* * * * * *Tillaiyambalattu* (v. 8).

To face page 164.



Chapter VIII

FROM THE DEATH OF PARĀNTAKA I (953 A.D.) TO THE ACCESSION OF RĀJARĀJA I (985 A.D.)

I.—*Chronology and order of succession.*

The relatively short interval of about thirty years from the death of Parāntaka to the accession of Rājarāja I is one of the most difficult passages of Cōḷa history. The evidence is confusing, and no two scholars are agreed in its proper interpretation. It is hardly possible to put forward a scheme of succession without a more or less full discussion of possible alternatives.

Inscriptions.

We may begin by setting forth in some detail the nature of the evidence at hand. Stone inscriptions constitute the chief source of our knowledge, and there are several among these that unmistakably belong to this period. * The inscriptions of Kannaradēva (Kṛṣṇa III) bearing regnal years higher than twenty-three, and found in the districts

* Three inscriptions, all of the ninth year of a Parāntakadēva, pose one of the minor problems in Cōḷa epigraphy. No 16 of 1896 from Tiruvālangāḍu, North Arcot, calls the king Parakēsari and Tribhuvana-Cakravartin. No. 261 of 1923 from Kōyil-Tēvarāyanpēṭṭai, Tanjore Dt., does the same, and in addition gives a historical introduction beginning *pū-mangai-vaḷara.* No. 225 of 1929 from Tiruvaḍattuṟai, S. Arcot, gives the same introduction, but calls the king Rājakēsari and Cakravartin. If the records are genuine, they must be of the reign of either Parāntaka I Parakēsari, or Parāntaka II Rājakēsari. But the absence of other Cōḷa *praśastis* before Rājarāja I, the title Tribhuvana-cakravartin applied to the king in two of these records, and the fact that the third is found in a temple which has no other inscription of a period earlier than that of Vīrarājēndra, render these records suspicious. They furnish no information of historical importance. See *ARE.* 1924, II 9; 1929, II 26.

of North Arcot and Chingleput constitute the first group of these records; the latest year in them is twenty-eight, and this would take us to A.D. 965. * Of the remaining stone inscriptions of the period, ten inscriptions belong to Maduraikoṇḍa Rājakēsari and bear dates in regnal years ranging from five to seventeen. Four inscriptions belong to Sundara Cōḷa with titles Madhurāntaka and Pāṇḍiyanaic-curam-iṟakkina; two of these are dated in years five and seven, while the dates in the other two are lost. A considerable number with years ranging from two to five are those of Parakēsari who had the title (Vīra) Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa; and a still larger number belong to a Pārthivēndra-varman with the same title and with other variants to his name like Vēndrādi-varman, Pārthivēndrādhipati-varman and so on; these records give dates up to the thirteenth regnal year. † Lastly, we have a number of Parakēsari Uttama Cōḷa's inscriptions with regnal years from two to sixteen; two of them are precisely dated and fix the limits of his reign. The title Parakēsari, and the dates in his inscriptions ‡ which

Of Maduraikoṇḍa Rājakēsari.

Of Sundara.

Of Vīra-Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa Parakēsari.

Of Pārthivēndra.

Of Uttama Cōḷa.

* Krishna Sastri (*SII.* ii Introd. 12) says: "Perhaps the years quoted in Kannara-Kṛṣṇa's Tamil inscriptions must be taken to count from 949 A.D." On the same page he admits that Kṛṣṇa died in Śaka 889 or 967 A D. He does not explain why, after this date, records should bear his name and his regnal years till about 977 A.D. Again, he admits that 949 A.D. was not the year of Kṛṣṇa's entry into Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam but the following year; why, then, should this year have been the starting point for the dates in his Tamil records? The highest regnal year in the Tamil inscriptions is not 30 as was believed till recently but only 28 (364 of 1902, 159 of 1921); the date in No. 232 of 1902 (Kiḷūr) is now read as 20, not (3)0 which was given in *ARE.* 1903. See *SII.* vii 859.

† See, however, p. 180 *post* on a record of year 15.

‡ See *SII.* iii, 135, 138.

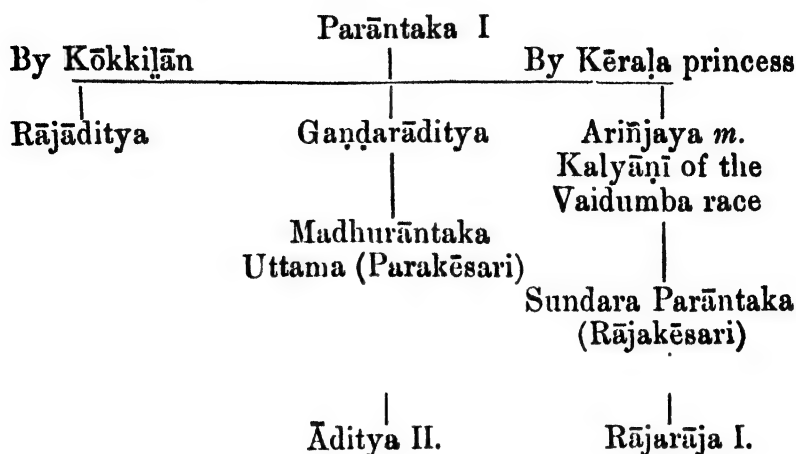
couple Kali year 4083 (A.D. 981-2) with his regnal year thirteen, fix Uttama Cōḷa's place as the immediate predecessor of Rājakēsari Rājarāja I. It should also be observed that some of the numerous records which give no more detailed specification of the ruling sovereign than to call him Rājakēsari or Parakēsari will, no doubt, on any scheme of chronology, be found to fall in this period; but these may, for the most part, be left on one side in the present discussion.

Of unidentified Rāja-and Parakēsaris.

Besides the stone inscriptions, we have the evidence of copper-plate grants. The only grant that falls in this period is that in the Anbil plates of the fourth year of Sundara Cōḷa. Unfortunately for us, Mādhava Bhaṭṭa, the composer of the Sanskrit *praśasti* in these plates, was less anxious to record facts which must have been very well known to him than to display his capacity for *alankāras* in his verse. As it is, even for the fact that Sundara Cōḷa was a Rājakēsari we have to depend on the opening of the Tamil part of the record. The Tiruvālangāḍu plates imply, and the Leyden grant expressly affirms, that after the death of Rājāditya the succession took place in the following order: Gaṇḍarāditya, Arindama, Parāntaka, Āditya and Madhurāntaka. The Kanyākumāri inscription of Vīrarājēndra which, though a stone inscription, resembles the copper-plates in the form of its lengthy preamble, gives only the names of Arindama and Parāntaka II between Parāntaka I and Rājarāja, apparently because the author of the *praśasti* had no other object in view than to trace the descent of the reigning king in the direct line from Vijayālaya. The genealogy of the Cōḷas from Parāntaka I to Rājarāja as it is given in these records may be set

Copper-plates.

down before proceeding further:



Overlapping reigns.

One thing is clear and it is necessary to grasp this firmly; that we cannot treat the regnal years gathered from the stone records as those of kings whose reigns succeeded one another in regular order in the manner implied by the copper-plate grants. For in that case the period would, if we omit Pārthivēndra-varman from the reckoning and add the highest regnal years known of Maduraikoṇḍa Rājakēsari, Sundara, Āditya and Uttama, extend to 45 years, a period much too long for the interval between Parāntaka I and Rājarāja. Then there is the possibility that Gaṇḍarāditya and Ariñjaya also ruled as kings. A Rājakēsari inscription possibly of Rājarāja I's reign * mentions the second year of Gaṇḍarādityadēva *alias* Mummuḍicōḷa-dēva, while taking stock of the gifts made by his queen Śembiyan Mahādēvi at various times to the temple of Tiruveṇ-kāḍu. Records of the eighth year of Rājakēsari † show that Arikulakēsari, the son of Parāntaka, stood in the

Gaṇḍarāditya's rule.

* 44 of 1918 under year 6 of Rājarāja I.

† *SII.* iii, 111 and 112.

relation of Piḷḷaiyār or Āḻvār, * (terms often applied to junior members of the royal family), to the ruling king who, being a Rājakēsari, could only have been Gaṇḍarāditya.

Ariñjaya.

As for Ariñjaya, besides the statements in the copper-plates regarding his rule, there is a Rājakēsari record dated in the twelfth year † which mentions two queens of 'Ariñjigaivarman who died at Āṟṟūr'; and inscriptions from Mēlpāḍi dated late in the reign of Rājarāja I ‡ mention the construction by him of the Cōḷēśvara temple as a memorial shrine (*paḷḷippaḍai*) to Āṟṟūrttuñjina-dēva. These references render it probable that Ariñjaya lived long enough to rule in his own right, though, perhaps, only for a short time. Taking all these facts into consideration, we see clearly that there must have been a great deal of overlapping of the regnal years of the different kings quoted in the lithic records.

Meaning of *talai-koṇḍa*.

Another preliminary question that must be considered is the exact significance of the phrase '*talai-koṇḍa*' which is of some importance to the history of this

* Krishna Sastri remarks: "The epithet Āḻvār is taken to be one of respect. It may also indicate that he was dead at the time," and then proceeds, "if Arikulakēsari, Arikēsari, Ariñjaya or Arindama died before the 8th year of Gaṇḍarāditya as inferred already, the next king must have been a son of Arikulakēsari who, as the Anbil plates say, was Prince Sundara Cōḷa born of a Vaidumba princess." (*SII.* iii, Introd. p. 14). But though Arikulakēsari may be identified with Ariñjaya, there is nothing to show that he predeceased Gaṇḍarāditya. We know that, in many records of Rājarāja I, his elder sister Kundavai is called Āḻvār during her life-time. Further, seeing that Gaṇḍarāditya and Sundara Cōḷa who succeeded him were both Rājakēsaris, Krishna Sastri suggests (*ibid* n. 2) that the intervening Parakēsari must be identified with the infant son of Gaṇḍa-āditya who, though chosen for succession, 'may have been too young at the time to succeed his father.' Ingenious, but not likely. See also *EI.* xv, p. 53 where Gopinatha Rao adopts the same arrangement, cutting out Ariñjaya and making Gaṇḍarāditya a Parakēsari who followed his elder brother Rājāditya Rājakēsari.

† 587 of 1920 (under Sundara).

‡ 83, 84, 86 of 1889 (*SII.* iii 15-17).

period; because Vīra Pāṇḍya claims to have done this to a Cōḷa king and others claim to have done the same thing to Vīra Pāṇḍya himself. The phrase has been generally understood to mean 'having cut off the head', and the identity of the Cōḷa king who died at the hands of the Pāṇḍya has been much discussed.* It appears, however, that the true meaning of the phrase is that the vanquished king had to acknowledge his defeat by humbling himself before the conqueror in a particular manner, as it were placing his head at the disposal of the conqueror. Hultzsch has pointed out † that in the inscriptions of Kulōttunga III, the phrase '*Pāṇḍiyanai muḍittalai koṇḍaruḷiya*' employed in some records is explained by another phrase: '*avan muḍi mēl aḍi vaittu*' of other inscriptions of the same reign; so that the process of 'taking the head' consisted in the vanquished king bowing and touching with his head the feet of the conqueror seated in open darbar. The celebrated Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya of Vijayanagar only varied this traditional procedure slightly when he demanded that, as the price of peace, Adil Shah of Bijapur should visit him and kiss his foot. ‡ The *Guruparamparai*, a work which often gives a true account of the practices of Cōḷa times, mentions that the king from Gangaikoṇḍa-śōḷapuram mounted his state elephant by placing his foot on the head of his *sāmanta*, or feudatory. § The above interpretation of *talai-koṇḍa* has a bearing on the discussion of the chronology of this period, because it follows that a king whose 'head was taken' by another need not be assumed to have died at the time this happened to him. It is, of course,

* Gopinatha Rao thinks it was Sundara Cōḷa *EI.* xv p. 54; others say Gaṇḍarāditya, *QJMS.* xvii p. 195. See also *ARE.* 1921, II 61.

† *SII.* iii p. 215 n. 4.

‡ Sewell: *Forgotten Empire* p. 145.

§ *Guruparamparai* pp. 105-6, (ed. S. Krishnamachari, 1927).

another matter where we have clear statements of a person being killed. Applying this to the cases arising in this period, we see that the Tiruvālangāḍu plates make an express declaration that Āditya II killed Vīra Pāṇḍya in battle and brought his severed head to the Cōḷa capital. * Even here the lateness of the testimony throws suspicion on the event. There is no clear evidence, however, that a Cōḷa sovereign lost his life at the hands of Vīra Pāṇḍya, and apparently Vīra Pāṇḍya's boastful title meant no more than that he inflicted a temporary humiliation on a Cōḷa king or prince.

Identification of Maduraikoṇḍa Rājakēsari.

Evidence has been cited above showing that Gaṇḍarāditya was a Rājakēsari and that he ruled for at least eight years. His rule might have commenced from the death of Rājāditya, whose place he must have taken as heir apparent in Parāntaka's life-time. A suggestion has sometimes been made that Gaṇḍarāditya was a Parakēsari and that Arindama, placed immediately after him by the Tiruvālangāḍu plates, was identical with Maduraikoṇḍa Rājakēsari. † This seems to rest really on two assumptions; that Rājāditya ruled after Parāntaka's death, and that as he was a Rājakēsari, Gaṇḍarāditya who succeeded him must have been a Parakēsari. But it has been shown that the first of these assumptions is not true. It is likely enough that Rājāditya assumed the title Rājakēsari when he was made heir apparent; but considering that he predeceased his father, Gaṇḍarāditya who took his place must have assumed the same title so that the sovereign ruler next after Parāntaka Parakēsari

* vv. 67 and 68. *Contra* Kielhorn, *List* p. 115 n. 2 written before the Tiruvālangāḍu plates were discovered.

† *ARE*. 1904 II, 20; 1909 II, 39.

might be a Rājakēsari. In fact the general opinion now prevailing is that Gaṇḍarāditya was a Rājakēsari, * though the implication that Rājāditya predeceased his father does not seem to have been so clearly grasped. For we shall see at a later stage of this discussion that an application of the rule that every heir apparent, whether one or more, adopted the title Rājakēsari or Parakēsari, according as the ruling sovereign was Parakēsari or Rājakēsari, furnishes a neat solution of the difficulties that could not otherwise be adequately met.

The Rājakēsari title may, therefore, be admitted for Gaṇḍarāditya. But the suggestion, first made by Venkayya, † that Gaṇḍarāditya was no other than Maduraikoṇḍa Rājakēsari, appears to have been accepted without sufficient examination of the evidence. ‡ The title Maduraikoṇḍa was taken to imply that the king was the son of Maduraikoṇḍa Parakēsari, Parāntaka I. Hence when Gaṇḍarāditya was believed to be a Parakēsari, Maduraikoṇḍa was identified with Ariñjaya Rājakēsari. ¶ Later when Gaṇḍarāditya became a Rājakēsari himself, he was said to be also Maduraikoṇḍa Rājakēsari. But this assumption is by no means an

* *SII.* iii Introd. p. 14; and *ASI.* 1908-9 p. 122; also *ARE.* 1912 II 17, more halting in its tone.

† *ASI.* 1908-9 p. 122.

‡ As a matter of fact, the discussion of the subject in *ARE.* 1912, II 17 with reference to No. 306 of 1911 (year 7) is very cautious. It is said that the title Maduraikoṇḍa implies that the king was a son of Parāntaka. On the other hand it is admitted that G. is nowhere 'clearly stated' to have been a Rājakēsari, and that it is difficult to see how the seventeen years of this king can be treated as the period of the rule of Gaṇḍarāditya when there are only twenty years for three reigns—Gaṇḍarāditya, Sundara Cōḷa Parāntaka II and Āditya II Karikāla. The conclusion is: "In any case we may for the present provisionally presume that Maduraikoṇḍa Rājakēsari is identical with Gaṇḍarāditya." It is on the basis of this provisional conclusion that Krishna Sastri arranges the inscriptions in *SII.* iii, part 3. See p. 250 No. 114, introduction and note 4.

¶ *ARE.* 1909 II 39.

argument, and one must be prepared to relinquish it if reason is shown for doing so. Now, let us turn to the provenance of the records of Maduraikoṇḍa Rājakēsari. All of them, except three records of the fourteenth and seventeenth years, come from the North Arcot and Chingleput districts. Three of these are dated in his fifth year, and a fourth in the seventh. One of the records of the fifth year belongs to a place called Karikkal, near Shōlingur, in the Walajapet Taluq of North Arcot. Its date falls about 954 A. D. At the latest, that is, assuming that Parāntaka I died in 953 A. D. and that Gaṇḍarāditya did not begin his rule till after that event, it might be 958. A. D. It is difficult to see how this can be reconciled with the fact that Kṛṣṇa III was still at Mēlpāḍi in 959 A.D. distributing conquered territory among his followers, and that his inscriptions are found in Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam up to about 965. A. D. These objections to identifying Gaṇḍarāditya with Maduraikoṇḍa Rājakēsari are weighty, and should prevail even if no other identification were possible from the later inscriptions of the time. But fortunately there is open to us an easy, and doubtless the correct, solution of the question which would be readily accepted, once the idea is given up that Maduraikoṇḍa must have been a son of another Maduraikoṇḍa, that is, Parāntaka I. A single record from Koḍumbāḷūr, * from which the date has been lost, opens by mentioning '*uḍaiyār madurāntakan Sundara - śōḻan.*' This unique record disposes of the notion that the title Madurāntaka (Madiraikoṇḍa) in the records of this period must have been borne only by a son of Parāntaka I, for we know of no Sundara-śōḻan who was his son. This inscription offers the clue to the correct identity of Maduraikoṇḍa Rājakēsari. Sundara

* 139 of 1907; Pd. 82.

Cōḷa, the son of Ariñjaya, was a Rājakēsari, as the Anbil plates tell us, and he had also the title '*Madurāntakan*.' He has yet another title which gives evidence of his Pāṇḍyan war, namely, *Pāṇḍiyanaic-curam-iṟakkina*. * These facts seem to point definitely to the conclusion that Sundara Cōḷa Parāntaka II was the king who, in some of his records, is called Madi(u)-raikoṇḍa Rājakēsari.

His relation to Uttama Cōḷa.

There is one record of Madiraikoṇḍa Rājakēsari which, at first sight, seems to render it more likely that Gaṇḍarāditya rather than Sundara Cōḷa was the king of that record. This inscription † from Tiruvoṟṟiyūr is dated in the fifth year and registers the endowment of a lamp by one of the nobles of Uḍaiyār Śrī Uttama Cōḷa-dēva who accompanied him to the temple. Krishna Sastri, in editing this record, says: "A reasonable doubt may arise why Uttama Cōḷa is given here the title of a ruling king and not that of a prince. It was perhaps because he was the chosen successor of Gaṇḍarāditya at the time. We know, however, that he actually came to the Cōḷa throne only after one or two other kings had reigned subsequent to his father's death." But if this was so, if Uttama Cōḷa was in the fifth year of his father's reign old enough to be chosen heir apparent, to adopt regal style and to visit temples with his (*perundaram*) nobles, and if his father continued to rule for twelve years thereafter, it is hard to see why he did not succeed his father immediately on his death and had to wait until most probably Ariñjaya and Sundara, possibly also Āditya II, had finished their rule. Not only does Krishna Sastri not

* 291 of 1908. *EI.* xii pp. 121-6.

† *SII.* iii 115 (246 of 1912).

explain this, but he says elsewhere: * "At the time of Gaṇḍarāditya's death, Uttama Cōḷa must have been a young boy, as he was set aside in the order of succession till three kings after Gaṇḍarāditya had ruled and died." Surely it is not easy to reconcile the two positions that the king of the Tiruvoṟṟiyūr record was Gaṇḍarāditya, and that at his death, his son was a young boy, so young that he had to wait through the reigns of three of his successors before he could himself rule. There is a more serious discrepancy. Even assuming that Gaṇḍarāditya counted his regnal years from the death of Rājāditya (949 A. D.), if we identify him with Maduraikoṇḍa Rājakēsari, who ruled for at least seventeen years, his reign would extend up to 966 A. D. And Madhurāntaka Uttama Cōḷa began to rule in 969-70. A.D. The interval of three years is too short to take in the reign of even Sundara Cōḷa whose records unmistakably give him a rule of not less than seven years †, much less those of three kings. The Tiruvoṟṟiyūr record cited at the beginning of this paragraph cannot, therefore, be assigned to Gaṇḍarāditya. It must be admitted, however, that even if we take it to be a record of Sundara Cōḷa, the difficulty still remains of explaining the regal title of Uttama Cōḷa in it. Seeing that Sundara had a son Āditya who was ably assisting him in his warlike enterprises, it seems unlikely that he recognised, and that so early in his reign, a prince from a collateral, although senior, branch of his family as heir apparent. The only suggestion that offers itself, and for which support may be found in analogous cases from Cōḷa records, is that though the gift recorded in the inscription was made in the fifth year of Sundara Cōḷa when

* *SII.* iii, Introd. p. 14.

† 291 of 1908.

Uttama might have been old enough to have a retinue of his own with which he went about touring the country, it was not actually engraved on stone until Uttama Cōḷa had begun to reign in his own right, which he did, as we shall see, immediately after Sundara Cōḷa. *

Two Parakēsaris in succession.

There remain two further questions to be discussed—the position of Vīra - Pāṇḍiyan - talai - koṇḍa Parakēsari and the identity of Pārthivēndravarman who bears the same title. The former may certainly be identified with Āditya, the son of Sundara Cōḷa, who according to the Tiruvālangāḍu plates and the Leyden grant fought against Vīra Pāṇḍya. † But Āditya II was followed by another Parakēsari, viz., Madhurāntaka Uttama Cōḷa. This appears, at first sight, to violate the normal rule of the Rājakēsari alternating with the Parakēsari title among the ruling sovereigns of the Cōḷa dynasty. Krishna Sastri says of Uttama Cōḷa: ‡ " Contrary to the usual order, according to which he ought to have been a Rājakēsarivarman, his predecessor Āditya II being Parakēsarivarman, he too was called a Parakēsarivarman, evidently because he was the son of a Rājakēsarivarman and succeeded to the throne not by the right he possessed, but at the request of his cousin's son Rājarāja I who was the chosen successor." Two remarks may be made on this explanation: first,

* One writer (*QJMS*. xvii, p. 197) claims that ' after a close and patient study of many inscriptions published, unpublished and not yet copied by the Epigraphical department,' he has come to the conclusion that all Rāja Rājakēsari records (with one Rāja) must be assigned to Gaṇḍarāditya, as Rājarāja to whom such inscriptions are assigned really called himself Kō Rājarāja Rājakēsari, (with two Raja-s). No. 176 of 1906 is a record in the seventh year of Rāja Rājakēsari and mentions the fifteenth year of Uttama Cōḷa ; see also 298 of 1908.

† vv. 67-8 and 28 respectively.

‡ *SII*. iii. Introd. p. 16.

it seems hardly consistent with the position held by Krishna Sastri, not by us, that Uttama Cōḷa was chosen successor in Gaṇḍarāditya's reign, and that on account of his tender age, "the claims of Gaṇḍarāditya's chosen successor were temporarily set aside and postponed." * For, if this was so, how can it be said that he succeeded to the throne not in his own right, but at the request of Rājarāja? Then again the implication that the son of a Rājakēsari must be a Parakēsari is contradicted by the example of Rājarāja I, who was a Rājakēsari himself and the son of a Rājakēsari. It may also be stated here that Ariñjaya, who must have ruled a short while as Parakēsari, was also the son of a Parakēsari. The true explanation of two Parakēsaris coming one after another seems to be that the earlier Parakēsari, the chosen heir apparent, Āditya II, died in the life-time of his father Sundara Cōḷa, and the prince chosen next for the throne also took the title of Parakēsari in order that Rājakēsari Sundara might be followed on the throne by a Parakēsari after his death. At the death of Āditya II, † Sundara Cōḷa had to choose Uttama Cōḷa and not his younger son Rājarāja, either because Uttama Cōḷa forced the choice by threatening civil war, or because Rājarāja of his own will preferred to wait. The verses in the Tiruvālangāḍu plates, which are the only direct source of our information, can support either interpretation. They declare on the one hand that Uttama Cōḷa was eager to rule and on the other that Rājarāja was too good a kṣatriya to dream of the throne for himself while his father's cousin wanted it. And we shall see that Uttama Cōḷa made clear his eagerness to rule by, possibly, instigating a political murder.

* See *ibid* pp. 14 n. 2; 16, n. 1.

† For a possible son of Āditya, Karikāla-kaṇṇan by name, whose existence may be inferred from the inscriptions of Rājarāja, see *SII.* ii, p. 460 and n. 2.

Pārthivēndra-varman.

The identity of Pārthivēndravarman, whose records, are found in the districts of North and South Arcot, and Chingleput, is involved in much obscurity. The suggestion * that he was the same as Pṛthivīpati II, the Ganga feudatory of Parāntaka, is the result of a very dubious inference from the resemblance in meaning between the names Pṛthivīpati and Pārthivēndra. It is also partly the result of a confusion between the Ganga king and a feudatory of Kṛṣṇa III who, though he had the name Kannaradēva-Pṛthivigangariyar, was quite different from the Ganga. † After examining the records of Āditya II and Pārthivēndravarman, Krishna Sastri has reached the following conclusion: ‡ "Both these kings claim the epithet, 'who took the head of Pāṇḍya or Vīra-Pāṇḍya'—evidently the same Pāṇḍya king who was at war with Sundara Cōḷa Parāntaka II—and the title Parakēsarivarman. Inscriptions of the former are very few and found only in the south, the latest regnal year being the 5th. Of the latter, there are many in Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam and the latest regnal year is the 13th. Pārthivēndra Ādityavarman may have been a prince of the royal family and viceroy of Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam. Āditya Karikāla appears to have been the actual successor." The inscriptions of Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa Parakēsari are not so very few after all; and what is more important, they are not confined to 'the south,' if by that is meant the country to the south of and outside Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam. There are five inscriptions of his in North Arcot and more in South Arcot. On examination we find that the Pārthivēndravarman records

* *ARE.* 1921 II 61.

† *EI.* vii p. 195. *Con. EI.* iv p. 223 followed by Rangachari in N.A. 586.

‡ *SII.* iii (Intr.) p. 15.

differ from those of Āditya Parakēsari in their provenance only in so far as the former are found in Chingleput district also, and are not found south of Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam. We also find the following features which have a cumulative significance in the consideration of his identity. He is a Parakēsari; * he has the regal title and calls himself 'Kōvirājamārāyar'; † in an early record of the third year he is even called Pārthivēndra Ādittaparumar; ‡ his queens have also the full regal style,—*uḍaiyār dēviyār Villavan mahādēviyār*; § *Perumānaḍigaḷ dēviyārt-tanmapponnār-āgiya Trailōkya mahādēviyār.* ¶ It seems clear that, far from being a feudatory of the Cōḷa king, the ruler who can lay claim to so much distinction must himself be a Cōḷa monarch, and the name Āditya and the title Parakēsari clearly suggest his identity with Āditya Karikāla Parakēsari. 'Pārthivēndra Ādityavarman' and its variant forms occurring in his records show that he took the title 'Pārthivēndra.' The Cōḷa kings were very fond of high-sounding *birudas*, and almost every one of them had many such titles. As the latest recorded regnal year in his inscriptions seems to be the thirteenth year, || it follows that he must have been chosen co-regent within the first few years after his father Sundara Cōḷa's accession. This looks very probable considering that the Leyden grant gives him credit for having successfully attacked Vīra Pāṇḍya as a young boy. Afterwards he must have been deputed to rule the northern part of the Cōḷa dominion. Apparently he died in the life-time of his father and was

Perhaps identical with Āditya II.

* *SII.* iii 180. † *SII.* iii 186. ‡ *SII.* iii, 158.

§ *SII.* iii 193. ¶ 17 of 1921.

|| See, however, *post* pp. 180-1.

succeeded in the place of heir apparent by Parakēsari Uttama Cōḷa.

The results of the foregoing discussion may thus be summarised before the history of the period is taken up:

Rājakēsari Gaṇḍarāditya	A.D. 949 - 957
Parakēsari Ariñjaya	c. A.D. 956 - 957
Rājakēsari Sundara Cōḷa (Madurai-koṇḍa)	c. A.D. 956 - 973
[Parakēsari Āditya II Pārthivēndra Karikāla	c. A.D 956 - 969]

The Parandūr Record.

There is just one record * of Pārthivēndravarman from the Chingleput district which is dated in the fifteenth year. Though the inscription is damaged, a careful examination of the impression of the record establishes two things: the date of the record is clearly 15; and though the chiselling of the letters is by no means good, and the stone is apparently much decayed, there is no reason to question the genuineness of the record which exhibits most of the characteristic palaeographic features of the period. This date must, if accepted, upset the scheme of chronology given above which is based on the identification of Āditya II with Pārthivēndra, for we cannot possibly find room for the fifteen years before the accession of Uttama Cōḷa and within the reign of Sundara. The period of thirteen years takes us almost to the limit and involves the assumption, in itself by no means unlikely, that Sundara associated his son Āditya in his administration very soon after his accession to the throne. On the other hand, this inscription of the fifteenth year from Parandūr is the only record so far

* 75 of 1923. Nos. 62, 63 of 1889 (*SII.* iv, 291-2) are late copies and they are most probably Parakēsari records.

known of Pārthivēndravarman with a regnal year higher than thirteen. We have several records of the thirteenth year, none whatever of the fourteenth, and only this one of the fifteenth. And it is extremely difficult to see any other solution to the riddle presented by his records than the one offered above; for if Pārthivēndra was not Āditya himself, how are we to explain the numerous coincidences to which attention has been drawn above, and which cannot all of them be accidental? The suggestion may therefore be made that in the regnal year in the Parandūr record, the second figure which looks like the ordinary *i* (இ) contains some mistake on the part of the engraver. This record need not be taken into account, therefore, unless other records with higher regnal years than 13 are discovered in future years.

One final consideration remains to be urged in addition to those so far dealt with. If Āditya and Pārthivēndravarman were not identical, the highest regnal year for Āditya would be that found in the records of Parakēsari who took the head of Vīra Pāṇḍya, namely five. We must naturally assume these five years to have been those immediately preceding Uttama Cōḷa's accession in A.D. 969-70; this would lead to Āditya's initial year falling somewhere about A.D. 964/5, which would be in the 8th or 9th year of Sundara Cōḷa according to the chronology suggested above. The fact that Sundara Cōḷa is clearly described as having come out successful in the Pāṇḍyan war before his seventh year (A.D. 963), together with the statement of the Leyden grant that Āditya took part in the fight at Śēvūr when still young, may lend some support to the view that Āditya had become sub-king earlier in Sundara's reign. This argument cannot

be pressed far, as it is possible that Āditya fought without being formally associated in the government; or a second fight with the Pāṇḍyas might have come about later, about the year A.D. 964/5.

II. *History.*

Gaṇḍarāditya.

The rule of Rājakēsari Gaṇḍarāditya is attested not only by the statements of the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu and the Leyden grants which, though vague, doubtless imply that he ruled in his own right as king, but by three Rājakēsari inscriptions * from the Trichinopoly district, all dated in the eighth year and mentioning Piḷḷaiyār or Āḻvār Arikulakēsaridēva. The sphere of Cōḷa rule in his day must have been very limited and at the time of his death, about A.D. 957, † Kṛṣṇa III was still perhaps in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam consolidating his position and distributing the conquered country among his allies and servants. Gaṇḍarāditya left behind an infant son, Uttama Cōḷa, by his queen Śembiyan Mahādēvi. This lady who

His queen.

survived her husband and even her son for many years, and lived on till 1001 A.D. ‡, must have been widowed in early youth. After the death of her husband, hers was a life devoted to religion and charity. The number of stone temples to Śiva built by her, and of substantial endowments for their up-keep after the commencement of her son's rule will be noticed later. Very probably

His *Tiruviśaippā.*

Gaṇḍarāditya was the author of the single hymn on the temple of Cidambaram. In this hymn there is a distinct statement that Parāntaka I

* 176 of 1907; 570, 574 of 1908, (*SII.* iii 111, 112.)

† Krishna Sastri assigns 287 of 1911 (*SII.* iii 113) to G. I rather think it is a record of Sundara Cōḷa. See *post.* p. 187 n. ‡

‡ 200 of 1904.

conquered the Pāṇḍya country and Īḻam, and covered the temple of Naṭarāja with gold; and the author calls himself, like Parāntaka, the king of Kōḻi (Uṟaiyūr) and the lord of the Tañjaiyar (people of Tanjore). * Gaṇḍarāditya seems to have been known also as *Mēṟkeḻundaruḷina-dēvar*, the king who went to the west. †

Ariñjaya.

The identity in meaning of the titles Arikulakēsari and Ariñjaya or Arindama has often led to the supposition that they refer to one and the same person, a younger son of Parāntaka I. This may be so. In any event, Ariñjaya Parakēsari succeeded his brother Gaṇḍarāditya and had a short reign. As yet we have no direct evidence of the transactions of his reign. Two of his queens Vīman Kundavaiyār and Kōdai-pirāṭṭiyār survived him and made gifts in his son's reign. Though it has been thought that Vīman Kundavai was a daughter of the Cāḷukya Bhīma II of Vēngī, ‡ such an alliance between the Cōḷas and the Cāḷukyas in this period when the Cōḷas were reduced to virtual subordination to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas seems hardly likely. If, however, Kundavai was an Eastern Cāḷukya princess, her marriage with Ariñjaya must have taken place before the invasion of the Cōḷa country by Kṛṣṇa and sometime after the raid on Nellore by Māṟan Paramēśvaran, in the reign of Parāntaka I. But two inscriptions § from Tiruppaḻanam, dated in the second year of Parakēsari, mention an Araiyan Ādittan Vīman making some gifts to the local

* These features of the hymn render it more likely that its author was this king rather than the official of Rājarāja, Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarādittar, who is found employed in enquiring into the affairs of temples and whose name seems to imply that he was the son of Madhurāntaka Uttama Cōḷa. *Contra* Venkayya *ASI.* 1905-6 p. 173, n. 5.

† 540 of 1920.

‡ 587 of 1920. *ARE.* 1921, II 26.

§ 162, 172 of 1928.

temple, and there is nothing to preclude this noble (Araiyan) from being the father of Ariñjaya's queen. * If this view is correct, these Parakēsari records must be assigned to Ariñjaya, and in view of the strict limits placed on the duration of Ariñjaya's rule by the general chronology of the period we must assume, what is not unlikely, that Ariñjaya was chosen heir apparent to Gaṇḍarāditya † sometime soon after the death of Parāntaka I. Ariñjaya is said to have died at Āṟṟūr, ‡ a place that cannot be definitely identified. An inscription of Rājarāja I states that he built at Mēlpāḍi a memorial shrine (*paḷḷipaḍai*) § to the king who died at Āṟṟūr and this implies that Āṟṟūr was somewhere in that neighbourhood. Probably, Ariñjaya had entered upon the task of regaining the Cōḷa possessions in the north lost to Kṛṣṇa III. This suggestion gains force from an inscription ¶ from Tirunāgēśvaram which mentions Ariñjigap-pirāṭṭiyār, daughter of prince Arikulakēsari and wife of a Bāṇa king.

Revival of Cōḷa power.

This is a record of the second or third year of a Rājakēsarivarman who may be identified with Gaṇḍarāditya. It suggests that even under Gaṇḍarāditya attempts were made to retrieve the losses sustained in the closing years of his father's rule, and that, possibly, the Bāṇas, or some among them, were successfully seduced from their allegiance to Kṛṣṇa III. This Bāṇa alliance may thus be counted among the earliest indications of the emergence of Cōḷa power from the eclipse it suffered

* See *ARE.* 1928 II 3.

† This, if correct, would be an additional objection to Krishna Sastri's reconstruction of the order of succession.

‡ 587 of 1920.

§ *SII.* iii 17.

¶ 215 of 1911; the date given as [9] is not clear in the original, but it cannot be 9. *ARE.* 1912 II 16.

for a time. After the death of Gaṇḍarāditya, his efforts were continued by Ariñjaya who fell fighting at Āṟṟūr. If this view of Gaṇḍarāditya's reign is correct, it is possible that he also sought, at first with little success, to recover lost ground in the south, and that Vīra Pāṇḍya's boast of 'taking the head' of a Cōḷa may be referred to the same reign.

Sundara Cōḷa

Ariñjaya was succeeded by his son by the Vaidumba princess Kalyāṇi, the only queen of Ariñjaya mentioned by the Anbil plates. This son was Sundara Cōḷa Parāntaka II who, as we have seen, was also known as Maduraikoṇḍa-Rājakēsari. The attention of Sundara Cōḷa was first directed to the south. Vīra Pāṇḍya, having repulsed Gaṇḍarāditya's attempt to restore Cōḷa supremacy in the Pāṇḍya country, was ruling as an independent potentate. The Leyden grant * tells us that in a great

Cēvūr

battle at Cēvūr, Parāntaka caused rivers of blood to flow from the deep cuts inflicted by him on the elephants of the enemy and that his son Āditya, while yet a boy, played with Vīra Pāṇḍya in the battle, like a lion's whelp sporting with a tusker. Āditya's heroism was probably exhibited in the field of Cēvūr, and that battle must have furnished the occasion for his claim that he 'took the head of Vīra Pāṇḍya'. The Leyden grant does not, like the Tiruvālangāḍu plates, state that Vīra Pāṇḍya was

Pāṇḍya War

killed by Āditya, and it is possible that the composer of the Tiruvālangāḍu plates, struck by the forcible simile in the Leyden grant, embellished the account of Āditya's contest with Vīra Pāṇḍya; and his account of Āditya's rule adds nothing else to what we learn from the earlier grant. The chances are that, after the battle of Cēvūr

* vv. 25, 28.

in which Vīra Pāṇḍya sustained a bad defeat, the Cōḷa forces led, among others, by Parāntakan Śiṟiyavēḷār of Koḍumbāḷūr, continued the campaign into the Pāṇḍya country, and forced Vīra Pāṇḍya to seek refuge in the forests. * The Pāṇḍya sovereign was on this occasion also supported by Ceylonese troops in his endeavour to resist the Cōḷa aggression; for Śiṟiya-vēḷār led an expedition to Ceylon, and there he fell fighting in the third year of Sundara Cōḷa, about 959 A.D. † The *Mahāvamsa*, corroborating this account, records the following in the reign of Mahinda IV (956-72 A. D.): ‡

Extended to Ceylon.

"The Vallabha king sent a force to Nāgadīpa § to subdue this our country. The Ruler hearing this, the king sent thither the senāpati Sena by name, to whom he had made over an army, to fight with the troops of the Vallabha king. The senāpati betook himself thither, fought with the troops of this (Vallabha) king, defeated them and remained master of the battle-field. As the kings with the Vallabha (king) at their head, were unable to vanquish our king, they made a friendly treaty with the ruler of Lankā. In this way the fame of the king penetrated to Jambudīpa, spreading over Lankā and crossing the ocean."

The Vessagiri slab inscription ¶ of Mihindu which mentions the successful campaign of senāpati Sena against the Damiḷas furnishes epigraphical confirmation of the statements in the chronicle and the Cōḷa inscriptions. ||

* 302 of 1908. Kanyākumāri inscription v. 63.

† 116 of 1896, *SII.* v. 980 (Yr. 27 of Rājarāja I).

‡ Ch. 54 vv 12-16.

§ The N. W. part of Ceylon (Geiger). The Vallabha has sometimes been identified with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III (Codrington *Ceylon Coins* p. 50). But the Cōḷas were called 'Vaḷava' and the Vessagiri inscription implies that the invaders were Tamils. See Codrington's *Short History of Ceylon* pp. 39 and 53.

¶ *EZ.* i. pp. 29 ff.

|| Some statements in Chapter VIII of *PK*, on the chronology and the course of the Cōḷa conquest, are seen to need considerable modification. To one point

Allies of the Cōḷas

Besides Āditya II, two other persons claim success against Vīra Pāṇḍya. One of these is Pārthivēndra-varman of whom something has been said already. The other is Bhūti-vikramakēsari of Koḍumbāḷūr, who claims to have conquered Vīra Pāṇḍya in battle. The inscription * which gives this information, also states that Vikramakēsari turned the waters of the Kāvēri red with the blood shed by the army of the Pallava, put an end to Vañcivēḷ and ruled from Koḍumbāḷūr. He had two queens Kaṟṟaḷi and Varaguṇā. A Rājakēsari inscription, from which the date has been lost, † mentions that Kaṟṟaḷip-piraṭṭi was the wife of Tennavan Iḷangōvēḷār *alias* Maṟavan Pūdiyār, which may be other names of Vikramakēsari. Two others dated in the thirteenth year of Rājakēsari mention Varaguṇa-perumānār, apparently the other queen of Vikramakēsari. One of these, from Tillaisthānam, ‡ says that she was the queen of Parāntaka Iḷangōvēḷār, a title showing doubtless the subordinate relation in which Vikramakēsari stood to Parāntaka

Vikramakēsari

in particular attention may be drawn here. Vīra Pāṇḍya 'who took the head of the Cōḷa' bore that title for thirteen years. (*PK.* p. 102). This clearly means that Vīra Pāṇḍya did not lose his life at the hands of Āditya and his confederates. For if we accept, for the sake of argument, the latest date suggested for the accession of Āditya II, 965 A.D., Vīra Pāṇḍya must have lost his life in A.D. 966, because Āditya's records of the second year mention the event. Thirteen years earlier than this date takes us to A.D. 953 or 954, a date which seems to be too soon after the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion for a contest between the Cōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas in the South—a contest which gave Vīra Pāṇḍya the occasion to 'take the head of the Cōḷa.' If Pārthivēndra-varman and Āditya were identical, then this contest would be pushed back to 944-5, an impossible date.

* 129 of 1907; Pd. 14 (Text)

† 273 of 1903, *ARE.* 1908 II, 90.

‡ *SII.* iii 113; Krishna Sastri ascribes this record to Gaṇḍarāditya on the ground that Vikramakēsari is palaeographically earlier than the time of Āditya II to which Venkayya ascribed him. I think Venkayya was right. Arguments from palaeography can be hardly conclusive when the difference in time is so little as that between Gaṇḍarāditya and Āditya II. See *JOR.* vii. pp. 1 ff.

Sundara Cōḷa; the other, from Lālgudi, * states that Nangai Varaguṇa Perumānār was the sister of the Cōḷa king. Again, Vikramakēsari called his two sons by Kaṟṟali by the names of Parāntaka and Āditya-varmā, apparently after his Cōḷa sovereign and his son. Lastly, as has been mentioned before, Parāntakan Śiṟiyavēḷār of Koḍumbāḷūr was one of the leaders of the Cōḷa army in its southern expedition. When taken together, these facts suggest that the close terms of friendship and loyalty that subsisted between the chieftains of Koḍumbāḷūr and the Cōḷas under Parāntaka I continued under his successors also, and that Vikramakēsari † assisted Sundara Cōḷa and his son in subduing the rebellious Vīra Pāṇḍya.

The other achievements of Vikramakēsari are not so easily explained as his war with Vīra Pāṇḍya. Even if we ignore the minor success against Vañcivēḷ, it is not easy to see how Vikramakēsari could have fought with

* K. V. Subramania Aiyar who edits this record (*EI.* xx p. 53) assigns it to Āditya I (*ibid* pp. 47-8) and says that its date corresponds to A. D. 883-4. He grants the identity of Varaguṇā with the queen of Parāntaka Iḷangōvēḷār *alias* Tennavan Iḷangōvēḷār, whom he also identifies with Vikramakēsari; but does not deal with the problems raised by the Vikramakēsari record from Koḍumbāḷūr.

† A record of the sixth year of Parakēsari (337 of 1904) from Kuḍumiyāmalai mentions a Varaguṇa-nāṭṭi-pērumānār, queen of Śembiyan Irukkuvēḷār; from this, the conclusion has been drawn that this was another name of Vikramakēsari (*ARE.* 1908 II, 90). But the Varaguṇa-nāṭṭi mentioned in this record was the daughter of a Muttaraiyar chief (Pd. 45 Text) and different from the Cōḷa princess mentioned above. Hence Śembiyan Irukkuvēḷ cannot be the same as Parāntaka Iḷangōvēḷār, if our view that the latter married the Cōḷa princess is correct.

The suggestion may be made that the Muttaraiya lady was the queen of Vikramakēsari and that Parāntaka Iḷangōvēḷār, the husband of the Cōḷa princess, was the elder son of Vikramakēsari. In this case, the 6th year of Parakēsari (337 of 1904) must be the 6th year of Parāntaka I, which would fall nearly 52 years before the wars with Vīra Pāṇḍya in which Vikramakēsari took part. It seems better to treat Śembiyan Irukkuvēḷ and his Muttaraiya wife Varaguṇā as persons not represented in the genealogy of the Koḍumbāḷūr record. There are other names of Irukkuvēḷs, like Madhurāntaka Irukkuvēḷ and Mahimālaya Irukkuvēḷ in the Pudukōṭṭah inscriptions for which there is no room in the Koḍumbāḷūr genealogy. Possibly Madhurāntaka Irukkuvēḷ of Nos. 335 and 336 of 1904 (Pd. 63 and 65), also called Ādittan (Āccan) Vikramakēsari, was a contemporary of Āditya I and his son Parāntaka I.

the Pallavas on the banks of the Kāvēri. This by itself might justify a much earlier age for the Koḍumbāḷūr inscription of Vikramakēsari; but as on palaeographical considerations no earlier date than that of Gaṇḍarāditya can be assigned for this record, * the suggestion may be made that by the Pallava in this context we must understand Vallabha, and explain the fight in which Vikramakēsari took part with such distinction as having occurred on the occasion of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa's raid into the Cōḷa country which is said to have taken him as far as Rāmēśvaram.

Inconclusive results of the Pāṇḍya War.

The reign of Sundara Cōḷa then marked the recovery of the Cōḷas from the disasters of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion. For all the fighting in the south, however, the Pāṇḍyas and their allies of Ceylon held their own, and it is not till the reign of Rājarāja I that Cōḷa inscriptions begin again to appear in the Pāṇḍya country. In fact Rājarāja claims to have subdued the Pāṇḍyas when they were still powerful and illustrious, implying thereby that in spite of their exertions, his father and his elder brother Āditya had not made much headway against them. The inscriptions of Āditya, Pārthivēndra, and of Sundara himself show on the other hand that remarkable success attended the Cōḷa efforts in the north. As Kṛṣṇa's inscriptions get fewer in the districts of South Arcot, North Arcot and Chingleput, records of these others become more numerous; but we have no knowledge of the stages by which this change came about. That Sundara Cōḷa took an active share in directing affairs in the north may be inferred from the fact that he died in his golden palace at

Success in the north.

* See *ante* p. 187 n ‡

Kāñcīpuram and was thereafter known as *Pon-māḷigait-tuñjina dēva.* * One of his queens, Vānavanmahādēvi, a princess of the line of Malaiyamāns, performed *sati* at the king's death, † and her image was perhaps installed in the Tanjore temple by Kundavai, her daughter. ‡ Sundara left behind him the reputation of a second Manu born to wean the world from ways of evil § (Kali). Another queen of Sundara Cōḷa, a Cēra princess, survived him till the sixteenth year of his son Rājarāja's reign, A.D. 1001. ¶

Literature.

In Sundara Cōḷa's reign literature, both Sanskrit and Tamil, received encouragement; not only does the earliest Cōḷa copper-plate grant known so far date from his time, but a highly poetic eulogium of his reign, in the commentary of the *Vīrasōḷiyam*, bears witness to his patronage of letters. ‖ This eulogy, which calls Sundara Cōḷa the king of Nandipura, is addressed to the Buddha to secure the strength and prosperity of the king, and furnishes evidence of the prevalence of friendly relations between the Cōḷa monarchs and the southern Buddhist Sangha several years before the date of the larger Leyden grant which records the gift of a village to a foreign Buddhist monastery at Negapatam.

Murder of Āditya II.

Sundara Cōḷa's last days appear to have been clouded by a domestic tragedy. An inscription from Uḍaiyārguḍi dated in the second year of Rājakēsari ** records the measures taken by the *Sabhā* of Śrī

* See *SII.* iii p. 288 and n. 5.

† Tiruvālangāḍu plates vv. 65–66; also 236 of 1902 (Rājarāja I 27).

‡ *SII.* ii p. 73.

§ Tiruvālangāḍu v. 57.

¶ 159 of 1895, ll. 127-32.

‖ pp. 102-3, *Yāppu* v. 11.

** 577 of 1920.

Vīranārāyana - caturvēdimangalam under orders from the king for the confiscation and sale of the properties of some persons who were liable for treason as they had murdered "Karikāla Cōḷa who took the head of the Pāṇḍya." This record clearly shows that Āditya II fell a victim to assassination. The only possible kings to whom this Rājakēsari record can be assigned are Sundara Cōḷa himself, and Āditya's younger brother, Rājarāja, who succeeded Uttama Cōḷa, a Parakēsari. But the early regnal year rules out Sundara Cōḷa, as we cannot suppose that Āditya, whose inscriptions range at least up to the fifth year, began to reign before his father. Therefore the inscription is doubtless a record of Rājarāja's reign. If this inference is accepted,—the palaeography and the astronomical data of the record support this view—then it follows that the murder of Āditya II remained unavenged throughout the sixteen years in which Uttama Cōḷa ruled, Sundara Cōḷa himself having either died of a broken heart soon after the murder or after having found the natural course of justice obstructed by a powerful conspiracy. It seems impossible under the circumstances to acquit Uttama Cōḷa of a part in the conspiracy that resulted in the foul murder of the heir apparent. Uttama coveted the throne and was not satisfied with the subordinate role assigned to princes of the blood in the administration of the kingdom; as representing a senior branch of the royal family, he perhaps convinced himself that the throne was his by right, and that his cousin and his children were usurpers. He formed a party of his own, and brought about the murder of Āditya II, and having done so, he forced the hands of Sundara Cōḷa to make him heir apparent, and as there was no help for it, Sundara had to acquiesce in what he could not avert. The

Uttama Cōḷa's part in it.

Tiruvālangāḍu plates seem to gloss over the story on purpose, and make statements which, though enigmatic in themselves, are fairly suggestive of the true course of events, when read together with the datum furnished by the Uḍaiyārguḍi inscription. The plates say :

> "Āditya disappeared owing to his desire to see heaven. * Though his subjects, with a view to dispel the blinding darkness caused by the powerful Kali (Sin), entreated Arumoḷivarmā, he, versed in the *dharma* of the *Kṣattra*, did not desire the kingdom for himself even inwardly as long as his paternal uncle coveted his own (*i.e.*, Arumoḷivarmā's) country."

The sun of Āditya had set; the darkness of sin prevailed; the people wanted Arumoḷi to dispel it; but Uttama's cupidity triumphed, because of Arumoḷi's restraint. Arumoḷi was not a coward; nor was he lacking in political ability or legal right. Anxious to avoid a civil war, he accepted a compromise, and agreed to wait for his turn until after Uttama's desire to be king had found satisfaction; it was apparently part of the compromise that Uttama was to be succeeded not by his children, but by Arumoḷi, and in the words, again, of the Tiruvālangāḍu plates : †

> "Having noticed by the marks (on his body) that Arumoḷi was the very Viṣṇu, protector of the three worlds, descended (on earth), Madhurāntaka installed him in the position of *yuvarāja*, and (himself) bore the burden of (ruling) the earth."

* vv. 68-9. The expression employed literally means 'set' (*astam gatavān*)—a play on his name Āditya; a hint of his premature death may be seen in 'his desire to see heaven.'

† The suggestion has been made that verse 69 of the Tiruvālangāḍu plates "is rather stating in an indirect way that as Uttama was reigning, Rājarāja did not wish to rebel against authority." (*QJMS*. xvii p. 196). If such was the real meaning of the composer, his language has indeed concealed his thought most successfully. I am, however, unable to accept this view (1) because it gives a higher value to Uttama Cōḷa's claims to succession than they merit—for why did his son not succeed him ? and why did he make Arumoḷi *yuvarāja* in his own reign if not at his accession ? and (2) because it ignores the important evidence of the Uḍaiyārguḍi inscription of Rājakēsari.

We find accordingly Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarādittan, who must have been a son of Madhurāntaka Uttama Cōḷa, occupying high office under Rājarāja when he came to power and loyally assisting him in the administration of the country.* If this reading of the story of Uttama Cōḷa's accession is correct, Uttama Cōḷa furnishes an instance, by no means unique in history, of selfish and perverse offspring born of parents distinguished for piety and right-mindedness; and his rash and bloody self-seeking stands out in striking contrast to the true nobility and statesmanship of the future Rājarāja.

Accession of Uttama.

The inscriptions of Āditya Parakēsari (who took the head of Vīra Pāṇḍya) and of Pārthivēndra-varman show that, by the time of the accession of Uttama Cōḷa, the Cōḷas had recovered much in the north that had been lost on account of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion. These inscriptions are found in Uttaramērūr, Kāñcīpuram, Takkōlam and Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, and furnish clear evidence of the renewed Cōḷa occupation of the districts of South Arcot, North Arcot and Chingleput, and considering that the bulk of these inscriptions relate to normal transactions like endowments, sales and irrigation works, we may conclude that general peace had been restored, and that the effects of the wars were fast fading out of memory.

Of the reign of Uttama Cōḷa we have many stone records and one set of copper-plates. The beginning

* *Contra* K. V. S. Aiyar—*Ancient Dekhan* p. 243. The difficulties regarding the ages of Uttama Cōḷa and his son pointed out by Aiyar are not so serious as he makes them out. We may suppose that Gaṇḍarāditya died A.D. 957 and that then Uttama was 12; he came to the throne when he was, say, 24 in 969, and then had a son aged three; this son would be about 23 in 989 when he is first mentioned in the inscriptions of Rājarāja's reign. The omission of his name from the Leyden and Tiruvālangāḍu plates is only to be expected in the conditions of the case.

of the latter, which probably contained a genealogical account of the dynasty in Sanskrit verse, is unfortunately lost; only the concluding prose portion mentioning the object of the grant survives. In some of the stone inscriptions and in the copper-plate grant, the king is clearly described as Parakēsari Uttama Cōḷa; but a number of other stone inscriptions bearing only the Parakēsari title can be assigned to his reign either on astronomical grounds, or because they mention the relatives of the king like his mother or one of his queens, or lastly, because they mention officials in his service. It should be observed also that the earliest Cōḷa coin of which we have any knowledge belongs to his reign; it is a gold piece, a unique specimen once in the possession of Sir Walter Elliot and figured by him from a faithful drawing, the coin itself having been lost; * its obverse and reverse are identical, the centre occupied by a seated tiger facing a fish to the proper right and separated from it by a line, the legend Uttama Cōḷan in grantha characters along the circular margin and a ring of beads at the perimeter. Elliot estimated the weight of the coin at between 50 and 60 grains, and this conforms to the standard in the Deccan and Southern India before the time of Rājarāja. †

The earliest Cōḷa coin.

The Madras Museum plates of Uttama Cōḷa, though they add little to our knowledge of political history, are of very great interest to the study of the social life and the administrative methods of the Cōḷa kingdom in

The Madras Museum plates.

* Elliot *CSI.* p. 132, No. 151 p. 152 G. *ARE.* 1904. I 20, Nos. 152 4 are, no doubt, coins of Rājēndra I.

† Codrington—*Ceylon Coins* p. 74.

Uttama Cōḷa's time; they form moreover beautiful specimens of the palaeography of the period. * Even the stone inscriptions of the reign contain little information on political transactions. Some inscriptions recently discovered in the Trichinopoly district, †

* See *SII.* iii No. 128. After this fine edition of the plates by Krishna Sastri, we might well have been spared the belated publication with negative plates in 1925 (*IA.* Vol. 54 pp. 61 ff) of a paper contributed by T. A. Gopinatha Rao and another in 1911. This paper begins with the wild statement that the seal of these plates "belongs to the Pāṇḍya king Jaṭilavarman, one of whose documents is also found in the Museum". I examined the seal and found it true to the fac-simile in *EI.* iii. plate p. 104, No. 3, which again very closely resembles the seal of the Tiruvālangāḍu plates of Rājēndra (plate opp. p. 413 in *SII.* iii).

Krishna Sastri holds that the Parakēsarivarman, a record (*śilālēkhai*) of whose 22nd year is quoted in ll. 28-29, was Vijayālaya (*SII.* iii p. 267 and n. 2), and that "the statement in our grant that a stone inscription of his 22nd year did provide for permanent income to a temple at Kaccippēḍu is proof enough to show that though he was the first of the new line, Vijayālaya had a peaceful, long and prosperous rule like any of his powerful successors." This view derives support from the express mention of "Maduraiyum Īḻamum Koṇḍa Parakēsari" in l. 96, which might naturally lead to the supposition that the Parakēsari of ll. 28-29 must be a different king. There is, however, another mention of Parakēsari (year 16) in ll. 72-3, which Krishna Sastri takes to be a reference to Uttama Cōḷa himself; but it is possible to hold that ll. 72-98 record one continuous transaction by which, in the 18th year of Parāntaka I, the Nagarattār of Kaccippēḍu regulated the expenditure to be met from endowments made in the sixteenth year of Parakēsari (note in particular *enṟu ippariśu* in l. 96). If this view is accepted, the Parakēsari of l. 72 would be not Uttama, but Parāntaka I, and the same may be true of ll. 28-9. In any event, there are difficulties in the way of accepting Krishna Sastri's views on the extent of Vijayālaya's power, and another solution seems called for. It is inconceivable that before the date of the battle of Śrī Puṟambiyam, when Pallava power was still unbroken, Vijayālaya could have ruled an extensive territory independently, and what is more, engraved stone inscriptions in the capital of the Pallavas. (See p. 131 *ante* and n. ‡) Again, Uttama Cōḷa is mentioned by name with the Parakēsari title in l. 12; we have only the Parakēsari title in l. 72. By assigning the latter to Uttama Cōḷa, K. Sastri grants that the same king may be mentioned in two different ways in the same record. If that is so, it is easier to assume that Parakēsari of ll. 28-9 and 72 is the same as Maduraiyum Īḻamum koṇḍa Parakēsari of l. 96, than to equate one of them with Vijayālaya and the other with Uttama. I wish also to add that Karikāla-teṟṟi might have got its name as much by association with Āditya II Karikāla as after "the ancient Cōḷa king Karikāla." (Krishna Sastri *ibid*, p. 268).

† 165-7 of 1929.

dated in the twelfth year of Parakēsari, introduce to us a high official of Uttama Cōḷa's government by name Ambalavan Paḻuvūr-nakkan of Kuvaḷālam (Kōlār). He was an officer of *perundaram* rank who built of stone the old shrine of Vijayamangalam celebrated by Tirunāvukkaraśu as a temple in Gōvandaputtūr on the banks of the Coleroon, * commemorating Arjuna's (Vijaya's) penance for obtaining the favour of Śiva; † and on this officer, Uttama Cōḷa conferred the title Vikramaśōḻamārāyar, ‡ from which we may conclude that Uttama had also the title Vikrama. The same officer continued in Rājarāja's service later; in the records of Rājarāja's reign he has the title Mummuḍiśōḷa prefixed to his personal name, and also bears the alternative title Rājarāja Pallavaraiyan. § No other evidence exists to show that Uttama Cōḷa's suzerainty extended as far as Kōlār in Mysore, and all the inscriptions mentioning this official come from one place, and that in the Trichinopoly district. It must be assumed, therefore, that for some reasons unknown to us, this person migrated from Kōlār into the Cōḷa dominions and rose to a high position in the royal service.

Uttama's queens.

The inscriptions give the names of several queens of Uttama Cōḷa, of whom five are mentioned together in one inscription. ¶ The chief place was held throughout the reign by Oraṭṭaṇan (Urattāyan) Sorabbaiyār, a Kanarese name (?), who is called *agramahādēviyār* and *mūttanambirāṭṭiyār* in the fifth and the fifteenth years of the reign; ‖ she had also the title of Tribhuvana-mahādēviyār,

* v. 3 of his *Dēvāram* on Tiruviśayamangai.
† v. 8 *ibid.*
‡ 164 of 1929—*ARE*. 1929 II 29.
§ 168, 184 of 1929.
¶ 494 of 1925 (Yr. 12).
‖ 165, 488 of 1925.

significant of her rank as chief queen. The queens of Uttama Cōḷa are almost all of them found making endowments in a village in the Tanjore district which bore the name of their mother-in-law, Śembiyan-mahādēvi—proof of the high regard in which the pious widow of Gaṇḍarāditya was held by the members of her family.

Son.

One son of Uttama Cōḷa is known, * Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarāditya, who held high office under Rājarāja, as has been mentioned already.

A record of the fifth year of Rājakēsari † mentions a Pāṇḍya princess, ‡ with the name Puḷiccayan Śāmi Abbai, as the spouse of Vikramaśōḷa Malāḍuḍaiyār. This Malāḍa chieftain, a feudatory of the Cōḷas, in the hilly tracts of South Arcot, might have got the title from Uttama Cōḷa, who was also known as Vikrama; if this view is correct, the inscription is certainly one of Rājarāja I.

* *SII.* iii No. 49. *ARE.* 1904 (paragraph 20); *ante* p. 193 n. *

† 7 of 1905.

‡ The name of the Pāṇḍyan princess seems to imply a Kanarese origin for her, though we cannot be sure of this.

CHAPTER IX

RĀJARĀJA THE GREAT (A.D. 985-1014).

Accession.

Rājakēsari Arumoḻivarman, as he was known in the early years of his reign, came to the throne, after a long apprenticeship as *yuvarāja*, on some day in the month following the 25th June, 985 A.D. * He was the son of Parāntaka II Sundara Cōḷa by Vānavan-mahādēvi, and the joyous occasion of his birth is described in particular detail in the Tiruvālangāḍu plates. † The star of his nativity was Śatabhiṣaj, as we learn from the inscriptions recording endowments for offerings in temples on his birth-days.

A great epoch.

With the accession of Rājarāja we enter upon a century of grandeur and glory for the dynasty of the Cōḷas. Quite obviously, the personal ability of the first Rājarāja, in some respects the greatest of all the great Cōḷa rulers of the Vijayālaya line, laid the foundation for the splendid achievements of his son and successor Rājēndra I, under whom the empire attained its greatest extent and carried its arms beyond the seas. The thirty years of Rājarāja's rule constitute the formative period in the history of the Cōḷa monarchy. In the organisation of the civil service and the army, in art and architecture, in religion and literature, we see at work powerful forces newly liberated by the progressive imperialism of the time. A relatively small state at his accession, that had hardly recovered from the disasters of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion, the Cōḷa kingdom had, by the end of Rājarāja's rule, grown to be an extensive and well-knit empire efficiently organised and administered, rich

* *EI.* ix p. 217. † vv. 61-3.

in resources, possessed of a powerful standing army, well-tried and equal to the greatest enterprises. More wonderful than the work of this great monarch must have been his personality. But of him we have no authentic description; no eyewitness has rendered to Rājarāja the service which Nuniz and Paes did to Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya. There is not even a well-attested statue, or painting of this king * that has come down to us. All that we know of his reign, however, and that is not little, attests his potent personality and the firm grasp of his intellect which allowed nothing to escape its vigilance and applied itself with as much vigour to the minutest details as to the sublimest ambitions of statecraft. The affection he lavished on his sister Kundavai, after whom he named one of his daughters, † and the privileged position accorded to his grand-aunt, Śembiyan-mahādēvi, the mother of Uttama Cōḷa, indicate that he was a great and good man as well as a far-sighted ruler.

(Very early in his reign ‡ Rājarāja assumed the title Mummaḍi Cōḷa-dēva, a term whose meaning is not clear. § Almost the first military achievement of his reign was the campaign in the Kēraḷa country of which the result was summed up in the phrase 'Kāndaḷūr-śālaik-kalamaṟutta', which precedes the name of the king in several of his

Kēraḷa War.

* I am inclined to agree with T. G. Aravamuthan, who rejects the Tanjore bronze sometimes taken to be Rājarāja as late and spurious. See his *Portrait Sculpture in South India* p. 36 and fig. 11. *Contra ARE.* 1925 II 12. I have examined the paintings round the *garbha-gṛha* of the Tanjore temple; it seems possible that a stalwart royal figure which recurs in many of those groups as the central figure is that of Rājarāja himself and that the paintings are as old as the temple. Their existence was discovered by Mr. S. K. Govindasami. A sculptured representation of a king (and queen) at Tiruviśalūr may be of this king.

† 633 of 1902.

‡ 453 of 1908 (yr. 3).

§ See *SII.* ii. Intr. p. 3 and n. 6. The best explanation seems to be: 'the thrice (powerful) Cōḷa.'

inscriptions from the fourth year * onwards. Though this title appears from the fourth year, no inscription of Rājarāja has been found in the Kēraḷa and Pāṇḍya countries bearing a date earlier than the eighth year. † Some years of fighting were apparently necessary before the conquest could be completed and the conquered country become sufficiently settled for its administration being properly organised. The Tiruvālangāḍu plates giving a detailed account of the king's *digvijaya* state that he began with the conquest of the southern direction.‡ This account mentions the capture of the Pāṇḍya king Amarabhujanga, and then states:

War against Pāṇḍya.

"The commandant *(daṇḍanātha)* of this ornament of the solar race then conquered Viḷinda which had the sea for its moat,

* 395 of 1922 is the earliest record so far known mentioning this achievement and dated in the 24th day of the fourth year. It is no longer true therefore to say that "until the 8th year of his reign, A. D. 994, he did not undertake any expedition" (*SII.* ii Introd. p 2). What Rājarāja's achievement at Kāndaḷūr exactly was has been the subject of much discussion. Though *śālai* and *kalam* mean respectively 'a feeding house' and '(eating) plate', these meanings seem hardly satisfactory in the present instance (*Contra TAS.* ii 2 5). On the other hand *śālai* in the sense of 'roadstead' is not known in any other context. But, after all, *śālai* may only be part of the name of the place; or it may have the ordinary meaning of a road. In any case, no other meaning seems more likely than the one usually adopted for the whole phrase viz., 'who destroyed the fleet in the roadstead of Kāndaḷūr.' The alternative suggestions that the 'scale of feeding in the feeding-house of Kāndaḷūr was regulated by the king' (S. Desi-vinayagam Pillai - *Kerala Society Papers,* Series 2 pp. 100 ff.) necessitates a far-fetched explanation of the need for the use of force in the transaction, and fails to explain why such a thing had to be done over again, for instance, by Rājādhirāja. D. Pillai's objection that the destruction of a fleet would not be described as an act of grace *aruḷi* as this is done in the usual introduction, '*tirumagaḷ pōla*' etc., of Rājarāja, is easily met; Rājādhirāja caused the Pāṇḍya Vīra Kēraḷa to be trampled by an elephant, and this is described as an act of grace *kadakkaḷiṟṟān-udaippittaruḷi.*' Perhaps, *aṟuttu* does not mean 'destroyed', but simply 'overcame,' cf. *Kalingattup-paraṇi* (verse 370) saying that Viḻiñam was destroyed and *śālai* captured. It must be admitted, however, that the earliest mention of Kāndaḷūr (*TAS.* i p. 6, l. 6) does support D. Pillai's interpretation. Gopinatha Rao had correctly identified Kāndaḷūr with a part of Trivandrum now called Valiya Śālai. *Śālai* is sometimes sanskritised as *śālā.* (*TAS.* ii. p. 4).

† The Darśanankōppu record (*TAS.* i p. 238) seems to be the earliest so far known.

‡ vv 76-79.

whose extensive ramparts were shining aloft, which was impregnable to other warriors and which was the permanent abode of the goddess of victory."

We have often found before that the three southern kingdoms of Pāṇḍya, Kēraḷa and Simhaḷa were allied against the Cōḷa; this alliance was still effective in the time of Rājarāja, and it would seem that Rājarāja's southern campaign was directed against the Pāṇḍya and the Cēra together. The Cēra king at this time was Bhāskara Ravi Varman Tiruvaḍi (A. D. 978-1036), whose inscriptions have been recovered from different parts of Travancore.*

The Cōḷa *praśastis.*

The Pallavas and Pāṇḍyas followed the injunctions of the Dharmaśāstras, and in their copper-plate grants, they caused a brief history of their ancestors to be engraved before recording the occasion for and the details relating to the particular gift. But Rājarārja was the first Tamil king who conceived the idea of formulating in set phrases an official record of the chief events of his reign which was to serve as an introduction to his stone inscriptions. In this he was followed by almost every one of his successors on the Cōḷa throne, and we shall see that the *praśasti* of his son Rājēndra I, which is rather brief in the early regnal years, grows in length as the reign advances and descriptions of fresh events are added on to it as they take place; these official 'historical introductions' in the Cōḷa inscriptions are, in fact, an important aid to the discovery of the particular king to whose reign any given record belongs. Sometimes the same king used two or more forms of such introductions, and Rājarāja I

Praśastis of Rājarāja.

* *TAS*. ii pp. 31-2. It must be noted that the period of this king's rule has been fixed on the evidence of a single record, the Tirunelli plates.

seems himself to have employed at least three forms, of which the one beginning '*tirumagaḷ-pōla*' was the most common from the eighth year onwards. * In this introduction the only reference to the first campaign of the reign seems to be the phrase employed about Kāndaḷūr Śālai already quoted. A second form of the introduction † also places the victory at Śālai first among the achievements of the reign. Yet another, dated in the twentieth year, ‡ mentions that Rājarāja "destroyed the town of Madurai, conquered the haughty kings of Kollam, Kolla-dēśam and Koḍuṅgōḷūr and that the kings of the sea waited on him."

The Southern campaign.

One question suggests itself naturally in relation to this southern campaign of Rājarāja. Did he conquer Madura and the Pāṇḍya country first and march into Kēraḷa by the southern passes that led into it from the Tinnevelly district, or was the line of his march the other way round? The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates and the last of the introductions cited above seem to suggest that the capture of Madura and the subjugation of the Pāṇḍya king Amarabhujanga preceded the advance on the strong fortress of Viḻiñam and on Śālai. § But the bare mention of Kāndaḷūr Śālai in the earlier records of the reign and in the opening lines of the '*tirumagaḷ-pōla*' introduction, and the provenance of Rājarāja's inscriptions which appear in South Travancore about two years earlier than in the Tinnevelly and Ramnad districts point to the other alternative. ¶ It is possible

* 261 of 1910. Only a few records before the thirteenth year contain any introduction.

† 67 of 1923 (Year 14). ‡ 394 of 1911 *ARE.* 1912 II 22.

§ "Perhaps Kāndaḷūr or Kāndaḷūr Śālai was near Viḻiñam. . . . Kāndaḷūr Śālai which is said to belong to the Cēra king in later inscriptions was probably held by the Pāṇḍyas when it was attacked by Rājarāja." Venkayya, *SII.* ii. Intr. p. 2.

¶ Darśanankōppu (Yr. 8), Sucīndram (Yr. 10), Vijayanārāyaṇam (Yr. 10).

that the Tiruvālangāḍu plates and the later inscriptions of Rājarāja mixed up facts relating to several distinct campaigns against the southern country. For it is clear that Rājarāja sent more than one expedition against the Pāṇḍya and his ally the Cēra. One seems to have been directed specially against Kollam. The campaign in which Rājarāja claims, in his Tanjore inscriptions, * to have conquered the Cēra and the Pāṇḍyas in the Malai-nāḍu (Mountain country) was quite obviously different from and later than that in which Kāndaḷūr and Viḻiñam were attacked.

Two invasions.

The chief event of this expedition which took place sometime before the year 1008 A. D. † was apparently the storming and capture of the strong fortress of Udagai. ‡ Malai-nāḍu or Kuḍa-malai-nāḍu, the western hill-country, may be identified with Coorg, § and the fortress of Udagai must be looked for in the Western Ghats in that region, or perhaps a little to the south. Inscriptions of the fourteenth and sixteenth years, ¶ though they mention the occupation of Kuḍa-malai-nāḍu, do not yet record the attack on Udagai. The statement made in the inscriptions that Rājarāja deprived the Pāṇḍyas of their splendour when Udagai was still flourishing || in all its glory seems to indicate that the capture of this fortress was not effected in the first war. The *Kalingattup-paraṇi* ** in its notice of this king's reign mentions

Malai-nāḍu.

* *SII.* ii 1 paragraphs 34, 51 etc. It is these campaigns to which the Tiruvālangāḍu plates refer in v. 83 as the conquest of Paraśurāma's country. *Contra* Venkayya *SII.* ii, Intr. p. 4.

† *SII.* ii 1 para. 51

‡ 236 of 1902 (Yr. 27).

§ See Aḍiyārkkunallār on *Śil.* xi 1. 53. Kielhorn calls it Malabar. *EI.* vii-*List* No. 704. See also *EC.* iii TN. 122.

¶ *SII.* iii 19, 51.

|| End of the *tirumagaḷ* introduction.

** viii v. 24

only the conquest of Udagai besides the foundation by him of the Śadaiyam festival in the Cēra country. In all his three *ulās*, the poet Oṭṭakkūttan says that Rājarāja's great achievement was the crossing of the 'eighteen forests' for the sake of his ambassador and setting fire to Udagai. We are unable to explain this satisfactorily; apparently the immediate cause of the march against Udagai was an insult offered to the king's ambassador.

A Cōḷa general Rājēndra (?).

The Cōḷa general who most distinguished himself in the campaigns in the West was perhaps no other than the crown prince Rājēndra. * He was afterwards made Mahādaṇḍanāyaka of the Vēngī and Ganga-maṇḍalas. He had also the title Pañcavanmārāya. This "tusker of Mummuḍi-Cōḷa," as he is called, 'seized the Tuḷuva and Konkaṇa, held Malēya (Malabar), and pushed aside the Cēra,' as well as the Telunga and the Raṭṭiga. † As chief military officer in the Ganga-maṇḍala, he carried out the royal order conferring on Manija the village of Māḷavvi (Coorg) and the title Kṣatriya-śikhāmaṇi-kongāḷva in recognition of his heroism in the battle of Paṇasoge. We do not know the occasion of this battle; perhaps it was fought against the Cangāḷvas, a petty local dynasty. In any case, this was the beginning of the line of Kongāḷvas who ruled a small kingdom for about a century as the subordinates of the Cōḷas to whom they owed their existence, and then disappeared with the expulsion of the Cōḷas from these regions after the rise of the Hoysaḷas. ‡

* *EC.* iii Sr. 125.

† No. 5 of 1895 (Yr 28), *EC.* iii Sr. 140; also i. Cg. 46 and pp. 12-13.

‡ A record from Kaleyūr (353 of 1901) dated Śaka 929 mentions that a Cōḷa general Apramēya defeated some Hoysaḷa leaders. But Kielhorn considers this date 'of no value for historical purposes' *EI.* iv pp. 67-8. *Contra* Rice, *Mysore and Coorg* pp. 86, 144-5.

Ceylon.

Īḷam (Ceylon) is included among the conquests of Rājarāja from the first in the *tirumagaḷ* introduction, * (993 A. D.). The king is said to have taken the Īḷamaṇḍalam owned by the fierce Singaḷas and famed in all the eight directions. † In his twenty-ninth year (1014 A. D.) Rājarāja made a grant of several villages in Ceylon for various purposes to the celebrated temple he had erected at Tanjore. ‡ The Tiruvālangāḍu plates contain the following picturesque account of the invasion of Ceylon: §

> "Rāma built, with the aid of the monkeys, a causeway across the sea and then slew with great difficulty the king of Lankā by means of sharp-edged arrows. But Rāma was excelled by this (king) whose powerful army crossed the ocean by ships and burnt up the king of Lankā."

This naval expedition of Rājarāja against Ceylon must have taken place in the reign of Mahinda V who came to the throne A.D. 981 and was still ruling Ceylon at the time when the island was invaded by Rājarāja's son and successor Rājēndra I. But the *Mahāvamsa* makes no mention of Rājarāja's invasion, apparently because the annals of Mahinda's reign became confused after the tenth year (991 A.D.) on account of the military revolution which led to the ascendancy of Kēraḷa and Kaṇṇāṭa mercenaries in a large part of his kingdom. ¶ As a result of the military rising, Mahinda had to take refuge in the inaccessible hill country in the south-east of Ceylon called Rōhaṇa. Rājarāja then found his opportunity and made himself master of Northern Ceylon which became a province (maṇḍalam) under the name of Mummuḍi-śōḷa-maṇḍalam. **

* 261 of 1910.

† *SII* iii 4, 15.

‡ *SII.* ii 92 paragraphs 12–15.

§ v. 80.

¶ *CV.* Ch. lv, v. 4-12.

** *SII.* ii 92 paragraph 12.

Effects of Cōḷa conquest.

The Cōḷa invasion had one permanent result. Anurādhapura, the capital of Ceylon for over 1000 years, was finally destroyed by the armies of Rājarāja. Polonnaruwa, formerly a military outpost of the ancient capital as seen from its alternative name Kandavura Nuvara (the camp-city), now became the capital under the Cōḷas. While the earlier Tamil invaders of Ceylon had aimed at the overlordship only of Rājarattha, the Cōḷas were bent upon the mastery of the whole island. This decided the choice of their capital. There is practically no trace of Cōḷa rule in Anurādhapura. When Singalese sovereignty was restored under Vijayabāhu I, he crowned himself at Anurādhapura, but continued to have Polonnaruwa for his capital, as it was more central and rendered easier the task of controlling the turbulent province of Rōhaṇa. * Polonnaruwa was renamed Jananātha-mangalam, † after another title assumed by Rājarāja about the middle of his reign. ‡ Rājarāja's inscriptions have been found in Ceylon. § It is probable that Rājarāja signalised the

Cōḷa Temples in Ceylon.

Cōḷa occupation of Ceylon by the construction of a stone temple to Śiva in Polonnaruwa. This 'beautiful little' Śiva Dēvāle, 'constructed of granite and limestone' which 'stands within the walled confines of the old city' of Polonnaruwa, is among the few Hindu monuments of Ceylon, which are still in a good state of preservation; and "its architectural form seems at once to class it with the Hindu fanes of South India erected from the tenth to the twelfth centuries, of which the

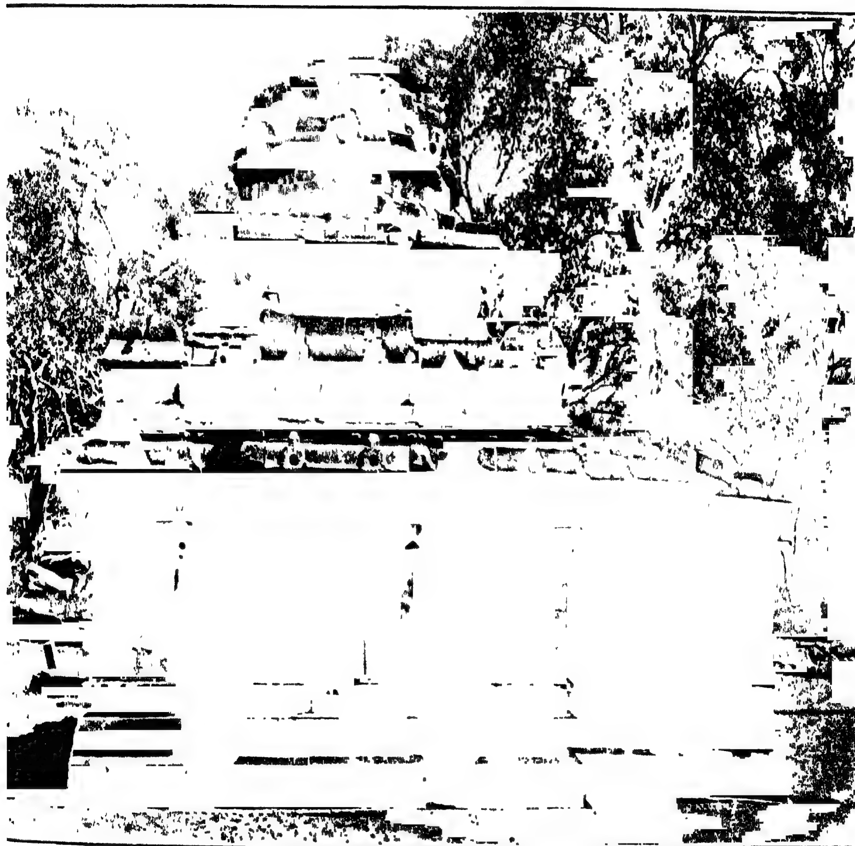
* *Ceylon Journal of Science*—G. II, 2 pp. 145–7.

† *ASC.* 1906 p. 27.

‡ 132 of 1910 (Year 17).

§ *ASC.* 1891 p. 12 Nos. 78-80. The record from Padaviya dated in the 27th year cited at *SII.* ii. Intr. p. 5 must be among these.

To face page 2(



SIVA DEVALE NO. 2, POLONNARUWA-SOUTH FACE

great temple of Tanjore is the finest and most elaborate exponent." * The earliest inscription found in this temple is dated early in Rājēndra I's reign. An officer from the Cōḷa country by name Tāḷi Kumaran built another temple called Rājarājēśvara at Mahātittha (Mantota) which was also named Rājarājapura, and richly endowed the new temple. †

Other conquests.

(Turning now to Rājarāja's conquests in other directions, Gangapāḍi Noḷumbapāḍi and Taḍigaipāḍi sometimes called Taḍigaivaḷi, all of them in the Mysore country became parts of the Cōḷa kingdom in Rājarāja's time.) One of the variant forms of the introduction to the king's stone inscriptions implies that the conquest of the Mysore country immediately followed the victory at Śālai, and that it was undertaken before the expedition against the Eastern Cāḷukyas into the Vēngī country. ‡ After his victory at Śālai, Rājarāja is here said to have gained successes at Tattapāḍi (Taḍigaipāḍi?), Taḷaikkāḍu, Noḷumbapāḍi and Pirudigangar-vaḷanāḍu. This campaign against the Noḷambas and the Gangas, first mentioned in the eighth and ninth § years of the king's reign, would seem in reality to have advanced very far, if not actually ended by the sixth year (A.D. 991), as we find an inscription of Cōḷa-nārāyaṇa, obviously a name of Rājarāja I, in the Mysore country dated in this year (Śaka 913). ¶ An official from Kōlār in the Gangarasāyira with a Ganga name made an endowment in

Ganga country.

* *ASC.* 1906 pp. 17 ff.

† 616 of 1912 (*SII.* iv. 1412).

‡ 67 of 1923. *ARE.* 1923 II, 27.

§ 97 of 1921 (Yr. 9?). See *SII.* ii. Intr. p. 3 and n. 1. where a record of the 8th year from Tiruvaḍandai is said to mention these conquests; the reference is doubtless to 261 of 1910.

¶ *MAR.* 1917, p. 42.

South Arcot in the seventh year of Rājakēsari, perhaps Rājarāja I.* This conquest was no doubt facilitated by the fact that the Cōḷas had never lost their hold on the Kongu country or, if they had done so, had very soon recovered it when they began to reassert themselves after the troubles consequent on the invasion of Kṛṣṇa III. Rājarāja does not claim to have conquered the Kongu area, and he was master of it early in his reign. Copper-plates † recording a gift of land in the fifth year of Rājakēsarivarman have been found at Tiruccengōḍu, and these may with tolerable certainty be assigned to Rājarāja I, if they do not belong to an earlier Rājakēsari like Parāntaka II. The conquest of Taḍigaipāḍi was probably undertaken from the side of Kongu and as part of the campaign in Kuḍamalai-nāḍu. By the time of this war the Noḷambas had long ceased to be an independent power and become subordinate to the Gangas. In the tenth century the name Noḷambavāḍi still included ‡ not only the districts of Tumkūr and Citaldurg, but much of the Bangalore, Kōlār and Bellary districts and even parts of Salem and N. Arcot; this is sufficient proof of the place once held by the Noḷambas in the politics of Southern India. Though they lost much of their power at the time of Rājarāja's invasion, they did not by any means die out altogether, and in Śaka 920 Gannarasa, the son of Ayyapa, was ruling a portion of Daḷigapāḍi as a feudatory of Rājarāja. § A certain Noḷambādhirāja was the general of the

* 127 of 1919. The official's name Gangan Ambalavanan Gaṇḍarāditta Śōḷa Viḻupparaiyan seems to imply that he rose to prominence in Uttama Cōḷa's reign, if not earlier.

† *SII.* iii 213. No. 212 also of Rājakēsari and of the 10th year mentions Maḻavaraiyan Sundarasōḻan as the donor. This name suggests the reign of Parāntaka II Sundara Cōḷa, and if this is correct, the father of the donor must, like Śiṟiyavēḷār have met his fate in the Ceylonese expedition of that monarch's time. *ARE.* 1914 II, 15.

‡ *EI.* x p. 57 and n. 3.

§ 169 of 1911 (Yr. 13)

Cōḷa monarch in his sixteenth year. * Either the same person or another, Noḷambādhirāja Cōrayya, is again mentioned as feudatory to the Cōḷa in Śaka 933. † These instances raise a suspicion that the Noḷamba subordinates of the Gangas turned against their Ganga overlords and paid off old scores by taking the side of the Cōḷas openly, or by assisting them in other ways. The Gangas then were the chief enemy against whom was directed the expedition into Mysore. This invasion, which started with an attack on Taḍigaipāḍi ‡ and Taḷakkāḍ after crossing the Kāvēri from the Kongu country, was a complete success, and made the Cōḷas supreme in the entire Ganga country for a period of more than one century. The easy success was partly also the result of the disappearance of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa power, which had taken place about 973 A. D., when Taila II Āhavamalla restored the ancient Cāḷukya line to power. By this political revolution the Gangas and the Noḷambas lost their chief support, as there was nothing as yet to bind them to the newly risen Cāḷukya power corresponding to the dynastic alliances and common enterprises that had brought them close to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

W. Cāḷukyas.

But the Western Cāḷukyas were by no means indifferent to the advancing power of the Cōḷas under Rājarāja, and in an inscription dated 992 A. D., Tailapa II claims to have gained a victory against the Cōḷa king. § In the present state of epigraphical knowledge it is not

* *EC.* x Mb. 208. † *ibid.* Ct. 118.

‡ "The present Kṛṣṇarājapet, Nāgamangala, Maṇḍya, Seringapatam and Maḷavaḷḷi tālūkas of the Mysore district", Fleet, *IA.* xxx pp. 109-10.

§ 36 of 1904; *IA.* v. p. 17. Attempts have been made to account for the hostility between the Western Cāḷukyas and the Cōḷas by the assumption that it was a continuation of the Pallava tradition by the Cōḷas, that the Cōḷas were of the Solar race while the Cāḷukyas were of the Lunar, and that the former were Śaivas while the latter were Vaiṣṇavas and patronised Jainism (*SII.* ii Intr. p. 5 and n. 4.). Such efforts lead nowhere.

possible to give a complete account of the political relations among the Western Cāḷukyas, the Western Gangas and the Noḷambas at the time of the Cōḷa invasion of Mysore.

Within a few years after 992, Tailapa II died and was succeeded by Satyāśraya on the Cāḷukya throne. The later inscriptions of Rājarāja's reign state that he fought a successful war against Satyāśraya and captured some of his treasure, part of which went to the enrichment of the great Tanjore temple. * The W. Cāḷukyas were also hard pressed in the north by the hostility of the Paramāras of Mālwa and must have found it hard to sustain themselves against two powerful enemies attacking them from opposite directions. The inscriptions of Rājarāja from about 1003 A. D. † roundly assert that he captured by force Raṭṭapāḍi, 'the seven and a half lakh country.' This is a violent exaggeration. (More trustworthy is the poetic statement in the Tiruvālangāḍu plates ‡ that Satyāśraya, though, true to his origin from Taila (oil), he fled from the battle-field in order to escape the misery of facing the ocean-like army of Rājarāja, still became himself the abode of misery (*kaṣṭāśraya*).) An inscription of Satyāśraya from Hoṭṭūr (Dharwar), dated Śaka 9(2)9 (1007 A.D.), states that the Nūrmaḍi Cōḷa Rājēndra Vidyādhara, the son of Rājarāja Nityavinōda and the ornament of the Cōḷa-kula, advanced as far as Dōnūr in the Bijapur district, with an army of 900,000 troops, plundered the whole country, killed women, children and Brahmins, caught

War against Satyāśraya.

Led by Rājēndra.

* *SII.* ii 1, paragraph 92. Judging by the relative value of the presents made to the temple at the conclusion of these campaigns, it would seem that the success in the Cāḷukya war was nothing by the side of the victories gained elsewhere.

† 338 of 1927 (Year 18), *ARE.* 1927 ii 11. 97 of 1921 also mentions Raṭṭapāḍi.

‡ v. 81.

hold of girls and destroyed their caste. The same record proceeds further to say that Satyāśraya, 'the slayer of the Tamil' (*Tiguḷa-māri*), thereupon forced the Cōḷa to turn back, captured his paraphernalia (*vastu-vāhana*) and thus conquered the southern quarter. * Though the account of wholesale slaughter and rape must be discounted as proceeding from a hostile source, still this account given by the Cāḷukya inscription of Rājēndra's invasion of Raṭṭapāḍi rings very true, and may be accepted as substantially correct. Though overwhelmed for a time by the strength and rapidity of the Cōḷa onslaught, Satyāśraya soon recovered himself, and by hard fighting rolled back the tide of invasion. In Raṭṭapāḍi proper there are no traces (as there are in Nuḷambapāḍi and Gangapāḍi) of the occupation of the country by the Cōḷas. † The existence of an inscription of a feudatory of Āhavamalla Sattiga dated Śaka 928 at Cebrōlu ‡ in the Guṇṭūr district indicates that at this time Satyāśraya may have commanded the resources also of the Eastern Cāḷukya kingdom of Vēngī in his Cōḷa war, and this was doubtless the cause of Rājarāja's invasion of Vēngī which followed soon after.

Results of the Cāḷukya war.

The campaigns in the N. W. that have so far engaged our attention resulted in the annexation to the Cōḷa empire of practically all the territory that had ever been held by the Gangas and the Noḷambas in Mysore, and nearly the whole of the modern district of Bellary, § so that the Tungabhadrā became the

* *EI.* xvi. p. 74.

† See the next chapter for further particulars of this war or another which followed not long after.

‡ 145 of 1897; *SII.* vi. 102.

§ *ARE.* 1904, para. 17. See, however, the next chapter on Rājēndra's campaigns for proof that later in this reign part of this territory was regained by the Cāḷukyas.

boundary between the two empires. No inscriptions of Rājarāja have been found in Bellary so far; but then there are no Cāḷukya inscriptions of the period either. As a rule, Cōḷa inscriptions are not found in the remote provinces of the empire in as great numbers as in areas nearer home, and we cannot on this account entertain doubts about the correctness of facts clearly attested by contemporary records. That Rājarāja had a Mahādāṇḍanāyaka for the Ganga and Vēngī *maṇḍalas* * towards the close of his reign is sufficient proof of the extent of his empire and of the contiguity of these two *maṇḍalas*.

Vēngī.

Rājarāja's intercession in Vēngī affairs was the direct and natural result of the political development of the early years of his reign, rather than of any diplomatic design to dissociate the Eastern Cāḷukyas from their Western cousins. † If Rājarāja and his successors found it easier to spread their power along the east coast than across the Tungabhadrā, this was partly due to the different conditions in which the Eastern and the Western Cāḷukyas found themselves when the Coḷas entered on their imperial career under Rājarāja. After more than three centuries of rule in Vēngī, the Eastern Cāḷukyas had become an old and decrepit race, and their kingdom was falling a prey to disputed successions and anarchy. The coming of the Cōḷas brought fresh blood into the family and became a source of strength to this declining dynasty which, sustained for nearly a century by the Cōḷas in a position of respected though subordinate alliance, soon after, more than repaid the debt by contributing largely to

Contrasted with W. Cāḷukya Kingdom.

* 5 of 1895 (Yr. 28)—*EC.* iii Sr. 140

† *Contra* Dr. S. K. Aiyangar *Gangai-Koṇḍa*, pp. 541-2.

the continuance of the Cōḷa empire under Kulōttunga I and his successors, the Cōḷa-Cāḷukyas, as they are sometimes called. The Western Cāḷukyas, on the other hand, had just emerged under Taila II, after centuries of subordination to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and the restored dynasty was in its full vigour. As the Cebrōlu inscription of Satyāśraya implies, they even made an attempt to unite the resources of the Eastern Cāḷukyas to their own; but being subject to attacks from the Paramāras in the north and the Cōḷas in the south, they failed to do more than just keep their hold over their ancestral territory, the Raṭṭapāḍi seven and a half lakh country. They were on the whole less fortunate than their Cōḷa contemporaries, and being compelled to wage many wars of defence, they found little time or inclination for aggression. Difficult as it may be to find a satisfactory scientific explanation for it, the fact remains, and it receives ample confirmation from the general course of history, that the chief dynasties throw up for a time a succession of very able rulers, that this succession occurs generally in the earlier part of the dynastic history, and that no dynasty flourishes for more than a limited number of generations. The relative importance of the Western and Eastern Cāḷukyas and the Cōḷas about 1000 A.D. forms one of the numerous illustrations of this general rule furnished by the course of Indian history.

Cōḷa expansion in the north.

Under Parāntaka I the Cōḷa power extended in the north up to Nellore. The northern provinces were lost after the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion and recovered in part under the successors of Parāntaka I. The northernmost limit reached under them was in the neighbourhood of Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, a few miles north of Madras.

Rājarāja who aimed at recapturing every province that had ever been held by Parāntaka I and extend the empire still further, sent an expedition in the northern direction early in his reign. An inscription from Kāñcīpuram, * dated in the 6th year of Rājakēsari and recording a royal gift of a large herd of sheep to a Durgā temple states that the sheep were got when Śīṭpuḷi-nāḍu and Pāki-nāḍu were conquered by Paraman Maḻapāḍiyār *alias* Mummaḍi-śōḻan, the chief of Kāru-kuḍi in Tañjāvūr Kuṟṟam. The titles of the commander make it clear that the expedition was undertaken in Rājarāja's reign. This interpretation of the record is confirmed by another inscription † dated in the eighth year of Rājarāja from Reḍḍipāḷem (Gūḍūr 'aluk) in the Nellore District which records a gift by Mummuḍi Vaitumba Mahārājan *alias* Durai Araśan, perhaps an official in the king's employ.

War with Vēngī.

The actual occasion for Rājarāja's interference in the internal affairs of Vēngī must have occurred later than the expedition just mentioned. The presence of Satyāśraya for a time in the Vēngī kingdom had, no doubt, something to do with it. There were, however, deeper causes accounting alike for the presence of Satyāśraya in Guṇṭūr and for the interest of Rājarāja in the affairs of Vēngī. Despite the abundance of Eastern Cāḻukya copper-plates, some of them directly bearing on this period, the history of the dynasty is by no means settled, and its chronology presents many little problems which cannot be considered here. The troubles of the Eastern Cāḻukyas appear to have begun sometime in the reign of Amma II (945–70 A.D.)

Causes.

* 79 of 1921.

† V. Rangachari-Nellore 239. There is a village Cippili in the Madanapalli Taluk of the Chittoor district.

and they were started apparently by the intrigues of the ambitious Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch Kṛṣṇa III with the younger branch of the Eastern Cāḷukyas. After the eleventh year of his reign, * Ammarāja is said to have fled to Kalinga from the anger of Kṛṣṇa III, and this receives remarkable confirmation from the Arumbāka plates of Bādapa † which state that, having made himself a suppliant of Kṛṣṇarāja, the Vallabha king, Bādapa drove out of his kingdom the powerful king Ammarāja, fought against some of his relations, favoured his friends and ruled the Vēngī kingdom with justice. These statements cannot be accepted literally, but when considered along with the information furnished by other sources, they provide an important link in the confused story of this period. We now possess this story in two rival versions vouchsafed by the two branches of the Eastern Cāḷukyas who were at war for a whole generation. The Pabhubaṟṟu plates of Śaktivarman ‡ are particularly valuable as they record the events that ended this confused period and brought Śaktivarman to the throne.

The Interregnum.

All the copper-plates of the elder branch after the time of Dānārṇava, including those of Śaktivarman, the first king of this branch who came after Dānārṇava, declare that there was an interregnum § of twenty-seven years immediately after Dānārṇava. According to these plates, Ammarāja had some trouble from Kṛṣṇa about the eleventh year of his reign, but it was not serious; at

* Māngallu plates-*agamat Kṛṣṇa-kōpāt Kalingam*. *ARE.* 1917 II 24.

† *EI.* xix No. 24. The text (p. 142) has Karṇarāja; K. V. Lakshmana Rao has satisfactorily explained this mistake as due to a wrong sanskritisation of Kaṇṇa.

‡ *Journal of the Telugu Academy* ii. pp. 399 ff.

§ *Arājakam* in Śaktivarman's grant (l. 35); *anāyikā* in the Raṇastapūṇḍi grant (l. 40) of Vimalāditya.

any rate Amma II repelled all the attempts made by his enemies against him, and after a rule of twenty-five years from his accession in 945 A. D., he was followed by his half-brother Dānārṇava (970-3 A. D.). After Dānārṇava came the interregnum of twenty-seven years. The Arumbāka plates of Bādapa, without stating the duration of Amma II's reign, say that Bādapa succeeded in expelling Amma II from the throne with the aid of Kṛṣṇa III and ruled the Vēngī kingdom after him. If this means that Bādapa's rule began in Kṛṣṇa's life-time, the reign of Bādapa must to some extent have overlapped the reigns of Amma II and Dānārṇava. By and by, about 973 A. D., at the close of Dānārṇava's reign as implied by the later plates of the elder line, Bādapa succeeded in uniting the whole of the Vēngī kingdom in his hands and forcing the senior line into exile. It is remarkable how the Śrī Pūṇḍi plates of Tāḷa II 'reconstruct' the story of the interval between Tāḷa I and Tāḷa II manifestly with a view to showing that the younger line had the greater right to the Vēngī throne. * Whether Tāḷa II ruled independently after his elder brother Bādapa or not, † there can be no question that the plates of Bādapa and Tāḷa II are to be properly assigned to the interregnum mentioned in the later plates of the elder line. The long feud between the two branches which began in 925 A. D. with the usurpation of Tāḷa I reached a head in the reign of Amma II, and as a result the kingdom was divided for a time between the two branches till the princes of the elder line were driven out and completely

Usurpation by the younger branch.

* *EI.* xix p. 149. From an inscription at Kāñcīpuram (237, 238 of 1931) it would appear that the Eastern Ganga Kāmārṇava declared himself in favour of the younger branch and fought against Dānārṇava, and fell in battle.

† *ibid* 151-2.

dispossessed of all power for about 27 years before 999 A.D.—a period which from the standpoint of the elder line formed truly an interregnum. The Raṇastapūṇḍi grant ascribes this to a bad stroke of fate.* Of the events that led up to Śaktivarman's accession, his Pabhubarru plates say:

End of the Interregnum.

"His youth shone like that of a lion when in the Tamil battle (*dramiḷāhave*) he attacked the formidable elephants (of the enemy). He performed a wonderful feat when with his own hands he killed the sharp and peerless hero sent (against him ?) by Cōḍa Bhīma.† He dug up the wide-spread tree of Jaṭā-Cōḍa to its very roots—the tree which rose aloft in its boughs (with the division of its army), which had its base spreading on the top of a mountain (had its feet adorned by the crowns of the heads of kings) and which was strong within."

The Tiruvālangāḍu plates seem to mention the same events in the verse: ‡

"As Rājarāja of my name and skilled in battle has been attacked by Bhīma with his army, so shall I attack the flawless Telugu *(arandhram-andhram)* Bhīma by name—(thinking) this wise, he (Rājarāja) attacked him with an army."

Here then is a campaign directed against a Telugu-Cōḍa king, Bhīma by name, in which both Rājarāja Cōḷa and Śaktivarman took part. An inscription § of Rājarāja from Kāñcīpuram, dated in Ś. 923 (1001-2 A.D.), gives many titles of Cōḷa Bhīma and records his capture by Rājarāja. The exact course of events is, however, by no means easy to determine. This is due

* *Daiva-duścēṣṭayā* (I. 39).

† There follows a stanza about Baddema Mahārāja which I am unable to translate as the verse is very corrupt. Jaṭā-Cōḍa is the legendary founder of the Telugu-Cōḍa race of rulers.

‡ v. 82. Krishna Sastri, by translating '*daṇḍa*' into a 'club' or 'mace' and '*han*' into 'kill,' has missed the obvious meaning of the verse.

§ 237, 238 of 1931; *ARE.* 1931, II 10.

to a number of reasons. First we have almost no records of the Telugu-Cōḍas of this period, as the inscriptions so far discovered relate only to other periods, earlier or later than the second part of the tenth century and the first of the eleventh. Again, we have no means at present of deciding who the Cōḷa monarch's namesake was whose cause was espoused by him in this expedition. Lastly, we cannot say whether this 'Tamil battle' against Bhīma was part of a plan for the restoration of Śaktivarman to his ancestral throne, or was one of Rājarāja's campaigns of conquest, the one which, as we have seen, was directed against Pāki-nāḍu and Śītpuli-nāḍu, i. e., the Telugu-Cōḍa country. On the latter assumption, the facts relating to the war against Bhīma will be valuable as proof that Śaktivarman had sought refuge with the Cōḷa king * and that, early in his life, he was fighting in Rājarāja's campaigns in the hope of being able later to achieve, with his aid, the main object of his life, the recovery of the Vēngī kingdom. In any event, it is quite certain that Śaktivarman owed much to the Cōḷa king's support, and possibly he consented to recognise the overlordship of Rājarāja in some form after becoming king of Vēngī. We know that the exact date of Vimalāditya's accession in Vēngī was 10th May, 1011 A.D. † and that his predecessor and elder brother Śaktivarman ruled for twelve years before him. This would give 999 A. D. as the date of Śaktivarman's accession and the end of the interregnum. Śaktivarman is called in his plates Cāḷukya-

Śaktivarman in exile.

His restoration.

* K. V. S. Aiyar says that Vimalāditya was in North Arcot in the second year of Rājarāja's reign (*Ancient Dekhan* p. 247). If it is true, it will go far to support the suggestion here made. But no authority is cited, and I am unable to trace any.

† *EI.* vi p. 349.

nārāyaṇa, a surname evidently modelled on that of Rājarāja, Cōḷa-nārāyaṇa. Thus a study of the affairs of the E. Cāḷukya dynasty before Rājarāja began to interest himself in them makes it plain that, far from their being sought out by Rājarāja as valuable political allies, they owed their position to that great monarch. By the part he played in restoring order and putting an end to the long-drawn civil strife in that kingdom, Rājarāja was well justified in claiming to have conquered Vēngī. This is not to say that Vēngī became at once an integral part of the Cōḷa Empire * like the other areas where, as in the Ganga or even the Pāṇḍya country, the separate political existence of the conquered country was deliberately put an end to, and the administrative system of the Cōḷas was imposed. If the analogy suggested by the term is not pressed too far, the political relation in which Vēngī stood to the Cōḷa empire under Rājarāja is best described as that of a protectorate. The alliance between the two ruling families was sealed by a dynastic marriage; Vimalāditya married Rājarāja's daughter Kundavā, the younger sister of Rājēndra. †

By Rājarāja.

Two undated inscriptions from Mahēndragiri ‡ record, in Sanskrit and Tamil, an invasion of Rājēndra Cōḷa against a king of Kulūta, who had the name Vimalāditya. This chieftain probably was a recalcitrant feudatory of the Eastern Cāḷukya Vimalāditya. §

Expedition against Kulūta.

* See *JAHRS*. iii, iv, B. V. Krishna Rao's *History of Rajahmundry* for an unconvincing attempt to show that Rājarāja had no part in the restoration of Śaktivarman. K. Rao's identification of Jaṭā-Cōḍa with Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya is impossible.

† Korumelli plates—*IA*. xiv p. 52 ll. 55–65.

‡ 396, 397 of 1896 ; *ASI*. 1911–12 pp. 171–2.

§ *ASI*. 1911–12 p. 172 n. 2.

The inscriptions are recorded in the name of Rājēndra and mention the erection of a pillar of victory by him on the high peak of the Mahēndra mountain. But this expedition against Vimalāditya finds no place in Rājēndra's historical introduction. It took place in the reign of his father and accounts for Rājarāja's claim that he conquered Kalinga. * Vimalāditya, the Cāḷukya son-in-law of Rājarāja, made some presents in 1014 A.D. to a temple in Tiruvaiyāṟu, in the heart of the Cōḷa country. †

Conquest of the Maldives.

The last of the conquests, mentioned only in the latest inscriptions of Rājarāja, is that of the 'old islands of the sea numbering 12,000,' the Maldives. ‡ This naval conquest, of which we have no details, is sufficient indication that the navy which, as we shall see, Rājēndra used so effectively some years later, had been organised under his great father who stands in many ways in the same relation to Rājēndra as Philip of Macedon to Alexander the Great. An earlier occasion in Rājarāja's reign in which the navy played a part was the conquest of Ceylon. In this increasing realisation of the importance of a good navy, we may find a reason for holding that the expedition against Kāndaḷūr in the early years of Rājarāja's rule was primarily intended to sterilise the naval power of the Cēras.

The Cōḷa Navy.

* Krishna Sastri is inclined to make this conquest part of Rājēndra's campaign for 'fetching the Ganges into his country.' (*SII.* iii p. 388 n. 6). But Kulūta is not mentioned in the detailed list of countries given in that connection.

† 215 of 1894.

‡ "The king of the Maldives assumes the style of king of the Twelve Thousand Islands."—Renaudot quoting Pyrard—*Ancient Accounts*, Remarks p. 2. Also *Toung Pao* xvi, p. 388 n. 1.



Rājēndra made *yuvarāja* 1012 A.D.

In the closing years of his reign Rājarāja associated his son Rājēndra with himself in the official administration. This formal recognition of Rājēndra as heir apparent took place some time between the 27th March and 7th July 1012 A.D. * Rājēndra must have been at least twenty-five years of age at the time as he is mentioned in Rājarāja's inscriptions of the fourth year as a young prince. † Considering the large number of Tanjore inscriptions which mark the twenty-ninth year of his father, we may conclude that this year (1014 A.D.) marked the close of Rājarāja's illustrious reign. ‡ There is in existence, however, at Kanyākumāri an inscription dated in the thirty-first year of a Rājakēsari Rājarāja-dēva. The inscription is unfortunately mutilated, its beginning being lost; it records the establishment of a shed for supplying drinking water (*taṇṇīrppandal*) called Jayangoṇḍa-śōḻan, § a name which Rājarāja assumed in the later years of his reign. ¶

End of Rājarāja's reign.

The Tanjore temple.

Rājarāja's great reign is commemorated by the magnificent Śiva temple which he built at Tanjore, the Rājarājeśvara, which stands to this day, the finest monument of a splendid period of South Indian history and the most beautiful specimen of Tamil architecture at its best. The temple is remarkable alike for its stupendous proportions and for the simplicity of its design. A

* *EI.* viii p. 260.

† 117 A of 1896.

‡ This seems to be the proper explanation of the apparently puzzling reference to a gift of the third year of Rājēndra in *SII.* ii 90.

§ Gopinatha Rao thought this surname to be that of Rājādhirāja and assigned this record to Rājarāja II, who, however, was a Parakēsari. (*TAS.* i, p. 168). 252 of 1915 is another Rājarāja record of the 31st year.

¶ *SII.* ii, p. 312; 468 of 1908.

rectangular court, 750 feet by 250, is divided into two by a partition wall, which carries a low tower of beautiful design; the inner court is twice as long as the outer. The chief shrine occupies the centre of the Western half of this inner court and the *Vimāna*, which rises over the sanctum to a height of nearly 200 feet on a square base of about a hundred feet, dominates the whole structure. The boldly moulded basement, the huge monolithic Nandi, the simple and tasteful bas-reliefs and the decorative motifs on the *Vimāna* and the balustrades, the graceful sculptures in the niches on the sides of the *Vimāna* and the fine chiselling which marks the entire work, including the lettering of the numerous inscriptions, are not equalled by anything known in South Indian architecture. Viewed from any angle, the effect produced by the whole of this wonderful structure is pleasing and impressive. That the stone walls round the *garbhagṛha* right under the *Vimāna* in the interior of the temple were overlaid with a thin coat of chunam (lime) plaster, and painted, is beyond question. * When he saw this great enterprise of his reign drawing to completion, on the 275th day of the 25th year of his reign, Rājarāja solemnly dedicated the copper-pot intended for adorning the finial at the top of the *Vimāna*. We have no authentic information as to how the colossal labour involved in transporting the huge blocks of granite over great distances, and the technical problems involved in raising them to position, were met. The conquered countries doubtless paid part of the cost. (After its completion, the temple in the capital city had close business relations with the rest of the country; year after year villages from all parts

* I base this statement on a personal inspection of the walls. Some of this ancient painting may yet be rescued by timely action.

of the empire were required to supply men and material according to a fixed schedule for the various requirements of the temple. Those nearer home took out perpetual loans from the numberless money endowments showered on the temple by the piety and the generosity of the court and its officials, and undertook to contribute regularly the annual interest in cash or in some other way previously determined. In the minute care and precision with which most of these arrangements were completed before Rājarāja's twenty-ninth year we see the hand of a masterful and imaginative administrator. Karuvūr Dēvar, a contemporary hymnist, celebrated the new temple in one of his sacred hymns. Tañjāvūr, it should be noted, was not among the numerous sacred spots of Śaivism consecrated by the hymns of the Dēvāram Saints, Appar, Sambandar and Sundaramūrti. The temple was altogether a creation of Rājarāja's policy.

Administration.

The accurate survey and assessment of the country for purposes of land-revenue, the perfection of the administrative organisation of the country by the creation of a strong and centralised machinery corresponding to the staff of secretaries in a modern administration, and the posting of representative officers of the central government in suitable localities, the promotion of a system of audit and control by which village assemblies and other quasi-public corporations were held to account without their initiative or autonomy being curtailed, the creation of a powerful standing army and a considerable navy which achieved even greater success under Rājēndra than under himself, mark out Rājarāja as the greatest among the empire-builders of Southern India. Himself

Religious Policy.

an ardent follower of Śiva, Rājarāja was, like all the great statesmen of India, tolerant in matters of religion, and all creeds received equal favour at his hands. The decorative sculptures on the walls of the Tanjore temple and the construction of some Viṣṇu temples by him in Mysore and his gifts to other Viṣṇu temples recorded in his inscriptions are proof of his liberal religious policy. (The celebrated Leyden grant records how he encouraged the erection of the Cūḍāmaṇi Vihāra in Negapatam by the Śailēndra king, Śrī Māra-vijayōttunga-varman, the lord of Śrī Viṣaya and Kaṭāha across the sea. This Vihāra, which was building in the twenty-first year of Rājarāja *, was named after the father of its founder, and the Cōḷa monarch, with whose permission the construction was undertaken, dedicated to Lord Buddha dwelling in this Vihāra the village of Ānaimangalam, and his son Rājēndra confirmed the grant after his father's death and caused it to be engraved on copper-plates. That Negapatam was the first port on the mainland touched by vessels from the East bound for South India becomes clear from I-tsing's itineraries. † This must have been the reason for the foreign king constructing a Vihāra there.)

Titles.

If names are the music of history, this noble king greatly indulged his taste for this music; and what is more, he sought to make these names current coin by attaching them to new foundations or substituting them for old ones. Besides Rājarāja, Mummaḍicōḷa, Jayangoṇḍa and Arumoḻi, which became part of the names of cities (Puram), *vaḷanāḍus* and *maṇḍalams*, the king also called

* l. 118 of the grant (Tamil part).

† Gerini-*Researches* p. 527. Also *ARE.* 1899, paragraph 48.

himself Cōḷēndrasimha, Śivapādaśēkhara, Kṣatriya-śikhāmaṇi, Jananātha, Nigarili-śōḻa, Rājēndrasimha, Cōḷa-mārtāṇḍa, Rājāśraya, Rāja-mārtāṇḍa, Nityavinōda, Pāṇḍyakulāśani, Kēraḷāntaka, Śingaḷāntaka, Ravikula-māṇikya, Telingakulakāla * and so on. Many of these names, together with those of other members of the royal family, like Kundavai, Śembiyan-mahādēvi and others often distinguished the wards (*śēris*) in the larger villages and towns of the Cōḷa empire. † The regiments in the army also bore names formed out of the surnames of kings and princes.

Family.

Rājarāja had a number of wives but apparently only a few children. The queens mentioned in his inscriptions as making gifts to temples and in other connections number about fifteen, and though we can hardly be sure of it, Dantiśakti Viṭanki, also called Lōka-mahādēvi, appears to have occupied the most important place among them. With her we find the king in Tiruviśalūr in the twenty-ninth year of his reign. On this occasion the king performed the *tulābhāra* and his queen Dantiśakti the *hiraṇya-garbha* in the temple at Tiruviśalūr. ‡ The inscription recording this fact is engraved below a sculptured representation of the king and the queen in a worshipping posture. Some of the gold was used to make some flowers for Kṣētrapāla in the shrine built by the queen at Tiruvalañjuḻi. § The mother of Rājēndra, the

* Pd. 91.

† Mannār-kōvil in the Tinnevelly district had twelve *śeris* so named, see 109 of 1905 (*EI.* xi pp. 292-8). Tirukkaḷittiṭṭai in Tanjore had the following *śēris*, among others: Arumoḻidēvaccēri, Jananāthaccēri, Nittavinōdaccēri, Rājakēsariccēri, Nigarilišōḻaccēri, Aḻagiyaśōḻaccēri, Śingaḷāntakaccēri, Kundavaiccēri, Śōḻa-kulasundaraccēri, Rājamārttāṇḍaccēri, and Rājarājaccēri (292 of 1908 of the ninth year of Rājēndra I).

‡ 42 of 1907. For *hiraṇya-garbha* in modern times, see Galletti—*The Dutch in Malabar* p. 110 and *n.*

§ 633-C. of 1902 (Rājēndra 3).

only son of Rājarāja we know, was Vānavan-mahādēvi *alias* Tribhuvana-mahādēvi. * An inscription of the twenty-seventh year mentions Iḷangōn Picci as the name of the senior queen (*mūtta-dēviyār*) of the Cōḷa king (Śōḷaperumān) and calls her the daughter of Vallavaraiyan. † We know that Vallavaraiyar Vandyadēvar was the husband of Kundavai, the elder sister of Rājarāja, ‡ who is often called in the inscriptions Āḻvār Parāntakan Kundavaip-pirāṭṭiyār and the daughter of Pon-māḷigait-tuñjina-dēvar. § Kundavai was much respected and treated with great affection by her brother. Her gifts to the Tanjore temple were recorded, next to the king's own, on the walls of the central shrine, while those of the queens and the officers of state found a place only on the niches and pillars of the enclosure. ¶ One wonders if Iḷangōn Picci was the daughter of Kundavai whom the king, her mother's younger brother, took to wife; such marriages are not unknown in the Tamil country to-day. Rājarāja must have had at least three daughters, because an inscription from Tiruvalañjuḻi mentions besides the younger Kundavai, the queen of Cāḷukya-Vimalāditya, a middle daughter of the king called Mādēvaḍigaḷ. || Peculiar interest attaches to two memorials erected by Rājarāja which show his eagerness to fulfil his obligations to his family, and that in a manner productive of public good. They are the construction at Tirumukkūḍal ** of a *maṇḍapa* called after Śembiyan Mahādēvi, the queen of Gaṇḍarāditya and mother of Uttama Cōḷa, and the foundation of the Cōḷēśvara or Ariñjigai-Īśvara temple at Mēlpāḍi. ††,

* 117-A of 1896; 448 of 1918.

† 14 of 1920.

‡ *SII.* ii 2.

§ 8 of 1919.

¶ *SII.* ii. Introdn. p. 8.

|| 633 of 1902 (Yr. 25).

** 178 of 1915 (Yr. 28).

†† *SII.* iii 15.

Officials and feudatories.

This history of the reign may be concluded with an account of the leading officials and feudatories who distinguished themselves in the royal service. Mention has been made already of the place held by Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Pañcavan Mahārāya, (probably identical with the crown-prince) the sphere of whose command extended over the Ganga and Vēngī *maṇḍalas*, and the Noḷamba feudatories of the king in the Ganga country. Paraman Maḻapāḍiyār *alias* Mummuḍi-śōḻan was a general who conquered the Śītpuli and Pāki *nāḍus* early in this reign. In the Trichinopoly district, the Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar, of uncertain origin but closely allied to the royal family from the days when Parāntaka I married a Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar princess, were occupying a respected position, and were apparently in the enjoyment of full responsibility for the administration of a small area around Paḻuvūr. The inscriptions of Aḍigaḷ Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇḍan Maṟavan, which clearly acknowledge the overlordship of Rājarāja are found in Kīḻa- and Mēlappaḻuvūr from the third year of the reign and show him ruling in state. He had for instance officers or nobles of the *perundaram*, like the Cōḷa monarchs and princes themselves. * This chieftain built a temple to Tiruttōṭṭam-uḍaiyār in Mēlappaḻuvūr, † and adopted the ancient standard prevailing at Nandipuram for regulating taxation in Paḻuvūr. ‡ The latest records mentioning him seem to be dated in the fifteenth year of Rājarāja. § Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarādittan apparently a son of Madhurāntaka Uttama Cōḷa, ¶ served Rājarāja as an important official in the department

* 115 of 1895.

† 394 of 1924 (Rājak. 4).

‡ 365, 367 of 1924 (Rājak. 10, 16).

§ 363 of 1924.

¶ Hultzsch *SII.* iii 49 ; *ante* p. 193 and n. * A certain Gaṇḍarādittan Madhurāntakan is also mentioned in 356 of 1917 (Yr. 10).

of temple-affairs, so to say. We see him conducting enquiries into the affairs of temples in various parts of the country, punishing defaulters * and making proper arrangements for the prevention of neglect in subsequent years. He has been wrongly identified with Gaṇḍarādittar, the author of the *Tiruviśaippā*, which was in reality composed by his grandfather. † In the district of North Arcot there were the Ilāḍarāya (Lāṭa) chieftains who had apparently been ruling the region round Pañcapāṇḍavamalai continuously from the days of Parāntaka I; in the eighth year of Rājarāja, Uḍaiyār Vīrasōḻar, son of Uḍaiyār Ilāḍarājar Pugaḻvippavargaṇḍan, remitted, at the request of his queen, some taxes in favour of a Jain temple. ‡ The regal titles employed in the inscriptions of these chieftains are perhaps an indication of the high favour in which they stood with their Cōḷa overlords. In the sixteenth year of the reign of Rājarāja, we find mention, in a Tiruvallam inscription, § of a Tiruvaiyan Śankaradēva who claimed descent from the Ganga kings of Kōlār and built at Tiruvallam a temple called Tiruvaiya-Īśvara apparently after his father. The high-sounding titles that precede the name of this obscure chieftain constitute a clear warning against hasty inferences from such titles in regard to the political status of the person employing them. Nannamarāyar of the Vaidumba family, the son of Tukkarai who possessed the Ingallūr-nāḍu in Mahārājapāḍi, in the Cuddapah district, gave an endowment at Tiruvallam in North

* 283 of 1906; 218 of 1921.

† The mistake seems to have arisen from the false belief that G.'s *Tiruviśaippā* refers to the Tanjore temple whereas it is on Cidambaram. See T. A. G. Rao-*Sōḻavamśa-carittirac-curukkam* p. 16 *n*.

‡ 19 of 1890 (*E.I.* iv p. 139.)

§ 11 of 1890 (*S.I.I.* iii 51).

Arcot about 1005 A. D. * A Mummuḍi Vaitumba-mahārājan made a gift in Reḍḍipāḷem in Nellore about A. D. 993. † This shows that the Vaidumbas continued under Rājarāja, as under his predecessors after Parāntaka I, to occupy subordinate official positions in the Cōḷa administrative system. Mention is made of a Śaḷukki Vīmayan whose *dēvi* (queen), Vīmayan Vambavai, endowed a lamp in the temple at Tiruvaiyāṟu in the twenty-second year (*c.* 1007 A. D.) of Rājarāja; ‡ his dynastic connections and the locality of his rule are not quite clear. Like the Vaidumbas, the Bāṇas, who shared the same fate with them at the hands of Parāntaka I, seem to have become officers sharing in the administration of the country under the Cōḷas. A Bāṇa prince, Maṟavan Narasimha-varman, whose records commence with the usual introduction of Rājarāja and then proceed to give the traditional titles of the Bāṇas in all their fullness, was apparently ruling some part of the South Arcot district in the neighbourhood of Jambai towards the close of Rājarāja's reign, as we learn that he excavated a new irrigation tank in that locality. § The Tanjore inscriptions mention Sēnāpati Śrī Kṛṣṇan Rāman of Amaṇ-kuḍi, ¶ who is called Rājēndrasōḷa Brahma-mārāyan in the larger Leyden grant, ‖ as the person who built the *tiruccuṟṟālai*, the surrounding enclosure and *maṇḍapa* of the Tanjore temple under the king's orders. Īrāyiravan Pallavaraiyan *alias* Mummuḍi-sōḷa-pōśan was another officer of *perundaram* rank who presented an image and some jewels to the Tanjore temple. ** He was doubtless a high official in the secretariat of the revenue department as we find him

* *SII.* iii 52. † *NI.* G. 88.

‡ 217 of 1894 (*SII.* v 516). § 84, 86 of 1906.

¶ *SII.* ii 31. ‖ 1. 437. ** *SII.* ii 55.

attesting the Leyden grant and an important inscription from Ukkal * relating to revenue settlement. Sēnāpati Kuṟavan Ulagaḷandān *alias* Rājarāja Mahārājan who is also mentioned in the Tanjore inscriptions, † apparently got his surname Ulagaḷandān (one who measured the world) after carrying out the revenue survey which began in the sixteenth year (A. D. 1001), formed one of the most original and important administrative achievements of the reign ‡ and furnished the basis for the revenue policy for many years thereafter, as can be seen from the numerous references to the survey in subsequent records.

* *SII.* iii, 9.

† *SII.* ii 95, p. 459.

‡ 624-A of 1902 ; 44 of 1907 (Yr. 24).

CHAPTER X

RĀJĒNDRA I – (1012-1044 A. D.)

Accession.

Parakēsari-varman Rājēndra-cōladēva I was declared heir apparent and formally associated with his father in the administration of the Empire in the closing years of his rule. Accordingly he counts his regnal years from some date between 27th March and 7th July, 1012 A.D. * and we find clear evidence of joint rule in the third year of Rājēndra. This year is mentioned in Rājarāja's Tanjore inscriptions of his twenty-ninth year; † Rājarāja is also stated to have made a gift in the third year of his son's rule. ‡ The star of Rājēndra's nativity was Ārdrā. §

Extent and organisation of empire.

Rājēndra inherited from his father an extensive empire comprising the whole of the modern Presidency of Madras and parts of Mysore and the island of Ceylon. The administration had been carefully organised and a fairly powerful bureaucracy brought into existence which, while it scrupulously respected the 'liberties,' feudal and corporate, of the various magnates and associations that studded the land, successfully maintained the king's peace, and enforced all civil rights. The army was a strong and tried body of men, well able to defend the wide land frontier and to keep down any threatened outbreaks in areas newly subjected to the empire, and ready for aggressive warfare abroad. The hold on Ceylon and some other islands like the Maldives was securely maintained by a powerful naval

* *EI.* viii p. 260.

† See *ante* p. 221, n. ‡

‡ 196 of 1917.

§ 271 of 1927 (Yr. 7)

force which also served to protect the considerable overseas trade of the empire with the islands of the East Indies and with China. During the thirty-three years of his reign, Rājēndra turned these initial advantages to the best possible use and succeeded in raising the Cōḷa empire to the position of the most extensive and most respected Hindu state of his time, and one which possessed though perhaps only for a time a not inconsiderable dominion over the Malay peninsula and the Eastern Archipelago. The history of Rājēndra's reign is very largely the history of the extensive wars and conquests he undertook in the first half of his reign. Like his father, he has left behind in his stone inscriptions and in the Tiruvālangāḍu copper-plates a trustworthy account of the military and naval transactions of his reign which receive confirmation at all points at which we have the means of controlling it by other evidence.

His *praśastis.*

The most common form of Rājēndra's Tamil *praśasti* is that which begins *tiru manni vaḷara*. We come across this form as early as the third year, though it is more generally employed only from the fifth. This introduction progressively increases in length by the narration of fresh conquests until the thirteenth year, after which date it becomes stereotyped. By tracing its growth we are able to fix the internal chronology of the reign with a precision not often attained in the annals of Ancient India. Another Tamil *praśasti* known so far from only one inscription * of the tenth year, gives some particulars about Pāṇḍyan affairs which are confirmed by the Tiruvālangāḍu plates. In another inscription dated in the twenty-fourth year, † the Tamil *praśasti*

* 363 of 1917.

† 118 of 1888.

follows the usual form up to the conquest of Takkaṇa-lāḍam, and then proceeds to record transactions relating to princes of the blood royal, and Rājēndra's relations with Ceylon and the Cāḷukyas; this unique text which ends by calling him Rājakēsari * is beset with many difficulties of interpretation, and as it is a copy of an earlier original, it is possible that a mistake has occurred in the re-engraving. Lastly, the account given of Rājēndra's military achievements in the Sanskrit part of the Tiruvālangāḍu plates was written, quite obviously, † after all conquests were over, and by the side of indications gained from the different stages of the Tamil *praśasti* in different years, this Sanskrit account must be held to be of decidedly inferior import to the chronology of the reign. But the poet Nārāyaṇa who composed the long Sanskrit *praśasti* is entitled to our admiration not only for his high literary quality but for the attention he gives to the facts of his patron's reign which is fuller than is usual with court-poets. In fact, his account forms, at several points, a valuable supplement to the Tamil *praśasti*.

Rājādhirāja *yuvarāja*.

Very early in Rājēndra's reign, he appointed his son Rājādhirāja as *yuvarāja* to assist him in the work of the state. Calculations made from Rājādhirāja's records have led to the conclusion that this happened on some day between 15th March and 3rd December 1018 A.D., ‡ most probably in the early months of the seventh year of Rājēndra himself. For over twenty-five years from that date, father and son, Parakēsari and Rājakēsari ruled together and shared the burdens of empire. The inscriptions of Rājādhirāja, with the introduction

* The mistake possibly arose from a Rājakēsari also having ruled jointly with the king for some years before the date of the record; but see *infra*.

† *ARE*. 1906 II 13.

‡ *EI*. ix p. 218.

beginning *tingaḷērtaru,* give an account of the part played by this prince in the campaigns of his father, and up to about the twenty-sixth year of Rājādhirāja's reign, his records must be understood to supplement those of Rājēndra by giving an alternative description of more or less the same transactions from the standpoint of Rājādhirāja's part in them. * In an inscription of his twenty-sixth year from Tirumalavāḍi which adopts the shorter form of his introduction, † Rājādhirāja's umbrella of state is said to have functioned as if it were the shadow of the white umbrella of his father who conquered with his army the Ganges in the North, Ceylon in the South, Mahōdai in the West and Kaḍāram in the East. This clear statement that the son ruled in full regal state in the life-time of his father, and that for as many as twenty-six years, provides the key for the proper understanding of an important aspect of Cōḷa history. Adopted in the first instance, possibly, as a device to obviate disputed succession, the system of choosing a successor in the life-time of the ruling king and associating him, after a formal installation, in the discharge of important public duties pointed the way, under the stress of empire, to a more deliberate and extensive application of the

Princes as administrators.

* Hultzsch observed: "Rājādhirāja appears to have been coregent of (his predecessor Rājēndra Cōla I) and cannot have exercised independent royal functions before the death of the other. It is in perfect accordance with this conclusion that his inscriptions which have been discovered so for are all dated in the later years of his reign viz., between the 26th and 32nd years." *SII.* iii. p. 52. When Hultzsch said this, 172 of 1894 (Tirukkaḷukkunṟam) of the 26th year was the earliest record available. Since then, the *tingaḷēr* introduction has been reported as found in 484 of 1925 (Year 10) and 392 of 1921 (year 18), but on examining the impressions of these records, I have found that they are both dated in the thirty-sixth year. It is possible, however, that some records (with early regnal years) which, though containing no *praśastis,* give imperial titles to Rājādhirāja e.g., Tribhuvanacakravartin (241 of 1927) and Cakravartigaḷ (124 of 1922), really belong to Rājādhirāja I. See also 244, 245 of 1929.

† 75 of 1895 ll. 2-4. (*SII.* v. 633). These lines seem to have been taken to mean no more than that Rājādhirāja inherited his kingdom from his father—*ARE.* 1913 II 26.

principle to the administrative arrangements of the empire. The princes of the blood royal who had come of age were appointed to positions of authority in the different provinces of the empire, care being taken to give to each the position suited to his capacity and talent. The person chosen as heir apparent was distinguished from the rest by a formal installation, and by his higher status; in the case of Rājādhirāja, who was not the eldest son of Rājēndra and must have been chosen as *yuvarāja* for his outstanding ability, his status is clearly implied by his separate historical introductions and by his titles even during his father's life-time. The contemporary Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya viceroys, also Cōḷa princes, either use no historical introductions in their inscriptions, or when they do so, adopt that of the ruling sovereign, Rājēndra. In the early years of his reign Rājēndra seems to have been assisted only by one such subordinate ruler with jurisdiction over the Pāṇḍya and the Kēraḷa countries, besides the crown prince Rājādhirāja, though it is possible that in later years others were similarly recognized elsewhere. It is probable that when chosen for such employment, the princes underwent an investiture of some sort which, among other things, conferred on them the right to wear coronets of their own, suited to their relative positions in the state. Rājādhirāja and his successor are said, in their inscriptions, also to have continued these arrangements. This wise system initiated by Rājēndra I, by finding suitable occupation for the energies of restless princes of the royal family, doubtless allayed their discontent, diminished the chances of palace intrigues and revolutions, and at the same time brought new strength to the administration of an over-grown empire which was called upon to face many difficult problems, domestic and foreign.

Early conquests.

We shall now trace the progress of Rājēndra's conquests as recorded in the sources above mentioned, accepting as our basis the precise indications of chronology in the *tiru manni vaḷara* introduction. From this introduction we learn that up to the third year of his reign he had conquered Iḍituṟai-nāḍu, Banavāse (Vanavāsi) encircled by a continuous hedge of forest, Koḷḷippākkai whose ramparts were surrounded by *śuḷḷi* trees, and Maṇṇaik-kaḍakkam whose fortifications were unapproachable. Whether this account is a retrospective version of Rājēndra's invasion of Raṭṭapāḍi of the year 1004 A.D. so vividly described in the Hoṭṭūr record dated three years after it, or recounts a second campaign necessitated by the recovery of Satyāśraya, cannot be decided with certainty. In any event, the campaign took place before 1008 A.D. because it was directed against Satyāśraya himself, who was succeeded by Vikramāditya V about that year. Iḍituṟai-nāḍu, Eḍedore 2000, "was a stretch of country between the rivers Kṛṣṇā on the north and Tungabhadrā on the south, comprising a large part of the present Raichur district." * Koḷḷippākkai was, doubtless, Kulpak, about 45 miles north-east of Hyderabad, "invariably termed Koḷḷipāka in the inscriptions," † and the centre of a 7000 district which was later on, at the beginning of the next century, ruled for some time by Sōmēśvara III, as viceroy under his father Vikramāditya VI. Kulpak was still the centre of a province ruled by a governor under the Kākatīyas in the thirteenth century. In Maṇṇaikkaḍakkam with its strong fortifications one may easily recognise the Mānyākhēṭa which according to the Kanyākumāri

* Fleet, *E.I.* xii pp. 295-6.

† *Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society*, 1916, pp. 14 ff. See also *IA.* xliv pp. 213-5.

inscription * became the sporting ground of Rājēndra's forces in battle. Mānyakhēṭa (Mālkhed) must have suffered greatly in this invasion of Rājēndra. In the closing years of Rāṣṭrakūṭa domination, it had been once sacked and plundered by the Paramāra ruler of Mālwa; and now, forty years later, under the Cāḷukyas, a worse fate overtook the unfortunate city. This must have weighed greatly with the Cāḷukyas who, soon after, transferred the capital to Kalyāṇi or Kalyāṇapura, 48 miles to the N. E. of Mālkhed. † An inscription of Rājēndra from the Trichinopoly district, dated in his third year, ‡ mentions an incident in the fight with Satyāśraya before Maṇṇaikkaḍakkam. A certain Śrutimān Nakkan Candran, a native of Ūṟṟattūr, was ordered by the king's own mouth (*perumāḷ tiruvāyāl moḻiya*) to attack the enemy's elephant and apparently lost his life, and for his benefit a gift was made to the temple of Mahādēva in his native village of Ūṟṟattūr. In this campaign, therefore, Rājēndra crossed the Tungabhadrā, carried the war into the heart of the Cāḷukya country and attacked their very capital. It is not easy to see how these operations across the Tungabhadrā could have been coupled with an attack on Banavāse, long celebrated as the centre of Kadamba power, and then part of the W. Cāḷukya kingdom. Banavāse lies much outside, and too far to the west of the line of advance indicated by the rest of this campaign; § and yet the language of the inscription

* v. 70.

† Fleet ascribes this to Sōmēśvara I, *Bom. Gaz.* I, ii pp. 427, 440; *EI.* xiii pp. 180-2. The transfer might have occurred earlier.

‡ 515 of 1912.

§ Dr. S.K. Aiyangar apparently finds no difficulty here. He says: "Having mastered possession of this debatable frontier of all South Indian history (Raichūr doab), he proceeded *northwards* into the *southernmost* districts of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa country," (italics mine-*Gangaikoṇḍa Cōḷa* p. 544). It is possible that more than one army took the field at the same time.

seems to render it obligatory to treat the whole as one campaign, and the names mentioned as the different stages, though not in that order, of a single expedition. This and the date of the Hoṭṭūr inscription go far to suggest that the data furnished by Rājēndra's inscriptions also belong to the war which was waged about 1004 A.D. against Satyāśraya by Rājarāja, and that in this war the advance of Rājēndra against the Cāḷukyas started from somewhere in the N.W. of Mysore, took a generally north-eastern line along the course of the Tungabhadrā until the Raichūr doab was reached, when a more northerly course was struck, and Kulpak and Mālkhed became the objects of attack. A *maṇḍapa* at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr called Maṇṇaikoṇḍa-Śōḷa was among the mementos of this campaign. *

Ceylon War.

The conquest of the whole of Īḷa-maṇḍalam (Ceylon) is the next achievement mentioned. As some of the inscriptions of the fifth year † do not include this conquest, while others ‡ do so, we may be sure that the war against Ceylon was undertaken in the fifth year, A.D. 1017-18. The *Mahāvamsa* places the completion of the Cōḷa conquest of Ceylon in the 36th year of Mahinda V which falls also in A.D. 1017 according to the latest scheme of Ceylonese chronology established by Geiger. § About twelve years before this date, Rājarāja, taking advantage of the confusion in the island kingdom which arose from a military revolt against Mahinda V, had brought it under his power with the

* 103 of 1912. † 50 of 1897; 439 of 1907.

‡ 4 of 1890; 257 of 1903. 585 of 1906 from Embāḍi (also fifth year) carries the conquests further up to Śāndimattīvu. But as the inscription mentions the 25th year of the reign, it was engraved much later and is to be accepted with caution.

§ *CV.* ii p. xiii.

exception of its remoter parts which were still held by the Singhalese. As a result of his expedition Rājēndra claims to have captured the crown of the kings of Ceylon * the exceedingly beautiful crowns of their queens, the fine crown and the garland of Indra which the Pāṇḍya had previously deposited with them (the kings of Ceylon), and the whole Īḷa-maṇḍalam on the transparent sea. The *Mahāvamsa* does not mince matters and gives a straight account which confirms the claims made by Rājēndra in his inscriptions: †

"In the six and thirtieth year of the king's (Mahindu V's) reign the Cōḷas seized the mahēsi, the jewels, the diadem that he had inherited, the whole of the (royal) ornaments, the priceless diamond bracelet, a gift of the gods, the unbreakable sword and the relic of the torn strip of cloth. ‡ But the Ruler himself, who had fled in fear to the jungle, they captured alive, with the pretence of making a treaty. Thereupon they sent the Monarch and all the treasures which had fallen into their hands at once to the Cōḷa Monarch. In the three fraternities and in all Lankā (breaking open) the relic chambers, (they carried away) many costly images of gold etc., and while they violently destroyed here and there all the monasteries, like blood-sucking yakkhas, they took all the treasures of Lankā for themselves. With Pullatthinagara as base, the Cōḷas held sway over Rājaraṭṭha as far as the locality known as Rakkhapāsāṇakaṇṭha. . . . King Mahinda dwelt twelve years in the Cōḷa land and entered into heaven in the forty-eighth year (from his ascent of the throne.)"

* Hultzsch (*SII.* iii p. 28) translates: "the crown of the king of Īḷam (who was as tempestuous as) the sea in fighting." But in the phrase: "*poru-kaḍal-Īḷattaraśar-tamuḍiyum,*" *porukaḍal* is an attribute, not of '*araśar*,' but of Īḷam'. See *EI.* ix p. 233 The plurals in '*araśar*' 'and '*avar dēviyar*' are meant to show that the hereditary crown is intended. See extract from the *MV.* which follows.

† *CV.* Ch. 55 vv. 16 ff. The three preceding verses talk of a horse-dealer informing the Cōḷa king of the confusion in the island and bringing about the invasion: this part of the story perhaps applies to Rājarāja's invasion which is not otherwise noticed by the *MV.*

‡ *Chinnapaṭṭikādhātuka* which Geiger thinks might have been a Buddha relic, highly prized, among the regalia of the Singhalese kings. Wijesimha translates: "and the Sacred forehead band."

Rājēndra thus succeeded in getting hold of the Pāṇḍyan regalia left behind by Rājasimha, which Parāntaka I had sought and failed to secure. The Cōḷa inscriptions are silent on the details of the conquest and draw a veil over the pillage of Lankā so vividly chronicled in the Ceylonese annals, though one inscription apparently mentions Mahinda's submission to the Cōḷa king after he was transported to the mainland.* Rājēndra's success was complete, and the whole of the island became a Cōḷa province. We have some inscriptions of Rājēndra at Polonnaruwa and in the Colombo museum with the *tiru manni vaḷara* introduction †; but these are in a very damaged condition, and valuable only as furnishing clear epigraphical confirmation of Rājēndra's conquest and rule in Ceylon. Several Hindu temples, Dēvāles devoted to Śiva and to Viṣṇu, have been discovered in the vicinity of Polonnaruwa; these are built of stone and in the Tamil Cōḷa style of architecture, and all of them must have been constructed in this period of Cōḷa rule in the island. The *Mahāvamsa* adds that twelve years after Rājēndra's invasion, possibly also after the death of Mahinda V, his son Kassapa who had been brought up in secret by the Singhalese for fear of the Cōḷas, became the centre of a national resistance against the Tamil power, and that, after a six month's war in which a great number of Damiḷas were killed by the Singhalese forces, he succeeded in making Rohaṇa once more independent of the Tamil province and ruled it as Vikkamabāhu I for a period of twelve years (1029-41 A.D.). The events of Vikkamabāhu's reign belong to a later stage of Rājēndra's rule and may be reserved for further consideration at the proper place.

* 642 of 1909 (yr. 7).

† 595, 618 of 1912 (*SII.* iv 1389; 1414).

In his sixth year, * A.D. 1018, Rājēndra seized the heirloom of the Kēraḷa monarch including the crown praised by many and rightfully worn by him, and the garland emitting red rays. † He also took the "many ancient islands, whose old, great guard was the ocean which makes the conches resound." In the next year, he captured the crown of pure gold worthy of Tiru (Lakṣmī) that had been deposited in Śāndimattīvu, in view of its strong fortress, by Paraśurāma who, roused in war, had uprooted the kings (of the world) twenty-one times. ‡ Some light is thrown on these rather obscure transactions by the account of Rājēndra's southern campaign given by the Tiruvālangāḍu plates and by a single stone inscription of the tenth year § which gives an account of Rājēndra's policy in the Pāṇḍya country, not found in the other stone records of the reign. The Tiruvālangāḍu plates ¶ say:

Kēraḷa War.

"This famous and heroic king, possessed of a powerful army and bent upon the performance of meritorious deeds with heaps of money acquired by his own arm, then set his heart upon a *digvijaya*.

Accordingly after arranging for the protection (in his absence) of his own capital, the unrivalled king Uttama Cōḷa first started in the direction marked by Triśanku (the south) desirous of conquering the Pāṇḍya king.

The commander (*daṇḍanātha*) of the ornament (*tilaka*) to the Solar race (Rājēndra) (thereupon) struck the Pāṇḍyan king who had a great force; and the Pāṇḍya abandoned his home in fright and fled for refuge to the Malaya mountain, the abode of Agastya.

* 22 of 1895; 211 of 1911.

† *Eṟipaḍai* means 'victorious army'; '*Śengadir-mālai*' may be taken more literally as above instead of being understood as meaning the sun. *Contra* Hultzsch *EI.* ix p. 233.

‡ 29 of 1897 (*SII.* ii 82); 74 of 1907 (yr. 8).

§ 363 of 1917.

¶ vv. 89-97.

Rājarāja's son, the master of policy, took possession of the bright spotless pearls, the seeds of the spotless fame of the Pāṇḍya kings.

After establishing there his own son, Śrī Cōḷa-Paṇḍya, for the protection of the Pāṇḍya country, the light of the Solar race then proceeded to the conquest of the West.

Having heard of the ignominy sustained by kings at the hands of Bhārgava in battle, this proud king, not finding him (Bhārgava) on the face of the earth, developed a desire to conquer the land created by him.

Who else, other than this supreme lord (Paramēśvara) can entertain the thought in his mind of subjugating (*lit.* humiliating) that ancient land protected by the glory of the ornament of the Bhṛgukula and free from the inroads of enemies ?

The fearless Madhurāntaka crossed the Sahya (mountain) and forthwith set upon the Kērala in great force, and there ensued a fierce battle which brought ruin upon kings.

After having (thus) conquered the Kērala king and harrowed the land guarded by the austerities of the lord of the Bhṛgus, the prince returned to his capital, the abode of prosperity."

It may be doubted if by this campaign Rājēndra added any new territory to his dominions. The Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa countries had been conquered by Rājarāja very early in his reign, and 'the many ancient islands' towards its end. These islands were the Maldives; the obscure Śāndimattīvu of legendary fame is apparently to be sought also among the islands of the Arabian sea. The effective hold retained by Rājarāja on his southern conquests becomes clear from his numerous records in the Pāṇḍya country and from an inscription of the third year of Rājēndra * mentioning an endowment in Tiruviśalūr by the queen of a Pāṇḍya king called Śrīvaḷḷuvar. While the Tamil *praśasti* of Rājēndra mentions some new achievements

No new conquests.

* 46 of 1907.

of the king in Ceylon and Kēraḷa, the most considerable among them being the seizure of the regalia of the different kingdoms of the south, it has nothing to say on Pāṇḍyan affairs. The vague statements of the Tiruvālangāḍu plates that the Pāṇḍyan king fled to the Agastya hill and that Rājēndra took his pearls are too conventional to be accepted literally; a stone inscription of the tenth year, * however, confirms the statement of the copper-plates that the king established his own son in Madura as his viceroy with the title Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya and also states that Rājēndra built a palace in Madura by, whose weight the earth became unsteady.' The same inscription implies that Rājēndra repeated his father's performance at Kāndaḷūr-śālai. This Pāṇḍyan viceroy, who was soon after placed in charge of the Kēraḷa country as well, was Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya to whose time belong the largest number of the Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya inscriptions so far known.

Viceroy appointed at Madura.

An inscription † of Rājēndra informs us that in his twenty-fourth regnal year, the emperor made a grant of land to the temple built at Mannārkōvil (Tinnevelly) by the Cēra king Rājasimha and called Rājēndra-Śōḷa-viṇṇagar, and that this grant was to take effect from the fifteenth year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya. Assuming that the fifteenth year of the viceroy fell either in the twenty-fourth year of the emperor or possibly a little earlier, Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya must have been appointed viceroy about the sixth or seventh year of Rājēndra, a date which fits in with the indications furnished by the Tiruvālangāḍu plates taken along with the Tamil *praśasti*. The

Date of appointment.

* 363 of 1917.

† 112 of 1905

Mannārkōvil inscription is also valuable in other respects. It shows that the viceroys enjoyed almost regal status and were allowed officially to issue orders dated in their own years of office. It also indicates the close contact maintained between the headquarters of the empire,—Rājēndra was residing in his palace at Kāñcīpuram when this gift was made,—and the viceregal courts. Lastly, the jurisdiction of the Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya viceroy over the Cēra country is clearly seen in the Cēra king building a temple in the Pāṇḍya country and naming it after the Cōḷa emperor. From his inscriptions we see that Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya ruled as viceroy for at least twenty-three years, up to about A. D. 1040. One of the latest * of these inscriptions opens with the *praśasti* of Rājēndra himself, (*tiru manni vaḷara*). Another states that Sucīndram in Nāñjināḍ (South Travancore) came to be called Sundara-śoḷa-caturvēdimangalam after the viceroy. † One curious fact not easy to explain is the record of a grant at Kōṭṭār (near Nagercoil) in south Travancore by an Eastern Cāḷukya prince who called himself Sarvalōkāśraya Śrī Viṣṇuvardhana Mahārāja *alias* Cāḷukya Vijayāditya Vikkiyaṇṇa. The inscription is dated in the 11th year of Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya ‡ *i.e.*, about A. D. 1029. Kōṭṭār was a strong fortress of strategic importance in those days and the Cōḷas maintained a strong garrison there; it is quite possible that an Eastern Cāḷukya prince who held an important place in the army lived in Kōṭṭār for some years. But his identity is uncertain in the extreme.

Cāḷukya War.

In the years A. D. 1021 and 1022, Rājēndra resumed the war against the Western Cāḷukya power. Jayasimha, who had succeeded his brother Vikramāditya V about 1016 A.D.,

* 617 of 1916. † *TAS.* iv pp. 134-5. ‡ 44 of 1896.

was displaying unwonted energy in recovering territory lost to the Cōḷas in previous wars. The Baḷagāmve inscription of 1019 describes him as defeating the Cōḷas and the Cēras, * and this is borne out by the presence of his inscriptions about this time in Bellary and the N. W. of Mysore. † Rājēndra's war against Jayasimha is described in his Tamil *praśasti* in the following terms:

> "(He captured) the seven and a half lakhs of Raṭṭapāḍi (which was) strong by nature, and vast quantities of treasure, together with the inestimable reputation of Jayasimha who, out of fear and to his great disrepute, turned his back at Muśangi and hid himself." ‡

The assertion that the whole of Raṭṭapāḍi fell into the hands of Rājēndra is, of course, a gross exaggeration. In fact, in the Cōḷa inscriptions of this period, this is no more than a conventional way of recording some temporary advantage gained in the field against the Cāḷukyas. The rest of the statements in the *praśasti* seem to be true. There was an engagement

* Fleet *DKD.* 436.

† Rangachari-Bellary 279, 471; *EC.* vii Sk. 220, 307.

‡ Hultzsch translates-' *payangoḍu paḻimiga* ' into " out of fear and full of vengeance. " (*EI.* ix p. 233). *Paḻi* means ' vengeance ' in some contexts ; but here it has surely another meaning: ' disrepute '. The idea is that by his flight he lost his reputation as king or warrior. The phrase ' *navanidikkulap-perumaligaḷum* ' is not clear. Hultzsch understands this independently of the Raṭṭapāḍi campaign, and translates : " the principal great mountains (which contained) the nine treasures (of Kubēra)." This flawless literal rendering is not intelligible, and Hultzsch has not explained what he understands by it. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar is inclined, on the other hand, to see a place name of unknown identity in Navanidhi-kula, like Nāmaṇaikkōṇam, Pañcappaḷḷi and Māśuṇi-dēśa. (Sewell-*Historical Inscriptions* p. 65, n.) But unlike *kōṇam*, *paḷḷi* and *dēśa*, an ending in *kula* seems most unlikely for a place name. I think the whole expression is a rhetorical way of stating that much treasure fell into the hands of Rājēndra. ' *Kulap-peru-malaigaḷ* ' suggest, by recalling the ' Kulaparvatas ' of legend, the vastness of the treasure ; and ' *navanidhi*, ' though usually employed of the insignia of Kubēra, is introduced here to suggest the variety of the treasures of the Cāḷukya monarch. cf. *kuladhanam-akhilam yaśaśca muktvā bhayam avalambya palāyanam cakāra* (v. 105) of the same context in the Tiruvālangāḍu plates.

at Muśangi or Muyangi, as it is spelt variously in the inscriptions, and Jayasimha certainly did not get the best of it. Muśangi was most probably the same as Uccangidrug in the Bellary district. * To a description of this campaign the Tiruvālangāḍu plates devote a considerable number of well-turned verses in the best Kāvya style, and though there are ten such verses, † we learn on the whole less about the actual occurrences in the war from these than from the few lines of the Tamil *praśasti* translated above. The king started from Kāñcīpuram on his march against the Raṭṭa country, there was fierce battle between the forces of the Cōḷa king and those of Jayasimha, the latter fled to the forests and Rājēndra returned to his capital with much booty. Typical of the turns of thought of the composer and suggestive of the date of composition is the verse : ‡

> "It may be no wonder that the fire of his anger burst into a flame as it came into contact with the descendant of Taila. This, however, is strange that, having crossed the waters of all the oceans, it (the fire of his anger) consumed the enemy fuel *(dviṣadindhana.)*

Despite his defeat at Muśangi, and the consequent boast of Rājēndra that he captured Raṭṭapādi, Jayasimha was successful in retaining his hold on his territory up to the Tungabhadrā, if not beyond. The Mīraj grant dated in A.D. 1024 shows that Jayasimha was then in possession of Eḍedōre 2000 and affirms that he had regained it after driving out the strong Cōḷa, lord of the five Drāvidas. §

* *SII* ii p. 94-5. n. 4. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar thinks Maski more likely.

† 99-108.

‡ v. 101, *SII.* iii p. 423.

§ *IA.* viii 18; Fleet *DKD.* 436; *EI.* xii pp. 295-6. Krishna Sastri's translation of verse 103 of the Tiruvālangāḍu plates is wrong in implying that the Raṭṭarāja lost his life in the war; *parikhaṇḍita* means 'defeated', *not* 'cut to pieces.'

The Ganges expedition.

The next campaign undertaken by Rājēndra was the northern expedition in quest of the Ganges. In the words of the Tiruvālangāḍu plates : *

"The light of the Solar race (Rajēndra), mocking Bhagīratha who by the force of his austerities caused the descent of the Gangā, set out to sanctify his own land with the waters of that stream brought (thither) by the strength of his arm." †

Judging from its duration, this campaign which lasted less than two years, ‡ in which so many kingdoms of the north are stated to have felt the strength of Rājēndra's troops, could hardly have been more than a hurried raid across a vast stretch of country. And the Tiruvālangāḍu plates state explicitly that the expedition was led by one of the king's generals and that Rājēndra met him on his return somewhere on the banks of the Gōdāvari. § The events of the campaign as narrated in the same source may be summed up as follows: After crossing many streams by making the elephants in his army serve as bridges across them, the commander of Vikrama Cōḷa's ¶ forces first fell upon the strong army of Indraratha and took possession of

* v. 109.

† Dr. S.K. Aiyangar is fond of the notion that the scholarly Rājēndra, Paṇḍita-Cōḷa as he was, had his imagination fired by a study of the Cēra Śenguṭṭuvan's exploits as narrated in the *Śilappadikāram*. (*Gangai-koṇḍa-Cōḷa* p. 548). We may wonder whether Rājēndra was such a Quixote! The poet Nārāyaṇa has made another guess (*utprēkṣā*), not less plausible, of Rājēndra's motive. And we have no record of the table-talk of Rājēndra or of his reminiscences. But is there anything calling for an explanation? The ideal of ancient Indian monarchy was *utthāna* and *vijigīṣā*; the power of a king was held to be in proportion to the extent of territory conquered and the number of victorious raids led by him into foreign territory.

‡ 476 of 1911 (year 11) mentions it; records of the tenth year do not. The detailed account first appears in the twelfth year *SII.* i, 68; 467 of 1908.

§ vv. 110, 118.

¶ Note this surname of Rājēndra.

the territory of that ornament to the Lunar race of kings; then he captured the vast treasures of Raṇaśūra and entered the land of Dharmapāla and subdued him also; thereby, he reached the Ganges and caused the water of the river to be brought by the conquered kings to his sovereign lord Madhurāntaka, whom he met on the banks of the Gōdāvari after conquering Mahīpāla and taking away his fame together with many precious jewels. Then the valourous Rājēndra struck the evil-minded Oṭṭa king and his younger brother and forced from him a tribute of rutting elephants. Thereupon, after himself killing an elephant that charged him while he was seated on the back of another, the king returned to his own splendid capital. The Tamil *praśasti* records the same transactions, almost in the same order, but with much more detail, as follows: *

"(He seized) Śakkarakkōṭṭam, whose warriors were brave; Madura-maṇḍalam destroyed in a trice, † the prosperous city of Nā-maṇaik-kōṇam with its dense groves, ‡ Pañcap-paḷḷi whose warriors (bore) cruel bows, § Māśuṇi-dēśa with its green fields ¶; a large heap of family-treasures together with many (other) treasures (which he carried away), after having captured Indraratha of the ancient race of the moon, together with (his) family, in a fight which took place (at) Ādinagar, ‖ (a city)

* See *EI.* ix p. 233. The notes below explain the variations in my rendering.

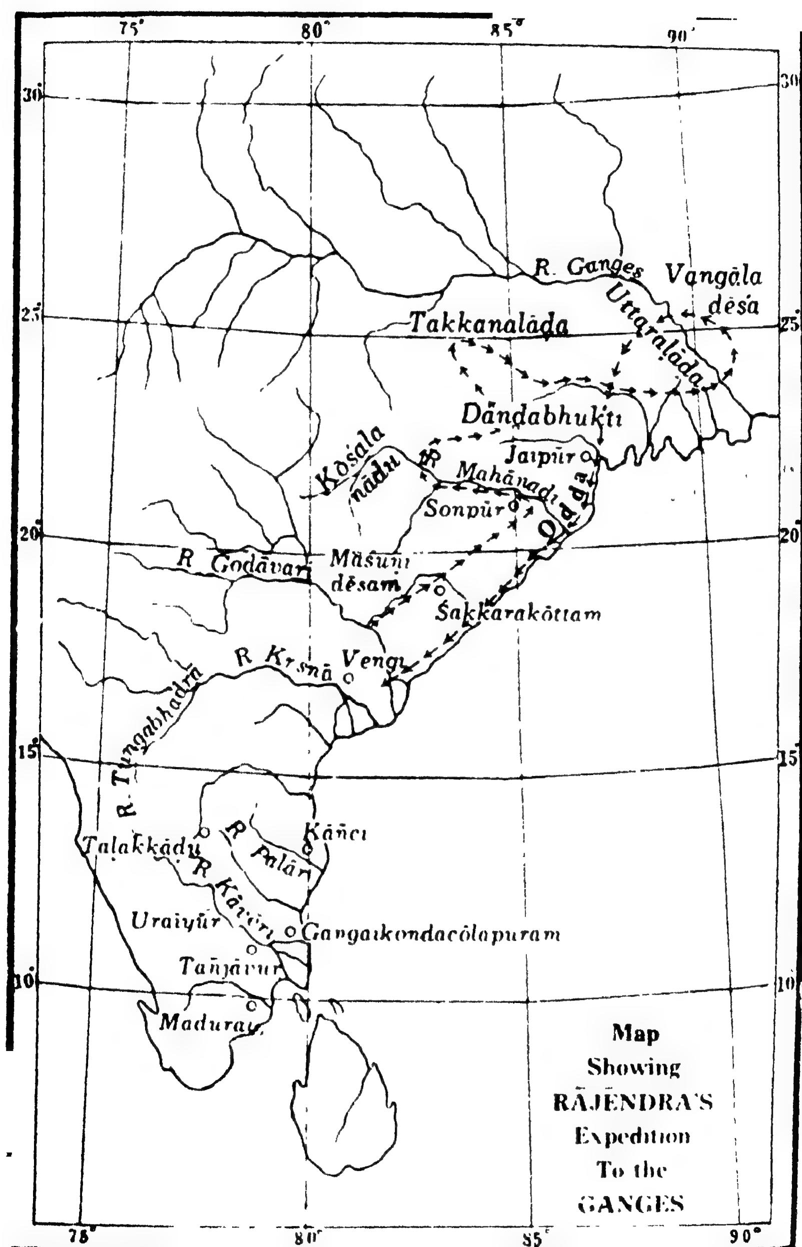
† Hultzsch has: "whose forts (bore) banners which (touched) the clouds," which has no support from the text.

‡ The translation here is based on the reading in 176 of 1923: '*Kāmiḍai vaḷanagar Nāmaṇaikkōṇamum.*'

§ Another form has '*veñjina virar*' for '*veñjilai-virar.*'

¶ Read: "*pāśaḍaip-paḻana- māśuṇi-dēśam*" (*SII.* ii 20 l. 5 and p. 108) for '*pāśuḍaip-paḻa-nan-māśuṇi-dēśam*' (Hultzsch) of the Tirumalai rock; *or* translate "Māśuṇi-dēśa celebrated for fruits (amidst) green foliage."

‖ Read: "*Ādi-nagar-vaiyiṟ-candira*" etc., where "*vaiyin*" is the locative case ending, not to be read '*nagaravaiyil*' as has been done.



Map Showing RĀJENDRA'S Expedition To the GANGES

whose great fame knew no decline *; Oḍḍa-viṣaya which was difficult of approach on account of its dense forest defence †; the good Kōśalai-nāḍu, where Brahmins assembled; Taṇḍabutti, in whose gardens bees abounded, (land which he acquired) after having destroyed Dharmapāla (in) a hot battle; Takkaṇalāḍam, whose fame reached (all) directions, (and which he occupied) after having forcibly attacked Raṇaśūra; Vangāḷa-dēśa, where the rain water never stopped, (and from which) Gōvindacandra fled, having descended (from his) male elephant; elephants of rare strength, women and treasure, (which he seized) after having been pleased to put to flight in a hot battle-field the strong Mahipāla ‡ together with Śangu who wore the anklet (of valour); Uttiralāḍam (on the shore of) the expansive ocean (producing) pearls; and the Gangā whose waters bearing fragrant flowers § dashed against the bathing places (*tīrtha*)."

Position of Vēngī.

The facts that Śakkarakkōṭṭam was the first place taken by Rājēndra's army in the course of this campaign and that the king met his victorious general on the banks of the Gōdāvari on his way back at the end of the campaign imply that the Vēngī kingdom retained under Rājēndra the same relation of close subordinate alliance with the Cōḷa empire which it had held in Rājarāja's time. ¶

* This seems better for '*ayarvil vaṇ-kīrtti Ādinagar*', than 'which was famous for unceasing abundance' (Hultzsch).

† '*Miḷai*' is a synonym for *kāvaṛkāḍu*'; *Maṇimēkalai*, xxviii, l. 25.

‡ Read- "*toḍu-kaḻaṛ-cangu-voḍaḍal Mayipālanai*" (Tanjore *SII.* ii 20 plate.) Hultzsch's talk of 'ear-rings, slippers and bracelets' of Mahīpāla is entirely out of place. Often also "*toḍu-kaḍaṛ-cangoḍ-aḍal Mahipālan*" (478 of 1902), where 'śangu' may mean conch (*śankha*)

§ '*Veṛimalar*' for '*veṛi-maṇal*' in some copies.

¶ Dr. S. K. Aiyangar suggests that this campaign started from Kulpak, the northern limit of Rājēndra's earlier campaigns, or "from somewhere not far off," (*Gangai-koṇḍa-Cōḷa* p. 549). There is no evidence, however, to show that at any time Rājēndra became master of the W. Cāḷukya territory in the present Hyderabad state so as to organise and despatch a large army from there on a campaign of aggressive warfare into foreign territory. And the Tiruvālangāḍu plates are explicit, as Dr. Aiyangar has himself noticed (*ibid.* p. 547), that the expedition started from the Cōḷa capital.

Śakkarakkōṭṭam. Śakkarakkōṭṭam has been identified with Cakrakōṭya which finds mention in a Nāgavamśi copper-plate grant from Bastar dated A.D. 1065, and its modern representative is probably Citrakūṭa or Citrakoṭa, 8 miles from Rājāpura where the copper-plates were found. Rājāpura, the capital of Bastar, is itself 22 miles north-west of Jagadālpur, on the bank of the Indrāvati river. * Śakkarakkōṭṭam and the places that follow up to Māśuṇi-dēśam have thus to be sought in the territory contiguous to the Vēngī kingdom to the north-west of it. Māśuṇi-dēśam literally means the land of the snakes; the kings of the Chindaka family represented by the Rājāpura plates, called themselves Nāga-vamśo-dbhava (born of the Cobra race), and Bhōgavatī-pura-varēśvara (lord of Bhōgavatī, the best of cities); in a later stone inscription of Śaka 1140, one of them is called Śri- bhujagavara-bhūṣaṇa-mahārājulu, † the mahārāja who was the ornament of the race of the best of serpents. It is perfectly reasonable to suppose that by Māśuṇi-dēśam is meant the land ruled by these kings. On this assumption, Madurai-maṇḍalam, Nāmaṇaikkōṇam and Pañcappaḷḷi must be sought in the same region and held to be parts of Māśuṇi-dēśam. It may be noted that Cakrakōṭa is itself called a maṇḍala ‡ like Madurai-maṇḍalam, and that the donor of the Rājāpura plates is called Madhurāntaka.

Indraratha. Of Indraratha of the lunar race, whose defeat at Ādinagar led to the surrender of the Oḍḍa (Orissa) country and the (southern) Kōsala, nothing can be added to Kielhorn's suggestion § that he might be the same as the opponent of

* *EI.* ix pp. 178-9.

† *ibid* p. 163.

‡ *ibid* p. 180, l. 29.

§ *EI.* vii *List* p. 120 n. 3.

Bhōja of Dhārā mentioned in the Udaipūr inscription. * The Tamil inscription says that after the capture of Kōśalai-nāḍu, the Cōḷa general attacked and overthrew in order Dharmapāla of Daṇḍabhukti, Raṇaśūra of southern Lāḍa and Gōvindacandra of Vangāḷa before he fought with Mahīpāla of Uttara-lāḍa and reached the Ganges. The Tiruvālangāḍu plates, on the other hand, state that the attack on Raṇaśūra preceded that on Dharmapāla, and that the overthrow of Dharmapāla led the Cōḷa general to the banks of the Ganges. They also imply that the conquest of Mahīpāla was achieved on the return march. Obviously, both these accounts cannot be true, and as a choice has to be made, the Tamil *praśasti* which was recorded almost immediately after the campaign must be accepted as the more authentic. On this basis, "most probably Daṇḍabhukti was the march-land between Orissa and Bengal," † and its ruler Dharmapāla, of whom we know nothing more than his name, may have been a relative of Mahīpāla, the powerful Pāla ruler of Bengal at the time. The language of the Tamil inscription appears to suggest, ‡ what seems likely even otherwise, that Mahīpāla had a sort of

Daṇḍabhukti.

* Dr. S. K. Aiyangar says that 'Śādinagar of Tamil, hitherto read Ādinagar, Jājnagar of the Muhammadan historians,' is no other than Yāyātinagar, identified with Binka by Hiralal and said to have been founded by one of the early Kēsari kings of Orissa. (*Gangai-koṇḍa-Cōḷa* p. 550). But he does not say how he gets his new reading Śādinagar. The Tirumalai rock inscription clearly has "*vaṇkīrtti-yādinagar*" (*EI.* ix p. 232, plate l. 8) and the Tanjore record equally clearly "*vaṇkīrtti Ādinagar*" (*SII.* ii plate 3, l. 5, end), '*vaṇkīrttiy-yādinagai*' is often found (77, 78, 78 A of 1895) and *vaṇkīrtti Ayādingar*' in 171 of 1894—all of years 16 and 17. One may doubt also whether the rather colourless '*pūśurar śēr*' applied to Kōśalai-nāḍu is susceptible of bearing the interpretation put on it by Dr. Aiyangar who sees in it some of the consequences of the invasions of Muhammad of Ghazni (*ibid*).

† R.D. Banerji - *Pālas of Bengal* p. 71.

‡ *Contra* R. D. Banerji : "The Tirumalai inscription of Rājēndra Cōḷa I shows that the ancient Gauḍa and Vanga had become divided into a large number of small kingdoms" (*ibid.* p. 69.)

supremacy over the other chiefs named in this context and that the overthrow of Dharmapāla, Raṇaśūra * and Gōvindacandra led to the final struggle in which Mahīpāla was captured together with another person called Śangu, perhaps his commander. Lāḍa (Rāḍhā) was the ancient name of a part of Bengal, which was bounded on the north by the Ganges, the divisions of Bengal across the river being known as Mithilā and Varēndra. † The conquest of Vangāḷa apparently deflected the course of the Cōḷa army a little to the east, and for the rest of it, its march was due North from the land of Southern Kōsala. ‡

The campaign historical.

There is nothing incredible in this record of an audacious raid into the northern countries ordered by Rājēndra and carried out so thoroughly by his *daṇḍanātha*. It is possible that small successes were magnified into great victories and that any reverses sustained were glozed over; it is certain that the statement of the Tiruvālangāḍu plates § that the water of the Ganges was carried to Rājēndra by the defeated kings of the north at the bidding of the Cōḷa general is a boast without foundation. But of the substantial correctness of the story in its essentials we can entertain no doubt whatever. Partly on account of his imperfect knowledge of the political geography of the period, and more on account of the embellishments introduced into the story by his own imagination, Venkayya greatly underrated the

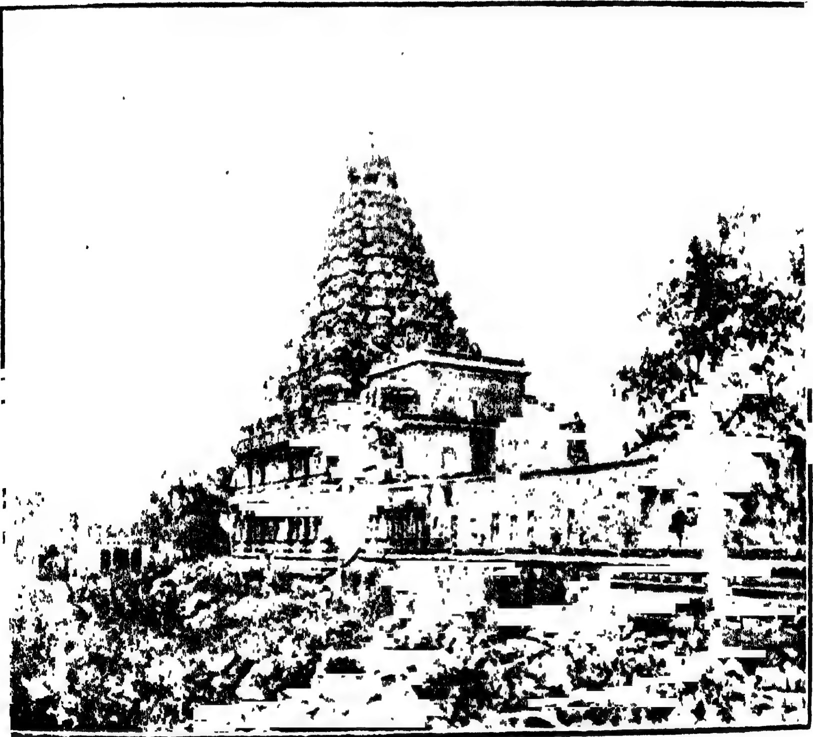
Its nature.

* A Lakṣmīśūra was *samast-āṭavika-sāmanta-cakra-cūḍāmaṇi* in the reign of Rāmapāla, (*ibid* p. 72.)

† *ibid.* pp. 72-73 ; cf *Prabodha-candrodaya*, Act ii, where we have : ***nūnam-ayam dakṣiṇarāḍha-pradēśā-dāgato-bhaviṣyati***; and *Gauḍam rāṣṭram-anuttamam* ***nirupamā tatrāpi Rāḍhāpurī.***

‡ See note A at the end of the chapter. § vv. 117, 119.

To face page 252.



GANGAIKONDA-COLESVARA-GENERAL VIEW.

veracity of the inscriptions of Rājēndra, and held that the expedition was nothing more than a pilgrimage to the Ganges. * Though the fetching of the water of the Ganges was perhaps present from the beginning as the object of the expedition, † the motive behind it was undoubtedly an exhibition of the power of the Cōḷa empire and a demonstration of its strength to the rulers of Northern India. Such *digvijayas* were undertaken by all powerful monarchs in India and were enjoined upon them by the political code of the country. The aim of the expedition was then not merely getting down the water of the Ganges to the Cōḷa capital, but doing so after establishing a right of way, so to say, across territories outside the empire by a strong show of force. This becomes clear from the statement that at the end of the expedition Rājēndra erected a 'liquid pillar of victory' (*jalamayam jayastambham*) in his capital with the waters of the Ganges in the form of the tank Cōḷaganga. ‡

Effects.

"The invasion of the great southern conqueror Rājēndra Cōla I," says R.D. Banerji, "seems to have left some permanent marks in Bengal. . . . Some obscure Karṇāṭa chief seems to have followed Rājēndra Cōḷa I and settled in western Bengal . . . From him was descended Sāmantasēna, who is generally taken to be the founder of the Sēna dynasty". § The

* *ASI.* 1911-12 pp. 173-4. Venkayya makes a gratuitous assumption that the water of the Ganges was taken at Allahabad, and identifies Lāḍa with Berar. He says : "As we cannot imagine that all Northern India was conquered by Rājēndra Cōḷa's general in about a year, the only reasonable alternative seems to be that a few previously chosen tracts of country were actually invaded and if the inhabitants offered any resistance, a regular war was gone through. The names of the remaining territorial divisions with their rulers were ascertained and included in the list of kings overcome. . . . The exact course which these roving pilgrims followed in Northern India cannot be easily traced at present" (p. 174).

† v. 109 of the Tiruvālangāḍu plates.

‡ *ibid* v. 124.

§ *Pālas of Bengal* pp. 73, 99.

Karṇāṭas of Mithilā probably had a similar origin. A commentary, of uncertain date, to the *Siddhānta-sārāvaḷi* of Trilōcana Śivācārya mentions the fact that Rājēndra imported Śaivas from the banks of the Ganges into his own kingdom and established them in Kāñcīpura and in the Cōla country. *

The Kaḍāram campaign.

Rājēndra's overseas expedition against Kaḍāram is mentioned for the first time in his inscriptions of the fourteenth year. † While the Tiruvālangāḍu plates dismiss this achievement in a half verse which merely records that the king conquered Kaṭāha with his powerful troops that had crossed the ocean, ‡ the Tamil *praśasti* gives a detailed narrative of the expedition and its course in the following words: §

"(Who) having despatched many ships in the midst of the rolling sea and having caught Sangrāma-vijayōttunga-varman, the king of Kaḍāram, together with the elephants in his glorious army, ¶ (took) the large heap of treasures, which (that king)

* Verse 111, end of Anantaśambhu's gloss (Madras Mss Library). In two verses introduced by the glossator with the words '*atra pūrvakathā-prasaṅgaḥ,*' Rājēndra is said to have himself gone to bathe in the Ganges. Krishna Sastri wrongly ascribes these statements to the *Siddhāntasārāvaḷi* itself and suggests that the work was composed in Rājēndra's time and under his patronage. *SII.* iii introduction p. 22

† 213 of 1911. I am not sure of the correctness of the date in a record from Maḷūr of the 13th year (*EC.* ix cp. 84) which also gives the full introduction. There is a fragment dated in the 11th year from Kurubūgu (Mysore) mentioning the conquest of Kaḍāram (*EC.* x ct. 47). But the date is obviously too early; perhaps an instance of a gift of the 11th year recorded some years later.

‡ v. 123.

§ *SII.* ii p. 109. The notes that follow explain my differences with Hultzsch.

¶ The conjecture '*vākiyam*' (p. 107 n. 5) does not help. The reading in other records '*vāgaiyam*' is quite good, '*vāgai*' victory, '*am*' is expletive. *Porukaḍal,* 'fighting ocean' is a common expression for 'army'. '*Kumbakkari*' means 'elephant with the *kumba,* the globular front.'

had rightfully accumulated; (captured) with noise the (arch called) Vidyādhara-tōraṇa at the "war-gate" of his extensive city *; Śrī Vijaya † with the "jewelled wicket-gate" ‡ adorned with great splendour and the "gate of large jewels"; Paṇṇai with water in its bathing ghats §; the ancient Malaiyūr with the strong mountain for its rampart ¶; Māyiruḍingam, surrounded by the deep sea (as) by a moat; Ilangāśōka (i.e. Lankāśōka) undaunted (in) fierce battles; Māpappāḷam having abundant (deep) water as defence; Mēviḷimbangam, having fine walls as defence; Vaḷaippanḍūru having viḷappanḍūru (?) ‖; Talaittakkōlam praised by great men (versed in) in the sciences; Mādamālingam, firm in great and fierce battles; Ilāmuridēśam, whose fierce strength rose in war **; Mānakkavāram, in whose extensive flower gardens honey was collecting ††; and Kaḍāram, of fierce strength, which was protected by the deep ‡‡ sea.

* Hultzsch has: 'extensive city of the enemy.' The Tanjore text '*ārttavanahanagar*' can hardly give his meaning. I take it to be 'ārttu + avan + ahanagar'. The tempting suggestion of Coedes, that this and the following phrases may be attributes of Śrīviṣaya (*BEFEO.* xviii No. 6 p. 5 n. 1) has been partly accepted by me.

† See *EI.* ix p. 231.

‡ '*Pudavam*' is a 'small gate-way' in a larger door, a wicket.

§ 'Paṇṇai' means 'cultivated land' (*maruda-nilam*). There may after all be no proper name here, but only 'the well-watered fields' of Śrī Vijaya.

¶ This translation seems more literal than '(with) a fort situated on a high hill' for "*van-malai-ūreyil.*"

‖ 'Possessing (both), cultivated land (?) and jungle' Hultzsch. Though '*ūṛu*' means 'low jungle,' the meaning of the whole phrase is by no means clear.

** 'Was subdued by a vehement (attack),' Hultzsch. The text is '*kalāmudir - kaḍundiṛal*' which means that the fierce strength (*kaḍundiṛal*) increased (*mudir*) in fighting or war (*kalām*).

†† "Whose flower gardens (resembled) the girdle (of the nymph) of the southern region," Hultzsch. Though I am not sure how this curious translation was reached by Hultzsch, I suspect that he took the phrase '*ṁnakkavārpoḻil*' to be composed of 'ten + nakkan + vār + poḻil', and even so the translation is forced. In truth it is tēn + nakka + vār + poḻil, the terms meaning respectively 'honey', 'laughing' 'long' and 'flower-garden.'

‡‡ '*Toḍu-kaḍal*' is rendered by Hultzsch into 'the neighbouring sea.' But '*toḍu*' in the sense of 'touch' is a late form; and '*toḍu-kaḍal*' is a classic phrase containing an allusion to the story of the sea being dug out by the sons of Sagara; *toḍu*' means 'to dig.'

Progress in its elucidation.

No clearer measure can be required of the progress made in our knowledge of South Indian history during the last generation than the difference between what was known of this expedition before and what we make of it now. The text of Rājēndra's inscription was recovered and published in 1891 * by Hultzsch. The larger Leyden grant had been known already for some years, and Hultzsch recognised at once in Sangrāma-vijayōttunga-varman of Rājēndra's inscription, a successor of Māra-vijayōttunga-varman of Kaṭāha or Kiḍāram of the Leyden grant. But his search for this place extended no further than the southern districts of the Madras Presidency, and strangely enough, as it now appears, he overlooked the facts that Rājēndra's expedition was a naval war and that the Pāṇḍya country had been conquered and subjected to the Cōḷa sway several years before the date of this expedition; and he identified Kiḍāram with the "headquarters of a talluqa of the Rāmnād zamindari in the Madura district. †" Even as late as 1903, though a great advance had been made by him from his original position, Hultzsch was still far from the mark when he said: ‡ "Of the numerous places which are mentioned in connection with this expedition, Mr. Venkayya has identified two, viz., Nakkavāram and Pappāḷam. The former is the Tamil name of the Nicobar islands, § and according to the *Mahāvamsa* (lxxvi, 63) Papphāla was a port in Ramañña, i.e., the Talaing country of Burma. Hence Kaḍāram will have to be looked for in farther India." For

* *SII.* ii. 20.

† *ibid* p. 106.

‡ *SII.* iii p. 195.

§ This had been noted in *Hobson-Jobson*. *BEFEO.* xviii 6. p. 6, n. 5.

some years thereafter, Rājēndra's expedition was held to have been directed against the kingdom of Pegu, and the archaeologists of Burma even announced their discovery of two octagonal granite pillars near Pegu, which were identified by them "with the Jayastambha or pillars of victory set up by Rājēndra Cōḷa who overran Pegu in 1025-27 A. D."* It was only in 1918 that Coedes brought together in his cogent and lucid paper *Le Royaume de Śrī Vijaya* † evidence accumulated along various lines by several years of study on the part of many scholars, discussed fully the identification of the places mentioned in connection with Rājēndra's campaign, and laid the basis for an intelligible account of it. The Archaeological Department of Burma, though at first inclined to be rather critical of Coedes' scheme, ‡ later acknowledged its substantial accuracy by removing the celebrated granite pillars from the list of the protected monuments of Burma. §

Unity of the campaign.

One fact to which Hultzsch himself drew pointed attention has sometimes escaped the notice of later authors who have discussed this campaign. It is that the inscription clearly implies that all the places named were taken from the king of Kaḍāram and in the course of a single campaign. In the words of Coedes: ¶ "The text says in effect that Rājēndra Cōḷa I, after having vanquished the king of Kaḍāram,

* *ARE.* 1908, paragraph 25.

† *BEFEO.* xviii No. 6. The extensive *Researches* (1909) of Gerini (Asiatic Society Monographs vol. 1), also deserves grateful acknowledgement from all students of the historical geography of Eastern Asia.

‡ *ARE.* 1919, paragraphs 46-47.

§ *ibid.* 1922, paragraph 14.

¶ *op. cit.* p. 5.

seized his treasures, then a certain number of countries and lastly Kaḍāram. It is a question, then, of one and the same campaign, and it is *a priori* infinitely probable that the different countries enumerated must have been either vassal states of the king of Kaḍāram, or even simply the different towns or provinces of his kingdom." Once this is recognised, the identification of the different places mentioned would be rendered easier by that of Kaḍāram and Śrī Vijaya, the two places ruled by the same king in the reign of Rājarāja, and conquered by Rājēndra from Sangrāma-vijayōttunga-varman.

Chinese annals on San-fo-tsi.

"Now, the annals of the Song (dynasty of China) mention, in 1003 and 1008, two embassies from the country of San-fo-tsi, the first sent by the king Sseu-li-tchou-lo-wou-ni-fo-ma-tiao-houa and the second by the king Sseu-li-ma-lo-pi. It is not necessary to be a sinologue to recognise in the first name a magnificent transcription of Śrī-Cūḷāmaṇi-varmadēva, and in the second the transcription of the first syllables of *Śrī-Māra-vi*jayōttunga-varman" * (Coedes). As these two monarchs are exactly those mentioned in the larger Leyden grant, we may conclude that the kings of the San-fo-tsi of the Chinese annals were the rulers of Kaḍāram and Śrī Vijaya. San-fo-tsi was first used by the Chinese writers of the Song period for the place

Called Fo-che earlier.

called Che-li-fo-che or Fo-che in the earlier literature of China; all Chinese writers have identified this name with Palembang, on the eastern coast of Sumatra. And Coedes has shown good reason for restoring the name

* The Chinese habit of abridging foreign names, especially when they are long, is well-known.

San-fo-tsi, Che-li-fo-che, into Śrī Vijaya, rather than the usual but meaningless form Śrībhōja. *

Śrī Vijaya.

It thus becomes clear that Śrī Vijaya, which is the first among the places taken by Rājēndra from the king of Kaḍāram, is the name of the kingdom of Palembang in Sumatra. The great part played by this kingdom from about the eighth to the thirteenth century A. D. in the affairs of the Malay peninsula and Archipelago, and the relations of Southern India with this important kingdom still await full elucidation. The epigraphs of Rājēndra's reign which narrate his invasion of Kaḍāram and Śrī Vijaya furnish much welcome information on the affairs of the kingdom at the beginning of the eleventh century. Writing towards the close of the twelfth century A. D. or the beginning of the thirteenth, † Chau Ju-kua gives a list of fifteen *chou* (provinces or towns) over which the rule of San-fo-tsi extended ; ‡ and as Coedes has observed, there is a partial coincidence between this list and that of Rājēndra's inscriptions. § The identification of Kaḍāram presents more difficulty ; this may be discussed after we have dealt with the other places.

Paṇṇai.

In the *praśasti* of Rājēndra the name mentioned after Śrī Vijaya is Paṇṇai which has been identified with Pani or Panei on the East Coast of Sumatra. ¶ Ancient Malaiyūr was a principality " at the southern end of the Malay peninsula, and precisely on the northern shore of the Old Singapore Strait where, besides the Malāyu river, time-worn traditions of

Malaiyūr.

* *op. cit.* pp. 23-4. See also Ferrand, *L'Empire Sumatranais de Śrī Vijaya JA.* 1922, pp. 163 ff.

† Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua* p. 35 ; Coedes, *op. cit.* p 13.

‡ pp. 60-2. § *op. cit.* p. 25. ¶ Gerini, *Researches* p. 513.

a Malaya country and people confront the enquirer."*

Māyiruḍingam.

As for Māyiruḍingam which had the deep sea for its moat, this place is quite obviously the same as *Ji-lo-ting* mentioned by Chau Ju-kua among the dependencies of Śrī Vijaya. The same author also states that Ji-lo-ting and Kia-lo-hi "are of the same kind" as Tan-ma-ling. † Coedes has proved by decisive epigraphical evidence that Kia-lo-hi is the same place as Grahi at Jaiya and that consequently Ji-lo-ting (Yi-ru-ḍingam) which formed one of the northern dependencies of Śrī Vijaya must be sought somewhere in the region of Jaiya towards the centre of the Malay peninsula. ‡ Ilangāśōkam has been very properly identified with Ling-

Ilangāśōkam.

ya-sseu-kia of Chau Ju-kua's list of dependencies, and its locality was to the south of the state of Kedah in the Malay peninsula. § Māpappāḷam, as was shown by Venkayya, is men-

Māpappāḷam.

tioned in the *Mahāvamsa* ¶ under the name Papphāḷama, ‖ as the place where the Tamil general Ādicca landed when he was sent on an expedition against Rāmaññadēśa by Parākrama-bāhu I of Ceylon about 1165 A. D. From this Venkayya concluded that Māpappāḷam must be a place

* *ibid.* pp. 533-4. Coedes (p. 9.) leaves the question undecided whether Malaiyūr was on the Eastern or Western Coast of Sumatra or in the South of the Malay peninsula, and observes that, in any case, it must have been a state near Palembang which, according to I-tsing, annexed Malāyu between 672 and 705 A.D. (also Gerini pp. 530-1.)

† *Chau Ju-kua* p. 67.

‡ Coedes *op. cit.* pp. 10-11; 33-6. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar says: "Māyiru-ḍingam may be Besinga (Ṛṣi Śṛnga), the modern Rangoon" (*op. cit.* p. 576). *Contra.* Gerini-pp. 76-7. We cannot, of course, go so far afield for finding Māyiruḍingam.

§ Coedes, *op. cit.* pp. 11-13.

¶ Geiger, *CV.* ch. 76, v. 63.

‖ *ARE.* 1898-9 paragraph 47; *ARB.* 1909-10, p. 14, paragraph 40.

in the Talaing country of Lower Burma, and he has been followed by other writers who have proceeded to make other identifications on this basis. * In fact it seems at first sight that this mention of Pappāḷam in an expedition against Rāmaññadēśa violently contradicts the assumption that all the places captured by Rājēndra were dependent on Palembang and within easy reach of it. Coedes, however, draws attention to the fact that the long list of the grievances which Parākramabāhu had against the ruler of Rāmañña ends with his capture by force of a Singhalese princess whom the ruler of Lankā had sent to the Kāmbhōja country; † and suggests that "as it is infinitely probable that the messengers going from Ceylon to Kāmbhōja passed by the isthmus of Kra, it is in this region that the abduction (of the princess) must have been committed, and consequently, the authority of the king of Pagan might have extended so far." ‡ In the beginning of the eleventh century, however, the suzerainty of Palembang extended up to the Bay of Bandon, and there is no difficulty therefore in assuming that Māpappāḷam was a locality in the region of the isthmus of Kra, though its exact identity cannot now be made out. In any event, the presence, among the conquests of Rājēndra Cōḷa I, of a locality which became part of Pegu in the 12th century, is not

* E.g. Kaḍāram with (Śrī)-khettara, ancient Prome (Kanakasabhai); Mādamālingam with Martaban (Smith); cf. Coedes *op. cit.* p. 6.

† Geiger, *CV.* (ii p. 67) ch. 76 v. 35.

‡ Coedes, pp. 14-5. The argument has been advanced (*ARE.* 1919 paragraph 47) that Pappāḷam and Kusumi, the two ports mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* account of the Ceylonese expedition against Ramaññadēśa must both be identified together; and that as Kusumi is clearly Bassien, the former must be either Dagan or Rangoon, the neighbouring port. This argument clearly underrates the express statement in the *Mahāvamsa* that the fleet was scattered by a storm and that different parts of it drifted to different ports (Ch. 76 vv. 56, 59, 63), which need not have been adjacent.

sufficient to invalidate the identification of these conquests with the vassal states of Palembang. Mēviḷimbangam and Vaḷaippandūru * do not lend themselves to any identification at present.

Talaittakkōlam.

Talaittakkōlam, most probably the same place as Takkōla of the *Milinda-Pañha* and Takōla of Ptolemy, is localised by Gerini in the modern Takōpa district south of the isthmus of Kra and identified with its chief town, also called Takōpa. † Others are inclined to locate it somewhat higher up, in the isthmus itself; in any case, there is general agreement that it is a place on the West Coast of the Malay peninsula. Mā-Damālingam, firm in battle, can easily

Mā-Damālingam.

be recognised in the name Tan-ma-ling, which figures in Chau Ju-kua's list of the dependencies of San-fo-tsi. The same authority says: ‡ Ling-ya-sseu-kia(Ilangāśōkam) "can be reached from Tan-ma-ling by sailing six days and nights; there is also an overland route (between the two countries)". Gerini identifies Tan-ma-ling with Temiling or Tembeling at the mouth of the Kwāntan river in Pahang, on the East coast of the Malay peninsula; § on this identification the learned translators of Chau Ju-kua observe: "As our author states that a land route existed between Tan-ma-ling and Ling-ya-ssi-kia, which we have good reason to believe was about Kedah on the West coast of the peninsula, it seems safe to conclude that Tan-ma-ling cannot have been very far from where Gerini has located it." Blagden points out,

* Mēviḷimbangam is sought in Perak by Rouffaer, and in Karmaranga (Kalaśapura) by Levi. The former also identifies Vaḷaippandūru with Pāṇḍuranga in Campā. Krom observes: "All these conjectures depend on our opinions, not on sufficient grounds." See Krom *Hindoe-Javansche-Geschiedenis* pp. 251-2.

† Coedes. p, 15; *Researches* p. 93, Sylvain Levi *Ptolemi, le Niddēsa et la Bṛhatkathā* in *Etudes Asiatiques* ii.

‡ *Chau Ju-kua* p. 68.

§ *ibid.* pp. 67-8 n. 1. *JRAS*. 1905 p. 498.

as against this view, that six days would be rather a short time for sailing between Kedah and Kwāntan considering the weak monsoon of the straits of Malacca; Coedes overcomes the difficulty by supposing that the country of Tāmralinga or Lankāśuka or perhaps both occupied the peninsula in all its width and faced the gulf of Siam as well as the Straits. *

Ilāmuridēśam.

Ilāmuridēśam is quite obviously the country in the northern part of the island of Sumatra, known to Arab geographers under the name Lamuri, called Lambri by Marco Polo, and figuring as Lan-won-li in Chau Ju-kua's enumeration of the subject states of San-fo-tsi.

Nakkavāram.

Mānakkavāram, it is equally clear, applies to the Nicobars. This discussion of the place names mentioned in the campaign against the king of Kaḍāram distinctly points to the conclusion that the campaign of Rājēndra was directed against the Sumatran Empire of Śrī Vijaya and its dependencies in the Malay peninsula and Archipelago.

Kaḍāram.

We have, however, still to explain why the king ruling over the empire is called the king of Kaḍāram and to locate it. This is a place which is mentioned under the name of Kaṭāha in Sanskrit Literature and epigraphy, † and of Kaḍāram or Kiḍāram in the *Kalingattupparaṇi* besides

* *Op. cit.* pp. 16-18. The name Tāmralinga which Coedes obtains from a Sanskrit inscription from Jaiya (*ibid* p. 32) is near enough to Tan-ma-ling and Tamālingam, or Tamalingam, and there should be no difficulty in accepting the view that all the three forms are variants of the same name. Coedes' suggestion that the Tamil name might be read 'Tamaralingam' (p. 17) is therefore unnecessary; it is inadmissible as 'Mādamālingam, (or Mādamalingam) alliterates with the first half of the line '*titamāvalvinai*' in the Tamil inscriptions, and the sound '*ra*' is, by the rules of Tamil prosody, quite impossible in the second half of the line.

† Tawney's *Kathāsaritsāgara*, i 87, 92, 552; ii 44, 598 where Kaṭāha is called an island; and the Leyden grant.

the Leyden grant (Tamil part) and Rājēndra's inscriptions. The *Kalingattupparaṇi* clearly states that Kaḍāram was laved by the waves of the ocean. * The word Kāḷagam in the *Paṭṭinappālai*, according to the commentator Naccinārkkiniyar, designates the country known as Kaḍāram, † an interpretation which has the sanction of old lexicons like the *Pingaḷam*. From these references to Kaḍāram, especially the one in the *Paṭṭinappālai*, we may conclude that it was an important port on the ocean route along which the trade between India and the East passed. "Now there is a country," says Coedes, ‡ "known to the Chinese of which the name seems to correspond very well with Kaṭāha, that is, Kie-tch'a where I-tsing stayed on two occasions." The same place is called in later Chinese works Kie-t'o. These different names represent phonetically and geographically the modern Kedah, on the west coast of the Malay peninsula. Ancient Kedah would appear to have been more to the south than modern Kedah which as has been shown above was occupied by Lankāśuka. At any rate, a study of I-tsing's itineraries proves to us that Kie-tch'a was the last stage in Malay before the pilgrim started to cross the Bay of Bengal on his outward voyage, and, inversely, the first place he touched after crossing the Bay on his return from India. In this fact is perhaps to be found the

* vv. 138, 189.

† *Pattuppāṭṭu* p. 550 (3rd Edn.). Skt. Kaṭāha and Tamil Kaḍāram are, as pointed out by Coedes (*op. cit.* p. 20; also Ferrand, *JA.* 1922 pp 50-1), semantically related, and mean "a copper cauldron"; Tam. Kaḍāram has also the sense of "brown colour bordering on the black", and Kāḷagam the sense of "blackness". Apparently this synonymity has induced Naccinārkkiniyar and the lexicographers to gloss Kāḷagam by Kaḍāram. Kaḍāram and Kiḍāram are evidently different readings of the same toponym; they have, however, no phonetic connection with Kaṭāha or with Kāḷagam.

‡ *op. cit.* pp. 20-2.

explanation for the Cōḷas calling the ruler of Śrī Vijaya the king of Kaḍāram. For if, as seems most probable, Kaḍāram was at the time a dependency of Śrī-Vijaya, and if it was also the first place which the Tamils touched in their passage into that kingdom, nothing could be more natural for them than to describe the ruler of the country as the king of Kaḍāram. And this port was then from a commercial point of view enjoying the same importance which the port of Penang is gaining in the same region to-day. *

The nature of the expedition.

Why was this expedition against the king of Kaḍāram undertaken and what were its effects? As we can get no direct answer to these questions from contemporary records, we have to depend on the probabilities suggested by the known and relevant facts. The view that the overseas invasion was a continuation of the war for the complete subjugation of Kalingam † obtains no support from the records of Rājēndra's reign. That the Cōḷa empire of South India was in constant communication with the islands of the Archipelago and

* Ferrand says that Kaḍāram, Kaṭāha and Kāḷagam cannot represent Kedah on the W. coast of the Malay peninsula (*JA.* 1922 p. 51). "Geographically," he says, "Kaḍāram and Kiḍāram are situated in Sumatra according to Tamil texts," and he cites the authority of the Pāṇḍya inscriptions 588 of 1916 and 356 of 1906 as summed up in the epigraphical reports. These texts by no means imply anything more than that the king of Śāvakam was also the king of Kaḍāram in the thirteenth as in the eleventh century. The political position of Śrī Vijaya and Kaḍāram in relation to Jaiya in the thirteenth century has been dealt with by Coedès in *Bijdragen Tot de Taal Land* etc. Deel 83 (1927) pp. 459 ff. in the paper "*A propos de la chute Du Royaume de Śrī Vijaya,*" where he reiterates his view that Kaḍāram is Kedah. Though Ferrand was inclined in 1922 (*JA.* p. 51) to locate Kaḍāram in the south of Sumatra or on its East coast, it must be mentioned that he left the question open as he himself felt the weakness of the texts he relied on. Gerini's brief discussion (at p. 833 of his *Researches*) on which Dr. S. K. Aiyangar bases his identification of Kaḍāram with Kerti on the N. E. coast of Sumatra (*Gangaikoṇḍa Cōḷa* pp. 568 ff.) has now been superseded.

† S. K. Aiyangar, *op. cit.* pp. 566; 571.

with China in this period is very clear. The construction of the Cūḍāmaṇi-vihāra in Negapatam by Māra-vijayōttunga-varman of the Śailōndra dynasty of Śrī-Vijaya could not have been an isolated undertaking all by itself, but one of the normal results of a growing intercourse between the Eastern islands and South India for purposes of trade. As in ancient times, this trade was part of a flourishing maritime commerce between the countries of the Western world and China, in which Arabs, Indians and the people of the Malay peninsula and Archipelago acted as intermediaries. At the end of the tenth century A. D. * the Chinese government awoke to the value of the foreign trade which was just then reviving after a long interruption owing to the troubles which broke out in China in the latter part of the 9th century, and with the object of increasing this trade "a mission was sent abroad by the Emperor with credentials under the imperial seal and provisions of gold and piece-goods to induce 'the foreign traders of the South Sea and those who went to foreign lands beyond the sea to trade' to come to China." It must have been in response to such friendly invitations that the kings of Śrī Vijaya sent the embassies of the years 1003 and 1008 A. D. to which we have already made reference. The annals of the Song dynasty record that the first mission to China from Chu-lien (Cōḷa) reached that country in A. D. 1015 and state that the king of their country was Lo-ts'a-lo-ts'a (Rājarāja), which is correct as Rājarāja lived up to 1016 A. D. or thereabout. † Another embassy

* Hirth and Rockhill-*Chau Ju-kua* pp. 18-9.

† Gerini-*Researches* p. 609 n. 2 unduly abridges the length of Rājarāja's reign to 985-1002 and imagines difficulties which do not exist. Even if Rājarāja's reign did not extend beyond the 29th year (1014), the embassy to China may have left in his life-time and reached China in the succeeding year after some delay *en route* in the Malay region. See also *Chau Ju-kua* p. 100.

from Shi-lo-lo-cha Yin-to-lo-chu-lo (Śrī Rāja Indra Cōḷa) reached China in 1033 A. D., and a third in 1077 A. D. from Kulōttunga-Cōḷa-Dēva. The commercial intercourse between southern India and China was therefore continuous and extensive. Writing in the latter half of the twelfth century, Cou-ku-fei states of San-fo-ts'i (Śrī-Vijaya): * "It is the most important port-of-call on the sea-routes of the foreigners, from the countries of Sho-po (Java) on the east and from the countries of the Ta-shi (Arabs) and Ku-lin (Quilon) on the west; they all pass through it on their way to China."

At the date of Rājēndra's expedition (c. 1025 A.D.) therefore, well over a quarter of a century must have elapsed from the renewal of active trade with the East consequent on the increased energy of the Cōḷa empire under Rājarāja and the improved conditions in China, and knowledge about the Malay country and Archipelago must have been common in the Cōḷa country. The larger Leyden grant, by stating † that after his father's death Rājēndra confirmed in perpetuity the original grant of Ānaimangalam to the Cūḍāmaṇi-vihāra in Negapatam, clearly implies that in the beginning of Rājēndra's reign the relations of the Cōḷa kingdom with Kaḍāram and Śrī Vijayam continued to be friendly. We have no means of deciding the exact cause of a quarrel, if there was one. We have to assume either some attempt on the part of Śrī Vijaya to throw obstacles in the way of the Cōḷa trade with the East, or more probably, a simple desire on the part of Rājēndra to extend his *digvijaya* to the countries across the sea so well-known to his subjects at home, and thereby add lustre to his crown. Whatever the actual cause of the expedition, it is difficult to

* Cited *Chau Ju-kua* p. 63.

† *ASSI.* iv. p. 208 ll. 86-88.

believe that, even if all the facts narrated in the inscriptions of Rājēndra are accepted as literally true, the campaign led to any more permanent result than a vague acknowledgement of the suzerainty of the invader on the part of Sangrāma-Vijayōttunga-varman. We shall see later that one of the successors of Rājēndra, Vīrarājēndra I, claims to have conquered Kaḍāram and restored it to its ruler who supplicated for it before the conqueror. In any case, there is no evidence to show that the Cōḷas made any attempt to rule these lands as provinces of their empire. * At best, they might have received a periodical tribute. The fragmentary Tamil inscription in Sumatra dated 1088 A. D. † proves only the presence of Tamil merchants in the island, a fact even otherwise well-established.

Remaining years of Rājēndra's reign.

By a tacit assumption, the rest of Rājēndra's reign, which lasted for about twenty years after the campaign against Kaḍāram, has been treated by modern writers as an era of unbroken peace. ‡ A careful study of the inscriptions of his sons, especially of Rājādhirāja I, shows, however, that the empire did not enjoy such unbroken peace and that there was much fighting in different parts of it carried on by his sons. It is conceivable that after the *digvijaya* of his early years was completed and his greatness in war proclaimed to the world beyond peradventure, the emperor refrained in his later years from taking the field in person, allowing his sons every chance of winning distinction and glory for themselves. There

Not altogether peaceful.

* cf. Coedes, *op. cit.* p. 8.

† *ARE.* 1892 p. 12.

‡ Dr. S. K. Aiyangar *Ancient India* p. 108; *Gangaikonda Cōḷa*; *SII.* iii. Intr. p. 21.

is in existence one record, which is unique, of Rājēndra himself to which attention may be drawn, * and which, if it is genuine, may be taken to confirm some of the inferences drawn from the early records of Rājādhirāja. (In any case, the records of Rājādhirāja dated before his twenty-seventh year fall clearly within the reign of Rājēndra I, and a study of Rājēndra's reign will not be complete without some account of the transactions recorded in these inscriptions.)

Rebellions in the South.

(Rebellions in the Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa kingdoms called for severe action, and the extensive campaign undertaken by Rājādhirāja for the suppression of these risings is described in the following terms: †

" Among the three allied kings of the South (Pāṇḍyas ‡) (he) cut off on a battle-field the beautiful head of Mānābharaṇan, (which was adorned with) large jewels (and) which was inseparable from the golden crown; seized in battle Vīra-Kēraḷan whose ankle-rings were wide, and was pleased to get him

* 118 of 1888 (*SII.* iv 223) dated in the 24th year and found in Cidambaram. This record is curious in many ways and needs rather cautious handling. It starts in the usual manner, *tiru manni vaḷara* etc., and follows the regular form up to *takkaṇa-lāḍamum* in the narrative of the Ganges campaign. At this point, the *praśasti* takes a new turn, and what follows in this record is found almost word for word in some of the later records (e.g. 87 of 1895) of Rājēndra II, the second son of Rājēndra I and successor to Rājādhirāja. We may be tempted to assume that Rājēndra II's record borrowed the expression from his father's Cidambaram *praśasti* which omitted the latter half of the usual form and substituted an account of the events of the second part of the king's reign. The beginning *tiru manni vaḷara* and the high regnal year, 24, of this record favour this supposition. But there *are* difficulties. The king is called Rājakēsari, a title which neither of the two Rājēndras had; the new portion does not fit in well with the first part of the old *praśasti* reproduced here. This record is doubtless a copy of an earlier original, made in the reign of Kulōttunga III. (See beginning of 117 of 1888, *SII.* iv 222). After all, some mistake might have occurred in the re-engraving and the records of two reigns might have been jumbled up.

† *SII.* iii. p. 56. I have altered Hultzsch's translation at some points.

‡ Though "*tennavar*" may mean Pāṇḍyas it seems possible that here it means only "kings of the South," an alliance between Ceylon (Mānābharaṇa) (*SII.* iii 29, l. 13), Kēraḷa and Pāṇḍya being meant.

trampled by his furious elephant Attivāraṇa; and drove to the ancient Mullaiyūr, Sundara Pāṇḍyan of endless great fame, who lost in a hot battle the royal white parasol, the bunches (of hairs) of the white yak, and the throne, and who ran away, —his crown dropping down, (his) hair dishevelled and (his) feet tired. (He) sent the undaunted king of Vēṇāḍu to the country of heaven and destroyed in anger the Senior (chief) of Irāmakuḍam. * While the strong Villavan (Cēra), in his terror † hid himself in the jungle, (the Cōḷa) put on a fresh (garland of) Vañji flower, ‡ and forthwith destroyed the ships at Kāndaḷūr-śālai on the never-decreasing ocean."

The exact date of this invasion of the Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa countries is unknown. As there are no Pāṇḍyan inscriptions of this period, we have only the story as given by the victors, and lack the means of checking it from independent sources. Strangely enough, none of the numerous Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya inscriptions of the period throws any light on these transactions. Sundara Pāṇḍya was perhaps the chief of the whole confederacy which organised the rebellion. §

In the course of this expedition, on his way from the Pāṇḍya country to Kāndaḷūr, and most probably as a result of his successful attack on the king of Vēṇāḍ whom he 'sent to heaven,' Rājādhirāja is said to have liberated the king of the Kūpakas, a local chieftain of south Travancore, from his bondage apparently to the ruler of Vēṇāḍ. ¶

At the time of this expedition, the country of Kēraḷa was in the same political condition in which it was found centuries afterwards by the Portuguese and

* This event is omitted in some records *e.g.*, 6 of 1890. Hultzsch translates differently; but see *ARE*. 1930 II 46.

† Lit. "was attacked by pains in the bowels."

‡ The symbol of an aggressive invasion.

§ *PK*. p. 113.

¶ 75 of 1895. *ARE*. 1913 II. 26.

the Dutch. It was cut up into a number of petty principalities which, with their endless feuds and alliances, more or less formed a world apart. Irāmakuḍam, or more accurately Rāmaghaṭa, was one of these principalities which centred round Mt. D'Eli, the *mūṣaka* hill or Eli-malai (rat-hill), and ruled over by the Mūṣaka kings whose annals form the subject-matter of the *Kāvya* called *Mūṣakavaṁśam.* * According to the legend recorded in this work, a certain Kṣatriya prince, born and brought up in secret after Paraśurāma's great war on the Kṣatriyas, was produced before Paraśurāma, when in the course of a sacrifice performed by him in Mount Eli, he was on the look out for a Kṣatriya for performing a rite which was an essential part of the sacrifice and had to be performed only by a Kṣatriya. This prince was afterwards made king of the Mūṣaka country by Paraśurāma who crowned him after an *abhiṣēka* with pots (*ghaṭa*, *kuḍam*) of water; hence the name of the family–Rāmaghaṭa, or Irāmakuḍam in Tamil. A Vaṭṭeḷuttu record † of the eleventh century recently discovered in the neighbourhood of Eli-malai is dated in the fifty-ninth regnal year of a Mūṣaka king, Kaṇḍan Kārivarman *alias* Rāmakuḍa Mūvar Tiruvaḍi; the inscription also mentions Rājēndra-śōḷa-samaiya-sēnapati. Most probably this Mūvar Tiruvaḍi was the ruler against whom Rājādhirāja's expedition was directed.

Mūṣaka kings.

The presence of the traditional rulers of the Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa countries long after the Cōḷa conquest of these areas, and the capacity they retained for making trouble for their suzerain in the face of powerful viceroys, deserve attention as proof of the

Mildness of Cōḷa imperialism.

* *TAS.* ii 87 ff; *JRAS.* 1922 pp. 161 ff.

† 523 of 1930.

comparatively mild character of Cōḷa imperialism which was in conformity with the precepts of the *arthaśāstras* on the policy that a conqueror should adopt towards conquered countries.

Ceylon.

In some of the early inscriptions * of Rājādhirāja, he is said to have invaded Ceylon after the victory at Kāndaḷūr-śālai and to have beheaded "the king of Lankā, the Vallava (wearing) a garland, and the lord of Kannakucci (Kanouj)". The same fact is mentioned in the curious record of Rājēndra I with the double *praśasti* from Cidambaram, in which Vīrasalāmēgha is said to have been caught and slain by Rājēndra in the course of a campaign in Ceylon. It is quite possible that this campaign of Rājādhirāja was conducted in his father's life-time, and was described with greater elaboration in his later records. † But as the dates of the two records of Rājādhirāja cited at the beginning of this paragraph, ‡ and the authenticity of the Cidambaram inscription of Rājēndra are not beyond cavil, and as one other record of Rājādhirāja, § definitely of his twenty-seventh year, does not mention the Ceylon war, it seems best to reserve discussion of this campaign till the reign of Rājādhirāja. We shall see, however, that according to the chronology of the *Mahāvamsa*, some of the incidents of Rājādhirāja's Ceylon war, at least those connected with the Singhalese king Vikramabāhu I, must have taken place before the death of Rājēndra Cōḷa I. The war itself dragged on into the reign of Rājādhirāja and even his brother Rājēndra II apparently took some part in its closing stages.

* 172 of 1894; 92 of 1892.

† *SII.* iii, 28.

‡ 92 of 1892-date lost; 172 of 1894 dated (2)6, the first figure being doubtful.

§ 54 of 1893.

War against Cāḷukya Āhavamalla.

Another war had to be waged against the Western Cāḷukyas by Rājādhirāja, and of this war we have several detailed accounts in his inscriptions which supplement one another and give a fair idea of the course of the campaign. This war, which was directed against Āhavamalla, must have occurred sometime after 1042 A. D., the last known date for Jayasimha II, * and consequently in the last years of Rājēndra's reign. We have seen that after the battle of Muśangi (c. 1021 A.D.), Jayasimha II made himself master of the Raichūr doab and reached the Tungabhadrā. In the remaining twenty years or so of his reign, he seems to have been left alone by Rājēndra who was engaged in other directions. Some inscriptions in the Bellary district † show that Jayasimha II even crossed the Tungabhadrā in the period and annexed parts of the Bellary district to his dominions after displacing the Cōḷa control over the tract. One of his vassals, Jagadēkamalla Udayāditya Noḷamba Pallava Perumānaḍi, claims in A. D. 1033 to have ruled the Noḷamba-vāḍi 32000 among other districts; ‡ this seems to be an exaggeration, if it is not a mere repetition of a traditional title of the Noḷambas. But after the long interval during which the Cāḷukyas were left free to pursue their plans, and after the accession of Trailōkymalla Āhavamalla Sōmēśvara I, the Cōḷa monarch might have felt the need for a fresh assertion of his supremacy; or possibly there were some specific causes for a fresh war of which we have no knowledge and which came to a head soon after Sōmēśvara's accession. Whatever that may be, Sōmēśvara had to face a fresh Cōḷa invasion into his territory led by Rājādhirāja; one set of Cōḷa inscriptions state that, in

* Fleet *DKD.* p. 436.

† Rangachari-Bellary 185, 229, 285.

‡ 253 of 1918.

the war that followed, the Cōḷa forces * overwhelmed the Cāḷukya army and killed its leaders Gaṇḍappayya and Gangādhara together with a large number of elephants; that the celebrated warriors Vikki and Vijayāditya were forced to retreat like cowards along with Sangamayya; and that a vast amount of treasure, horses and elephants fell into the hands of the Cōḷas, who set fire to the city of Koḷḷippākkai. Vikki and Vijayāditya were no doubt the sons of Sōmēśvara, who afterwards became Vikramāditya VI and Viṣṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya. Other records of the same period † give more details of this campaign of Rājādhirāja. They mention 'a hot battle at Pūṇḍi with (the) swelling waters' in which Viccaya ‡ fled in fear, abandoning his father and mother to the mercies of the Cōḷa army; when Āhavamalla, in his fear, sent messengers (for opening negotiations), they were rudely handled by the Cōḷa and were forced to carry on their persons inscriptions proclaiming the flight of Āhavamalla in fear; then, followed by his forces, the Cōḷa took his herd of elephants for bathing them in the three bathing ghats (*tuṟai*), Śiṟutuṟai, Peruntuṟai and the Daiva-bhīmakasi, and engraved the emblem of the fierce tiger on hills marked by the boar sign of the enemy, and planted the pillar of victory; § he played games ¶ with the kings who prostrated themselves at his feet, and raised aloft the banner of charity with that of the tiger, distributing among the needy the ancient treasures captured from the enemy; he then defeated several

* Hultzsch says that the Cōḷa forces were led by a commander named Kēvudan; but I am not sure of the text here. See e. g. 54 of 1893 and 6 of 1890.

† 172 of 1894 (Yr. 26); 92 of 1892 (n. d.) *SII.* v 465; iv 539.

‡ This could not have been Vijayāditya.

§ cf. *Kalingattupparaṇi* viii, 26.

¶ The expression used is '*šeṇḍāḍi*'—some game with a ball seems to be meant.

leaders of enemy forces such as the Nuḷumba, Kāḷidāsa, Cāmuṇḍa, Kommayya and the Villavarāja, beheaded the Gurjara king, sparing only those who sought his protection and restoring to them their diadems and their positions. At this point some records * introduce particulars not found in others. Though the gaps in the text are an obstacle to a full understanding of these particulars, their trend is quite clear. Two persons who accompanied a Peṛkaḍai, a high official in the service of the Cāḷukya monarch, apparently sent by him to deliver some hostile message to the Cōḷa, were chosen for being the media of a studied and barbarous insult to the Cāḷukyas ; one of them was compelled to wear the dress of a woman, and the other had his head shaven so as to show five tufts, and they were named 'the miserable Āhavamalli and Āhavamalla' and sent adrift along with the Peṛkaḍai whom they had accompanied. Then, the ancient city of Kalyāṇapuram was sacked and its royal palace razed to the ground after its guards had been overpowered. And Rājādhirāja assumed in that city the title of Vijayarājēndra and performed a *Vīrābhiṣēka* ; this is confirmed by another inscription of a later date in Rājādhirāja's reign, † with a unique *praśasti* beginning *tirukkoḍiyoḍu* ; this record lays great stress on the victory against Āhavamalla, and states that the title Vijayarājēndra was adopted by the king at the *Vīrābhiṣēka* that followed the victory. And at Dārāśuram in the Tanjore district can be seen even to-day a fine image of a *dvārapālaka*, very different in the style of its workmanship from similar Cōḷa images, bearing the inscription : ‡

* 172 of 1894. † 244 of 1925 (Yr. 36).

‡ The text, as copied by me direct from the pedestal of the image is "(l.-1) *Svastiśrī Uḍaiyār Śrī Vijayarājēndradēvar*—(l-2) *Kalyāṇa-puram-erittu koḍuvanda tuvārapālakar.*" In l-2 '*ṇa*' is engraved below the line ; cf. *yaḥ Kalyāṇapuram dadāha* of v. 73 of the Kanyākumāri inscription.

"The *dvārapālaka* (door-keeper) brought by Uḍaiyār Śri Vijayarājēndra-dēva after burning Kalyāṇapuram."

Cāḷukya records.

There is no mention in Sōmēśvara's inscriptions either of this campaign of Rājādhirāja or of the later war which, as we shall see, led to his death on the battle-field of Koppam. In all the inscriptions of Sōmēśvara, * there is nothing that would lead us to imagine that so great a disaster overtook him soon after his accession as is implied by the Cōḷa records cited above. Though it may be conceded that the Cōḷa accounts of the war are altogether too favourable to their own side, their substantial correctness seems to be beyond cavil. The chronology of the war is equally indisputable. All these incidents are narrated in records of the twenty-sixth or earlier years of Rājādhirāja, and must have occurred before 1044 A.D.; and Sōmēśvara I did not become king before 1042 A.D. Moreover, the Dārāśuram *dvārapālaka* and other images in the same place give clear proof that Rājādhirāja sacked Kalyāṇapuram, and that, like Napoleon, he carried off some fine works of art to his own country and the only occasion on which he claims, in his inscriptions, to have reached Kalyāṇapuram is in the course of the expedition we are now dealing with. Pūṇḍi, where a pitched battle was fought in this war, and possibly once again when another Cōḷa invasion took place a few years later, was on the banks of

* The vague phrase "*balavac-cōḷa-narēndra-darpa-daḷanam*" at the beginning of a stereotyped Kanarese verse in some of his records means little; it is repeated of his son Sōmēśvara II, and as Barnett has observed of the conquests detailed in this verse, the list "seems to be more epic than historical." (*EI.* xv. p. 86 n. 6; pp. 87, 97). The inscriptions noticed by Fleet (*DKD.* p. 441) are of a later date and will be considered in the proper place. I find it impossible to attach any value to the poetry of Bilhaṇa who in his *Vikramāṅkadēvacarita* makes Sōmēśvara enter Kāñcipuram in victory. (I. 114-7) It was more or less the poet's job to do it as Sōmēśvara was the father of Bilhaṇa's more fortunate hero Vikramāditya VI.

the Kṛṣṇā, perhaps in the Raichūr doab. * By the three *tuṟais,* Śiṟutuṟai, Perunduṟai, and Daiva-bhīmakasi are no doubt meant the rivers Tungabhadrā, Kṛṣṇā † and, probably, the Bhīmā. Some of the minor incidents, for which the Cōḷa ruler takes credit, look extremely realistic, and show the relentless nature of the hostilities between the protagonists in this long contest.

It is a fact of some importance that the mention of Kalyāṇapura in this campaign appears to be about ten years earlier than "the very earliest epigraphic mention of the place" which has been traced by Fleet in a record of A. D. 1053, ‡ and here it is already called 'an old city', § and a royal palace of the Cāḷukyas in it is also mentioned. This would suggest that Kalyāṇapura must have been at least a subsidiary capital for some years before the time when, according to Fleet, it was "founded or developed into a capital" by Sōmēśvara I.

Closing years of Rājēndra I.

(The closing years of Rājēndra's reign formed the most splendid period of the history of the Cōḷas of the Vijayālaya line. The extent of the empire was at its widest and its military and naval prestige stood at its highest.) There remained the necessity, ever present in military empires, of carrying out punitive expeditions to suppress outbreaks and keep the conquered territories under control. The emperor was ably assisted by his talented sons and other members of his family, and the tasks of imperial administration were

* 6 of 1890 and 221 of 1894 say "*taṉpunal Pēriyār-(ṟiḍai)-Karai-(Pūṇḍūr)k-kaḍaka-mā-nagar.*"

† Fleet *EI.* xii. pp. 293-4.

‡ *DKD.* p. 440.

§ '*Kalyāṇapuram-eṉṉum-toṉnagar*'. *SII.* v. p. 183, ll. 29-30.

thus put in commission. Large undertakings, like the Pāṇḍya war against Sundara Pāṇḍya and his confreres, or the Cāḷukya war against Āhavamalla, were carried out in these years by the heir-apparent Rājādhirāja, while a host of feudatories looked after minor affairs like the war of Cōreya in the Nambihaḷḷi region of the Mysore country in which 'cows were carried off and women's girdles were unloosed.' * Among such feudatories a few naturally stand out more prominently than the rest in the records of the reign and of these a brief account may be given here.

Feudatories.

That even the Pāṇḍyas normally accepted such a position of subordination and reconciled themselves to it is shown by the queen of the Pāṇḍya King Śrīvallabha making gifts to the Tiruviśalūr temple early in the reign, possibly when Rājarāja was still alive. † A part of the modern North Arcot district lying round about Brahmadēśam was under the jurisdiction of Vallavaraiyar Vandyadēvar, the chief of the *Sāmantas* as he is called and husband of Rājarāja's elder sister Kundavai. Two other wives of this person are mentioned, Indaḷadēvi ‡ and Mandaragauravanār Kundādēviyār § who, despite the second part of her name, appears to have been different from Parāntakan Kundavai Pirāṭṭiyār, the Cōḷa princess said to have been residing in the palace at Paḻaiyāṟu in the fourth and fifth years of the reign. ¶ A *nāḍu* came to be called Vallavaraiyar-nāḍu after this chief of the *Sāmantas* and part of it lay in the modern Salem district. || A certain Yādava Bhīma, also called Uttama Cōḷa Milāḍuḍaiyār, was in charge of a part of the hilly tracts in the modern South Arcot district in the fourth

* *EC.* x Sp. 14.
† 46 of 1907.
‡ 191 of 1915.
§ 243 of 1915.
¶ 350 of 1907; 639 of 1909.
|| 157 of 1915.

year. * Seven or eight years later, we find a Gangaikoṇḍa Cōḷa-milāḍuḍaiyār, possibly in charge of the same division, but only mentioned in the inscriptions as making an endowment for a lamp to be maintained in the temple at Kāḷahasti. † A number of short but interesting Kanarese and Tamil inscriptions at Kottaśivaram, of which one ‡ is dated in the tenth year of Rājēndra, and the others obviously belong to the same time, show that, in this reign and that of Rājarāja, a certain Araiyan Rājarājan *alias* Vikrama-Cōḷa Cōḷiya-varaiyan distinguished himself greatly in the Cōḷa service in the Cāḷukya and Vēngi wars § and earned such high titles as Nālmaḍi Bhīma, Cōḷanacakra, Sāmantābharaṇam, Vīra-bhuṣaṇam, and Edirttavar-kālan (Tam. 'death to foes') or Ahitaroṭṭaḷivan (Kan). Daṇḍanāyakan Nārakkaṉ Kṛṣṇan Rāman who built the enclosure to the Tanjore temple under the orders of Rājarāja continued to serve Rājēndra I almost till the end of his reign as he is mentioned as late as 1044 A. D. ¶ His son, Mārāyan Arumoḻi, also called Uttamaśōḷa Brahma-mārayan, was also a *sēnāpati* who assisted Rājēndra about A. D. 1033 in building a temple to the Piḍāri of Kōlar. ‖ It may be observed that of the two names of this *sēnāpati*, the first was the personal name implying his social rank in the nobility (*mārāyam*), and the fact that his father called him after the ruling sovereign at the time of his birth; the second was the official title of the man in his public career in the king's service in the army. A Nimbaḷadēvi, the wife of certain Indaḷadēva of Taḷaigrāma in Virūṭa-dēśa, the country round Hangal, made a

* 20 of 1905. † 291 of 1904. ‡ 23 of 1917.

§ 751 of 1917 (n.d.) records the flight of the Vēngi king when he heard of the advance of this general ordered by the Cōḷa king.

¶ 217 of 1911. ‖ 480 of 1911, (*EC.* x Kl. 109-a).

grant to the temple of Tiruvoṟṟiyūr about 1042 A. D. * We cannot be sure that Indaḷadēva was an official or a feudatory of the king, as he might have been a merchant, who, like several others of his profession in those days, might have travelled great distances. In any event, Rājēndra's claim to have conquered the Mysore country and parts of Raṭṭapāḍi is largely substantiated by such instances. Lastly, there were the Cangāḷvas and the Kongāḷvas of Mysore and Coorg. We have traced the rise of Kongāḷvas into prominence under Rājarāja who, in appreciation of the heroism of Maṇija, conferred on him the title Kṣatriyaśikhāmaṇi Kongāḷva and an estate at Māḷambi (Coorg). The Cangāḷva territory, Canganāḍ, lay in the Arkalgūḍ taluq of Mysore and the Yeḷusāvira country in Northern Coorg. Both the Cangāḷvas and the Kongāḷvas had Cōḷa prenomens from this time, evidently because the Cōḷas imposed their names on the provinces they conquered and on the rulers who accepted a vassal position in the empire. † In the course of a few years, however, the Kongāḷvas began to claim that they were themselves actually descended from the Cōḷas and joined the ranks of the numerous Telugu and Kanarese local dynasties that traced their descent, in a mythical manner, from Karikāla and the Sun, through Jaṭācōḷa.

Birudas.

Like his father, Rājēndra bore a number of fine *birudas.* Noteworthy among them are, Muḍigoṇḍa-Cōḷa ‡ and Paṇḍita-Coḷa ; § he is also once called Vīrarājēndra ; ¶ but above all

* 138 of 1912.

† *EC.* i, Intr. 12-13 ; v Intr. vii.

‡ A name which is applied to many places and buildings in the period, and to a branch of the Kāvēri to our own day. The Tāmbraparṇi is called Muḍigoṇḍa-Śōḷap-pērāṟu in Cōḷa records from Śērmādēvi.

§ *ARE.* 1901, i. 12; *SII.* iii, 127.

¶ 61 of 1914.

these in the estimation of the king himself was the title Gangai - koṇḍa - Cōḷa, a name signalised by being attached to the new capital founded by the king and sometimes called Gangāpurī in Sanskrit. * In the ruins of this celebrated city the earliest inscription that can now be traced seems to be one of Rājakēsarivarman Vīrarājēndradēva. † The large irrigation tank to the north of the city, the Cōḷa-gangam of the Tiruvālangāḍu plates, has long gone out of use, its extensive bed overgrown with thick jungle. ‡ Among the records of the reign of Rājēndra I himself, the new capital is mentioned rarely, and apparently not earlier than the seventeenth regnal year. § This city has often been confused with Muḍigoṇḍa-śōḷapuram, and the suggestion has been made that this was the earlier name of what later came to be called Gangaikoṇḍa-śōḷapuram. ¶ There is no support for the suggestion in the epigraphy of the reign. On the other hand, Muḍigoṇḍa-śōḷapuram is clearly stated to be the alternative name of Paḷaiyāṟu, || now a small village on the banks of the Muḍigoṇḍān, within easy reach of Kumbakōṇam; Paḷaiyāṟu possesses an ancient Śiva temple of remarkable construction in the late Cōḷa style which contains, however, no inscription; and there remain no traces of the palaces at Paḷaiyāṟu in which Kundavai ** and Rājēndra †† are said to have lived in the early years of the reign.

The new Capital.

* *EI.* xv. p. 49 *n.* 3 where Gopinatha Rao quotes an interesting reference from the *Iḍu* possibly reminiscent of this foundation.

† 82 of 1892.

‡ A nineteenth century description of the site is quoted in Note B at the end of this Chapter.

§ 61 of 1914; 203 of 1925; 510 of 1926. The curious record 118 of 1888 dated in the 24th year of Rājakēsari Rājēndra mentions Gangāpurī.

¶ *SII.* iii. Index s. v. Muḍigoṇḍa-śōḷapuram; also S. K. Aiyangar—*South India and her Muhammadan Invaders*, p. 44, n. 2.

|| 271 of 1927.

** 639 of 1909.

†† Tiruvālangāḍu plates ll. 6-7 (Tamil part), 463 of 1908 (Yr. 3).

In several inscriptions of his reign and of the reigns of his successors, Rājēndra is described briefly as the conqueror of Pūrvadēśam, Gangai and Kaḍāram; this must be taken to be a summary statement of his most distant conquests, and on this assumption Pūrvadēśam is best understood to be, not the Vēngi country as was suggested by Venkayya, * but Pūrvarāṣṭra, the country to the east of the Maikal range, † roughly corresponding to the Southern Kōsala country.

Queens.

The following are the queens of Rājēndra who figure in the inscriptions: Tribhuvana or Vānavan-Mahādēviyār, ‡ Mukkōkkiḻān, § Pañcavan-Mādēviyār ¶ and Vīra-mādēvi who apparently performed *sati* at the king's death. || Of his sons we shall see that three followed him on the Cōḷa throne in succession, Rājādhirāja, Rājēndra and Vīra Rājēndra, and we cannot decide if any of these was identical with the Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya Viceroy, Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya. Other sons are known also. A daughter of Rājēndra, Arumoḻi-nangaiyar or Pirānār, made a present of a costly umbrella of pearls to the temple at Tirumalavāḍi early in the reign of her brother Rājādhirāja. ** Another daughter was the well-known Ammangādēvi, the queen of the Eastern Cāḷukya Rājarāja I and mother of Kulōttunga, the first Cōḷa-Cāḷukya monarch. The latest regnal year mentioned in Rājēndra's inscriptions is 33 †† and this accords well with the fact that his death is recorded in an inscription of Rājādhirāja dated in his twenty-sixth ‡‡ year. Rājēndra's death occurred, therefore, some time in A. D. 1044.

* *ASI.* 1911-12 p. 172 n. 1.

† Fleet *Gupta Inscriptions* p. 192 n. 1; *EI.* ix. p. 283.

‡ 624 of 1920.

§ 73 of 1921.

¶ 464 of 1918.

|| 260 of 1915.

** 71 of 1920.

†† 79 of 1909.

‡‡ 260 of 1915.

RAJENDRA

NOTE A

ON MAHĪPĀLA.

Dr. S. K. Aiyangar has discussed the Ganges campaign at some length in his essay on *Gangaikoṇḍa-Coḷa* and I must explain why I am unable to accept some of his conclusions. Our differences are partly due to the different estimates we have of the value of the Tiruvālangāḍu plates (*op. cit.* p. 554). I agree with Mr. R. D. Banerji that "the order in which the names of the countries are mentioned (in Rājēndra's Tamil inscriptions) prevents us from supposing that Bihar is" Daṇḍabhukti. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar says: "As the name itself indicates, Bihar must have been on the frontier of some important empire or kingdom, which on that side required protection against a powerful enemy"; I do not see how. Nor is any tangible evidence brought forward by him in support of his position (p. 558) that Magadha was ruled by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas at the end of the ninth century and the beginning of the tenth till it was wrested from them by the Pāla opponent of Rājēndra, Mahīpāla, who installed Dharmapāla viceroy over his new conquest. Banerji has satisfactorily explained the western expansion of the Pāla kingdom in the early years of Mahīpāla by the condition of the Gurjara kingdom after the invasion of Mahmud of Ghazni. (*Pālas of Bengal* p. 70.)

Banerji seems to me to be clearly wrong in quoting the evidence of the *Caṇḍakauśikam* of Kṣēmīśvara who probably lived in the tenth century A. D. at Kānyakubja under king Mahīpāla, the Gurjara ruler, (Macdonnel, *Sanskrit Literature* p. 366; Keith, *Sanskrit Drama* p. 239 and n.) against the Tirumalai rock inscription of Rājēndra, and in discovering a defeat of Rājēndra in Mahīpāla's defeat of the Karṇāṭas mentioned in the drama. Cf. S. K. Aiyangar, *op. cit.* pp. 559-62.

Taking his stand on the order in which the events are narrated in verses 116-24 of the Tiruvālangāḍu plates, Dr. S. K. Aiyangar distinguishes a Mahīpāla of Oṭṭa (N. Orissa) from the famous Pāla king of Bengal, and holds that "Rājēndra's general did not come into direct contact with Mahīpāla of Bengal at all." (p. 565). He says that the Tamil records "properly understood" support the same position. To prove this, he relies on the edition of Rājēndra's Tamil inscriptions in *Epigraphia Carnatica* and

finds that No. 84 of Channapaṭṭaṇa (Bangalore Dt.) 'gives apparently the correct reading': *Toḍu-kaḍar-Śangamoṭṭa-Mahipālanai;* this he translates into: "Oṭṭa-Mahipāla of Sagnama (Sangama?) which touches the sea." He adds: "the first three words in full in Tamil would be *Toḍu-kaḍar-changamam* which means the river mouth which touches the sea." (pp. 564-5). Ignoring the tautology of such a phrase for a moment, one should like to know how *Śangamam* followed by *Oṭṭa* becomes *Śangamoṭṭa* instead of '*Śangamavoṭṭa*' as it should be. I have already pointed out that the Tanjore inscription (*SII.* ii No. 20 l. 7) reads distinctly: "*Toḍu-kaḷar-cangu-voḍaḍal-mayipālanai*" which Hultzsch somewhat arbitrarily changed into: *Toḍu-kaḷar-canguvoṭṭal*' (*EI.* ix p. 232 n. 6). The real reading doubtless is that of the Tanjore inscription; and its correct meaning is that the strong Mahīpāla was captured together with another person named Śangu. Though we know nothing of the latter, there is little room for doubt that, as Kielhorn suggested years ago, the 'strong Mahīpāla' must be the same as the Pāla ruler of Bengal. It seems that Dr. S.K. Aiyangar has, unconsciously, gone too far in reacting against Mr. Banerji's claim, based on a misquotation from the *Caṇḍakauśikam*, that Mahīpāla of Bengal defeated Rājēndra, or at least successfully stopped his crossing the Ganges. But the *alibi* sought to be established on behalf of the Cōḷa general appears to rest on very flimsy grounds. I must, however, note that a single inscription from Tirukōyilūr (128 of 1900) gives the reading 'Śangoḍ-Oṭṭa-Mahīpālanai.' This solitary instance out of over a hundered inscriptions I have consulted cannot, I think, be regarded as anything but a mistake of the engraver.

Of verses 116-24 of the Tiruvālangāḍu plates, I think the first four complete the account of the campaign undertaken by the general in quest of the Ganges including the overthrow of Mahīpāla (119). The rest are devoted to a narration of other achievements of Rājēndra. Verses 120 and 121 state that the king personally undertook a campaign against the Oṭṭa—note particularly that there is no mention of Mahīpāla here—and his younger brother, before his return to the capital (122). In this campaign the king killed or defeated (*vinihatya*) the Oṭṭa and his brother and collected a tribute of elephants; the Mahēndragiri stone inscription (396 of 1896) states that Vimalāditya, the Kulūtēśvara, was defeated by Rājēndra and compelled to give up

a number of his elephants to the conqueror. Both the references appear to be to the same campaign; but it is not easy to decide whether the campaign took place in Rājarāja's life-time and has been mentioned here out of its proper place or whether it occurred sometime in the twelfth or thirteenth year of Rājēndra and is, for some reason, omitted in the Tamil *praśasti*. I am inclined on the whole to the former hypothesis as in these and the succeeding verses the composer of the Sanskrit *praśasti* seems to be winding up his account by putting in the things he omitted to mention before, or had no room to enlarge upon. It must be noticed also that verse 122 states that the king returned to his capital before he undertook the campaign against Kaṭāha (verse 123); Dr. S. K. Aiyangar reverses the order in his summary (p. 564) and holds that the expedition against Kaḍāram started from 'the coast region of Kalingam' (p. 566). He adds that all Rājēndra's records uniformly state that, having reached the mouth of the Ganges and subjugated Orissa, the overseas expedition set sail from there; in saying this he overlooks the fact that we have to distinguish the different campaigns of Rājēndra's reign by the stages through which we can trace the growth of the *tiru manni vaḷara* introduction; records of the 12th year stop with the conquest of the Ganges, and the overseas expedition does not find mention before the year 14; and it cannot be a mere accident that at each of these stages the Tiruvālangāḍu plates state that the king returned to his capital. On Dr. S. K. Aiyangar's method of interpretation, we shall have also to admit that Rājēndra started against Ceylon from Mālkhēd, an obviously impossible assumption.

In the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* (1928 Vol. XIV pp. 512-20) R. D. Banerji examines the opinions of Dr. S. K. Aiyangar on Rājēndra's Ganges campaign. On the location of Daṇḍabhukti and the difficulty of postulating the existence, as Dr. S. K. Aiyangar does, of a body of Karṇātas holding a military fief in Bihar, I find myself in agreement with Banerji. He seems to me to be justified also in his view that the composer of the Tiruvālangāḍu plates "had very hazy notions of the position of these places in the map of India," and that "Prof. Aiyangar, who relies entirely on the Tiruvālangāḍu plates in preference to the Tirumalai rock inscription, has been clearly non-plussed." He clinches his arguments about the route of the Cōḷa army by saying: "An army approaching Bengal and Bihar

from the South must follow the natural line of communication through Orissa, Midnapur, Hoogly and Howrah to reach Vanga and Uttara Rāḍha, and this is exactly the route described in the Tirumalai rock inscription." Banerji's statement, however, that the Cōḷa army followed the coast line from near the Chilka lake and debouched into the interior only once when it went into Kōsala, clearly overlooks the data on the earlier stages of the campaign furnished by the Tirumalai rock inscription. He also observes that Gōvindacandra of the Candra dynasty of Eastern Bengal "had most probably become a vassal of Mahīpāla I and therefore a flanking movement may have been expected of him," and this was possibly the reason why he had to be dealt with before Mahīpāla was attacked. This statement from one so well-versed in Pāla history is valuable as affording support to our position on the general relation between Raṇaśūra, Dharmapāla and Gōvindacandra on the one side, and Mahīpāla on the other. It also constitutes a virtual abandonment by Banerji of the interpretation he had put on the Tirumalai rock inscription in his monograph on the *Pālas of Bengal* that it depicts Bengal as cut up into a number of independent small states, a view that has been cited and commented on in the preceding chapter.

As against S. K. Aiyangar, whom he does not hesitate to accuse of betraying "the spirit of a partisan and not that of a critical historian," Banerji seeks to buttress his position in regard to the *Caṇḍakauśikam* by arguments which do not stand critical examination, and which make it easy, for anyone so minded, to bring with more reason against Banerji himself the charge of uncritical partisanship. Banerji surmises that Prof. Aiyangar has forgotten the existence of the Cambay plates of Gōvinda IV. And the history furnished by these plates is summed up by Banerji with more rhetoric than fidelity in the following terms: "Very shortly afterwards (*i.e.* after the accession of Mahīpāla I) the Gurjara-Pratīhāra empire was shattered by the onslaught of the great Rāṣṭrakūṭa conqueror Indra III. In fact this young prince dealt the death-blow to Gurjara-Pratihāra supremacy in India. He invaded Māḷva, captured Ujjain, crossed the Jumna near Kālpi, devastated Kanauj and compelled Mahīpāla to flee before his general, the Cāḷukya chief, Narasimha, to Allahabad. Mahīpāla I returned to Kanauj after the retirement of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa army to find that the provinces were fast

becoming independent under the feudatories and governors. No Mahipāla of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty ever defeated any Karṇāṭaka army or chief and therefore it is cruel of Professor Aiyangar to postulate the production of the drama *Caṇḍa-kauśikam* before this unfortunate king."

Now, the Cambay plates of Gōvinda have been edited by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar who had no preconceived notions about either Rājēndra or Mahipāla of Bengal to uphold, and it is interesting to see how he makes out the relations between Indra III and Mahipāla I, the Pratihāra king, as revealed by these plates and other contemporary inscriptions. In a succinct and full discussion of the historical significance of verse 19 of these plates, * he points out: "But the complete devastation of Mahōdaya, which Indra III is spoken of as having brought about, is merely poetical. For the poet's object appears to be to introduce a play on the words *Mahodaya* and *Kuśasthala.* * * * This is also seen from the consideration that, as a matter of fact, for long after the event recorded in this verse took place, Kanauj continued to be the capital of several princes, ruling over northern India. What Indra III actually did beyond attacking Mahōdaya or Kanauj, cannot be inferred from the verse itself. But we can ascertain it with the help of other inscriptions." After a careful examination of other inscriptions, which is too long to be reproduced here, Prof. Bhandarkar reaches the conclusion that though Indra succeeded for a time in depriving Mahipāla of his kingdom, he was soon restored to the throne by the combined efforts of Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and the Chandella king Harṣadēva. Here, then, it seems we have all the elements needed to satisfy the requirements of the verse in the prologue to the *Caṇḍa-kauśikam* which ascribes to Mahipāla, by a natural exaggeration, the repulse of the Karṇāṭas from Kanauj brought about by his allies. In fact by recalling the story of Kauṭilya's expulsion of the Nandas for the sake of Candragupta, the verse in the *Caṇḍakauśikam* implies what was an essential feature in the restoration of Mahipāla, viz., the large place taken by diplomacy and foreign invasion in bringing about the restoration.

The history furnished by the Cambay plates and other records of the time seems therefore to establish conclusively that

* *EI.* vii, pp. 30—33.

the *Caṇḍakauśikam* was enacted before the Gurjara-Pratīhāra Mahīpāla I, nearly a century before the time of the Pāla Mahīpāla to whose reign Mr. R. D. Banerji would assign the play. See also Sten Konow, *Indische Drama* p. 87, and *JOR*. vi pp. 191 ff.

NOTE B.

GANGAIKOṆḌA-CŌḶA-PURAM

The following interesting account of this place appeared in a local publication of 1855 which is not easily accessible now. It was reproduced once in the *IA*. iv p. 274, and may well find a place here.

"It may also be mentioned that in the Uḍaiyārpāḷaiyam tālūkā there is an embankment 16 miles long, running north and south, provided with several substantial sluices and of great strength, which in former times must have formed one of the largest reservoirs in India. This large tank or lake was filled partly by a channel from the Kolerūn river, upwards of 60 miles in length, which enters it at its southern end, and partly by a smaller channel from the Veḷḷār, which entered it on the north. Traces of both these channels still remain. The tank has been ruined and useless for very many years, and its bed is now almost wholly overgrown with high and thick jungle. It is said traditionally that its ruin was wilful, and the act of an invading army. Near the southern extremity of the *band* there is a village, now surrounded by jungle, called Gangākuṇḍapuram. Immediately in its vicinity is a pagoda of a very large size and costly workmanship; and close by, surrounded by jungle, are some remains of ancient buildings, now much resembling the mounds or heaps which indicate the site of ancient Babylon, but in which the village elders point out the various parts of an extensive and magnificent palace. When this palace was in existence, Gangākuṇḍapuram was the wealthy and flourishing capital of a monarchy, and the great tank spread fertility over miles and miles of what is now trackless forest. It has often been projected to restore that magnificent work, but the scheme has remained in abeyance for want of engineer officers. At some future time it may be successfully prosecuted, but till then this most fertile tract must remain a jungle, and the few inhabitants will still point

with pride to the ancient *band* as a monument of the grand and gigantic enterprise of their ancient sovereigns, and compare it contemptuously with the undertakings of their present rulers. Speaking of the noble temple of Gangākuṇḍapuram, it must not be omitted that when the lower Kolerūn *anikut* was built, the structure was dismantled of a large part of the splendid granite sculptures which adorned it, and the enclosing wall was almost wholly destroyed in order to obtain materials for the work. The poor people did their utmost to prevent this destruction and spoliation of a venerated edifice by the servants of a government that could show no title to it; but of course without success; they were only punished for contempt. A promise was made indeed, that a wall of brick should be built in place of the stone wall that was pulled down; but unhappily it must be recorded that this promise has never been redeemed."

CHAPTER XI

THE SUCCESSORS OF RĀJĒNDRA
(1044-70 A. D.)

The sons of Rājēndra I.

Under Rājarāja I, the real founder of the Cōḷa empire, and his talented son Rājēndra I, the usual line of conquest, which was from north to south, had been reversed, and the victorious tiger-banner carried far into the north. Rājēndra's sons, three of whom succeeded their father, one after another, on the Cōḷa throne, inherited an extensive empire, and on the whole, ably maintained its extent and prestige during their reigns. There was much hard, and occasionally fierce fighting, particularly against the Cāḷukyas across the Tungabhadrā frontier, and the first of these three kings died on a battle-field in which the second was crowned immediately after his steadiness and valour converted an almost certain defeat into a brilliant victory. There was trouble also from the south, the Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa being always in league with the Ceylonese rulers, and waiting to take the fullest advantage of the difficulties that beset their suzerains elsewhere. Towards the end of this period, these troubles, together with others of a dynastic and possibly religious nature, brought about a political revolution which proved the salvation of the empire for well over a century thereafter. As will be shewn later, the exact circumstances under which the Cāḷukya-Cōḷa, Rājēndra, came to occupy the imperial Cōḷa throne are not easily determined; but there can be no two opinions on the consequences to the Cōḷa power of this turn of events. By introducing a fresh, and possibly more vigorous, yet closely related stock of kings to the rule of the empire, and by amalgamating, at a critical time, the

resources of the Eastern Cāḷukya kingdom with the Cōḷa, it ensured a continuous and active life for the empire of Rājarāja at a time when his descendants in the main line were overwhelmed in desperate conflicts of which they saw no end.

Order of succession.

The Kanyākumāri inscription * of Vīrarājēndra states expressly that Rājādhirāja was the eldest of the three sons of Rājēndra who succeeded him in order; this statement is confirmed by the inscriptions of the three reigns taken together; one record of the thirty-fifth year † of Rājādhirāja mentions the significant name *tambit-tuṇaiccōḷa-vaḷanāḍu* which recalls distinctly the *praśasti* of Rājēndra II beginning *tirumagaḷ maruviya.* This *praśasti* gives a succinct account of how Rājēndra co-operated with his elder brother Rājādhirāja in the prolonged Cāḷukya war of the reign. Vīrarājēndra was doubtless identical with Vīra-Cōḷa, ‡ the younger brother of Rājēndradēva on whom he conferred the title Karikāla Cōḷa; in fact the W. Cāḷukya inscriptions call him generally Vīra. An inscription of Vīrarājēndra from the Ramnad district § refers to his father (*ayyar*) who conquered Gangai, Pūrvadēśam and Kaḍāram. From a study of the dates of the inscriptions, it is seen that there is a large measure of overlapping among the reigns, a feature which should cause no surprise after the conjoint rule for over twenty-five years of Rājādhirāja with his father. The latest regnal year of Rājādhirāja mentioned in his records is the thirty-sixth, ¶ falling in A. D. 1053-4.

Overlapping reigns.

* Verse 73.

† 30 of 1919.

‡ *SII.* iii p. 195; *EC.* vii Sk. 136.

§ 110 of 1903.

¶ 129 of 1912 dated (3)8 is doubtful. It is a solitary record and the first figure in the date is not secure.

The approximate date of the accession of Rājēndra II has been fixed from his inscriptions as May 28th, A. D. 1052. * Likewise, the highest regnal year of Rājēndra II is twelve, taking his rule up to A. D. 1064. Vīrarājēndra's accession, however, took place sometime in A. D. 1062-3 † which is counted in his records as his first year. ‡ Rājakēsari Rājamahēndra-dēva, whose inscriptions do not carry his reign beyond the third year, must be found a place before the accession of Vīrarājēndra-dēva. His brief *praśastis* tell us little beyond the fact that he upheld the code laid down by Manu for the administration of the land; but even this statement is not altogether valueless as it is closely corroborated by the *Kalingattupparaṇi* § which says just the same thing even more forcibly, without mentioning any other fact, about a king whom it places between the sovereign who crowned himself on the field of Koppam (Rājēndra II) and the victor of Kūḍal-śangamam (Vīrarājēndra). Further confirmation of the position assigned to Rājamahēndra is found in a single inscription of his stating that the king 'by a war-elephant caused Āhavamalla to turn his back (on the bank of) the winding river.' ¶ It seems possible that Rājamahēndra was the son of Rājēndra II mentioned in an inscription of the ninth year of that king ‖ under the name

Rājamahēndra.

* *EI.* vi p. 24.

† *EI.* vii p. 9.

‡ 87 of 1895 of year 9 of Rājēndra II is said to mention a gift of year 3 of Vīrarājēndra *ARE.* 1895 I 9. If this is correct, Vīrarājēndra's accession must be placed earlier. But the published text (*SII.* v, 647 ll. 52-3) does not seem to mention any such gift in Vīrarājēndra's reign though the name Vīrarājēndra does occur.

§ viii 28; *SII.* iii, p. 113.

¶ 119 of 1902 cited at *SII.* iii p. 191.

‖ '*tan-tirumagan*': 87 of 1895. (*SII.* v 647, l. 26). Another record of the same date mentions a Rājamahēndra-road. *SII.* iii p. 41 (l. 6.)

Rājēndra, and that when, soon after, he was chosen heir-apparent he assumed the title Rājamahēndra to distinguish himself from his father Rājēndra-dēva and his grandfather Rājēndra-Cōḷa-dēva. Here again, the succession of two Rājakēsaris, Rājamahēndra and Vīrarājēndra, must be explained as due to one of them having died as heir-apparent without ever ruling in his own right, and that the other was chosen to fill his place. * This period is brought to a close by the short and troubled reign of Parakēsari Adhirājēndra, one of whose records dated in his third year † mentions the eighth year of Vīrarājēndra. The succession and chronology of the period may, therefore, be summed up as follows :—

(1) Rājādhirāja I Rājakēsari ...	A. D. 1018-1054
(2) Rājēndra II Parakēsari younger brother of (1)	A. D. 1052-1064
Rājamahēndra Rājakēsari son of (2) died as crown-prince	A. D. 1060-1063
(3) Vīrarājēndra Rājakēsari (younger brother of 1 and 2)	A. D. 1063-1069
(4) Adhirājēndra Parakēsari son of 3 (?)	A. D. 1067/8-1070

Rājādhirāja's *praśastis.*

Rājādhirāja's *praśastis* are usually found in two forms, one of them rather short, commencing *tingaḷēr-peṟa-vaḷar*, which records only the earlier achievements of the king and seems to have been stereotyped about the twenty-sixth year of his rule and repeated in that form in some of his later records. The longer form

* Cp. *EI.* xviii pp. 30-1.

† 15 of 1890: *SII.* iii 57.

tingaḷēr-taru has many variations and in fact it is seen to have gone through several editions, so to say, some giving more details of transactions only briefly mentioned in others. The interesting details of the battle of Pūṇḍūr and other incidents of Rājādhirāja's first invasion of the Cāḷukya country resulting in the destruction of Koḷḷippākkai are given in the inscriptions of the 26th year * and are generally omitted in later records; whereas the detailed description of the Pāṇḍyan and the Ceylonese wars that occurs in the latter is only hinted at briefly in the earlier records. Again, the vulgar insult offered to the ambassadors of Āhavamalla, one of whom was forced to dress as a woman and another was made the subject of a comic tonsure, is mentioned only in some versions but not in others. † A few of the inscriptions of the later years mention fresh transactions not found in the earlier records; ‡ others simply repeat the older forms without making them up-to-date. Further, there is a *praśasti* beginning *tirukkoḍiyoḍu tyāgakkoḍi* giving no new information and confirming some of the details of the Cāḷukyan war found in other records.

Two doubtful inscriptions.

That Rājādhirāja assumed the title Vijayarājēndra after his triumphant entry into Kalyāṇapura has already been mentioned. There are, however, two records of Parakēsari Vijayarājēndra which at first sight seem to present a baffling problem. § In one of them, a Kōlār

* 172 of 1894; 92 of 1892 which though its date is lost is apparently of the same time. 446 of 1918 (Yr. 34) is also similar.

† Mentioned in 172 of 1894 and 30 of 1919. Also in the introduction beginning: *tirukkoḍiyoḍu* (244 of 1925 Yr. 36).

‡ e.g. *SII.* iii 28 (Yr. 29); 6 of 1890 (Yr. 30); 81 of 1895; 221 of 1894 (Yr. 32).

§ See the discussion in *ARE.* 1907, II 38; 1908 II 56.

record * of the thirty-fifth year, we must necessarily assume that Parakēsari is a mistake for Rājakēsari: for the high regnal year and the identity of the short *praśasti* in this record with that of Rājādhirāja beginning *Vīrapāṇḍiayan talaiyum*, the last variety of the *praśastis* found in Rājādhirāja's records, leave no room for any alternative. The other record from Pedda - Tippasamudram † falls into the reign of Rājēndra II, the younger brother and successor of Rājādhirāja, as it is dated in Śaka 981, or A. D. 1057-8, and as we have no clear proof of Rājādhirāja having reigned beyond his 36th year, which would be A. D. 1054-5. Rājēndra II was a Parakēsari, and though this record appears to be unique in giving him the Vijayarājēndra title, it may be his. It should, however, be noticed that a Rājādhirāja inscription, doubtfully dated in the 38th year, from Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, ‡ just renders it possible that this record is also his. The battle of Koppam, in which Rājādhirāja lost his life, took place according to Fleet 'shortly before the 20th January, A. D. 1060,' as a record dated in Śaka 981 (expired) mentions that Sōmēśvara had then returned from 'a conquest of the southern countries and of the Cōḷa.' § Therefore, the Pedda-Tippasamudram record of Śaka 981 may also be, after all, another instance of a Rājādhirāja record giving him the Parakēsari title by a mistake. In any case we have no reason to assume that there was an alteration in the official title of the king from Rājakēsari to Parakēsari, ¶ as there are many other records of the 35th and 36th years with the former title.

* 135 of 1892; 477 of 1911; *EC.* x Kl. 112 (b).

† 534 of 1906.

‡ 129 of 1912.

§ *BG.* I, ii, 441. But this rather late date for the death of Rājādhirāja is contradicted by the inscriptions of his successor Rājēndra; see *infra*.

¶ *Contra ARE.* 1908 II 56.

Ceylon war.

The Ceylon war of Rājādhirāja briefly mentioned in the last chapter may now be considered in more detail. Some of the earlier inscriptions * of Rājādhirāja briefly record that the king of Lankā, the garlanded Vallava, and the king of the Kannakucciyar (people of Kanauj), suffered decapitation at the hands of Rājēndra. The more detailed account of the occurrences as found in some of the later records † is as follows :—

In Cōḷa inscriptions.

"With a single unequalled army (he) took the crown of Vikramabāhu, the king of the people of Lankā on the tempestuous ocean; the crown of large jewels, (belonging to) the lord of Lankā, Vikrama-Pāṇḍyan, who, having lost the whole of the southern Tamil country out of fear of himself (Rājādhirāja) ‡ had entered Īḻam (surrounded by) the seven oceans; the beautiful golden crown of the king of Simhaḷa, Vīra-Salāmēghan, who, believing that Īḻam (surrounded by) the ocean was superior to the beautiful Kannakucci (Kānyakubja) which belonged to him, had entered (the island) with his relatives and (those of) his countrymen who were willing (to go with him), § and had put on the brilliant crown; who, having been defeated on the battle-field and having lost his black elephant, had fled ignominiously; and who, when (the Cōḷa king) seized his elder sister along with (his) wife ¶ and cut off the nose of (his) mother, had returned in order to remove the disgrace (caused) thereby, and, having fought hard with the sword, had withered ‖ in

* 92 of 1892; 172 of 1894.

† *SII.* iii 28, p. 56.

‡ Text: '*mun-tanakkuḍaindu*,' apparently rendered by Hultzsch into 'which had previously belonged to him.'

§ "*Īḻañjiriḍenṟeṇṇi uḷangoḷ tannāḍu tannuṟavoḍum pugundu*" is the text.

¶ Or daughter. The text has *kāḍali*.

‖ Text '*ularnda*.' Hultzsch has 'perished'; but see later.

a hot battle; and the extremely brilliant crown of large jewels, (belonging to) Śrī Vallavan (Śrī Vallabha) Madanarājan, who had come of the family of Kannaran (Kṛṣṇa) and had become the proud king of Īḻam." *

In the *Mahāvamsa.*

The *Mahāvamsa* shows clearly that the years following the deportation of Mahinda V by Rājēndra and the annexation of "the whole of Īḻamaṇḍalam" to the Cōḷa empire (1017 A.D.) were filled with risings on the part of the Singalese subjects against the new Cōḷa rulers followed by reprisals on their part. The independent testimony of the Ceylonese chronicle not only confirms the account of Rājādhirāja's records in its essential features, but furnishes much welcome assistance in fixing the chronology of events which, though spread over several years and apparently connected with more than one campaign, seem to have been grouped together to form a convenient section in the *praśasti* of Rājādhirāja. The *Mahāvamsa* affirms † that the first outbreak of the opposition to the Cōḷa rule in Ceylon occurred about twelve years after the capture of Mahinda V, when the Cōḷa wanted to gain control of Mahinda's son Kassapa, and that this revolt centred round Kassapa; Kassapa and his confederates succeeded in maintaining a contest for six months

Six months war of Vikkamabāhu.

with the Cōḷa forces said to have been 95,000 strong; they "killed a great number of Damiḷas" and compelled the rest to retire and take up "their abode as before in Pulatthinagara." Thereupon, Kassapa

* The text is "*Kannaran-vaḻi-vanduṟai-koḷa-viḷat-taraiśan-āgiya,*" which Hultzsch translates into "who had come to Kannaran (Krishna) and taken up (his) abode (with him)." *Uṟai* means in the context 'pride,' 'glory.' The point seems to be that Madanarāja, though a Rāṣṭrakūṭa or, more generally, a Karṇāta by descent, became king of Ceylon.

† Ch. 55 vv. 24-29.

began to rule the south-eastern portion of the island of Ceylon, the division known as Rohaṇa, under the title of Vikkamabāhu. * This war of six months preceding the accession of Vikkamabāhu took place about 1029 A.D., in the reign of Rājēndra I; but there is nothing to show that Rājādhirāja actually took part in it, though he might have done so.

His death.

The Cōḷa inscriptions affirm that Vikkamabāhu lost his life in the Cōḷa war, † and that his diadem fell into the hands of Rājādhirāja; the *Mahāvamsa*, however, says that he suddenly died of a disease in the twelfth year of his reign (1041 A. D.) in the midst of extensive preparations for a Cōḷa war. It is possible that the Cōḷa panegyric is more boastful than true, though his crown may have been among the booty of the Cōḷas. ‡ Despite Rājēndra's success against Mahinda V, therefore, the whole of Ceylon was held by the Cōḷas only for a short while, a period of about a decade, after which the province of Rohaṇa asserted its independence, and kept up a perpetual war against the Cōḷa province. In Rājādhirāja's reign this struggle became very acute as every ruler that came after Vikkamabāhu was actuated by the desire to expel the Damiḷas from Ceylon. Neglecting the eight days' rule of Kitti (A.D. 1041), § the "mighty Mahālānakitti" who became king of Rohaṇa, "was vanquished in his third year (A.D. 1044) in battle against the Cōḷas, and with his own hand he cut his throat and so died a sudden death. ¶ Thereupon the Damiḷas took the chief treasures, such as the diadem and the like and sent

* *MV.* Ch. 56, vv. 1-6.

† 92 of 1892 where he is only called 'king of the Ceylonese.'

‡ Geiger *CV.* ii. p. xxi. § *CV.* Ch. 56, v. 7. ¶ *ibid* vv. 8-10.

them to the Monarch of the Cōḷa land." It is not easy to identify Mahālānakitti with any of the four Singalese rulers mentioned by name in the Cōḷa inscription quoted above. Vikkamapaṇḍu (A. D. 1044-47) was according to the *Mahāvamsa* * the only son of Mahālānakitti, who, having left his country through fear and lived for a time in the Dulu country, returned to Rohaṇa when he heard of the fate of his father, and was killed, after a short rule, in a fight with Jagatīpāla. The Cōḷa inscription, on the contrary, implies that he was a Pāṇḍya prince who had once ruled over the southern Tamil country, and was compelled by Rājādhirāja himself to abandon southern India and seek his fortune in Ceylon, where he became king. As the Pāṇḍyan and Ceylonese dynasties were at this time in close political and dynastic alliance with each other and with the Kēraḷas, and were united in their common opposition to Cōḷa ascendancy, † we have perhaps to assume that the two accounts supplement each other. Vikrama Pāṇḍya had apparently a Singalese father and a Pāṇḍya mother: his early career in the Pāṇḍya country is represented, not quite accurately, by the *Mahāvamsa* as a sojourn in the Dulu country, or possibly, this sojourn in the Dulu land was an interlude between the Pāṇḍyan and the Ceylonese phases of his career. Whatever that may be, there is no doubt that the Cōḷa inscriptions and the *Mahāvamsa* speak of one and the same prince here, and that while the Ceylonese account of the manner of his death is not contradicted by the Cōḷa records, it is quite possible that his diadem also fell into the hands of the Cōḷas as is claimed by them. Of Jagatīpāla (A.D. 1047-51), the *Mahāvamsa* says ‡ that he was 'a sovereign's son' from Ayōdhyā,

* *ibid* vv. 11-14. † *PK.* p. 113. ‡ *CV.* vv. 13-15.

and that after coming to Ceylon he "slew Vikkamapaṇḍu in battle and ruled as a mighty man in Rohaṇa for four years. Him also the Cōḷas slew in battle and sent the Mahēsi with her daughter and all the valuable property to the Cōḷa kingdom." If we overlook the discrepancy about the place of origin, Kānyakubja according to the Cōḷa records and Ayōdhyā according to the *Mahāvamsa*, there is a striking similarity in the fortunes of Jagatīpāla of the chronicle and Vīra-Salāmēghan of the inscriptions, and it may be concluded that we have here only one prince mentioned under two different names in our sources. * But this conclusion is not unassailable; the death of Vīra-Salāmēghan is mentioned in an inscription dated towards the end of A. D. 1046; † the most critical study of the *Mahāvamsa* has led to the conclusion that Jagatīpāla began to rule only in A. D. 1047 and went on till four years later. So that, after all, the differences in the names and the places of origin of these two princes may mean that they were two different persons who had little in common with each other besides having attained some celebrity in Ceylon as opponents of the Cōḷa regime and met very similar fates at the hands of their antagonists. How these adventurers from northern India came to Ceylon in search of a career is not easy to explain satisfactorily at present. Śrī Vallabha Madanarāja, the fourth and last of the princes mentioned in the Cōḷa inscriptions, has been identified with king Parakkama of the *Mahāvamsa* who was slain in fight with the Cōḷas. ‡ This identification is also to be accepted with caution. Madanarāja was a Vallabha (of the line of Kannara) by descent; Parakkama, on the contrary, was the son

* Cf. Hultzsch *SII.* iii, p. 53.

† *ibid.* 3rd Decr. A. D. 1046.

‡ *ibid*; also *MV.* 56, v. 16.

of the Paṇḍu king, i. e., Vikkamapaṇḍu. Moreover, the death of Parakkama occurred about A. D. 1053, nearly seven years after the date of Rājādhirāja's inscription (A. D. 1046) in which Madanarāja is mentioned. *

Summary.

This comparison of the epigraphical account of the Ceylonese war in the records of Rājādhirāja with the events as chronicled in the *Mahāvamsa* thus points to the need for caution in working the two accounts into a continuous story of the relations between the Cōḷa empire and that part of Ceylon which was maintaining a vigorous struggle for its independence against great odds. Only two of the kings in the inscriptions of Rājādhirāja can be recognised in the *Mahāvamsa* viz., Vikramabāhu and Vikrama-Pāṇḍya. Vīra-Salāmēgha and Śrī Vallabha Madanarāja are known only to the Cōḷa inscriptions, but apparently are not mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa.* On the contrary, Jagatīpāla and Parakkama of the *Mahāvamsa*, who figured in the later stages of the war of independence and laid down their lives in that war, do not find a place in the Cōḷa inscriptions. † The inscriptions of Rājādhirāja's successor Rājēndra II show that he too had a hand in the suppression of the Ceylonese risings. Records of his fourth year, ‡ A. D. 1055, state that "he despatched an army to Ceylon, where the king Vīra-Salāmēgha was decapitated and the two sons of the Ceylon king Mānābharaṇa were taken prisoners." Later records

* Cf. Hultzsch—*JRAS*. 1913, pp. 519-21 where the opinions expressed by him in *SII.* iii are withdrawn.

† Jagatīpāla's queen and her daugther Līlāvati escaped later on from their captivity in the Cōḷa country. *MV.* Ch. 59 vv. 23-4.

‡ *SII.* iii. 29. *JRAS*. 1913, p. 519.

of Rājēndradēva mention only Vīra-Salāmēgha. * Rājēndradēva's claim is proved by the presence of an inscription of his reign at Sangili-Kanadarāva in Ceylon. † Despite Vīra-Salāmēgha being called "King of the Kalingas of the strong army," ‡ there is no reason to distinguish him from the '*Kannakucciyar-kāvalan*' of the Rājādhirāja inscriptions. Surviving the disgrace inflicted on the members of his family, his sister and mother and wife, by the forces of Rājādhirāja, and the defeat in the 'hot battle' that followed thereafter when he sought to avenge the disgrace, this unfortunate prince apparently fell a victim to another Cōḷa inroad possibly led by Rājēndradēva some years later. § The identity of Mānābharaṇa, the king of the Ceylonese, whose two sons were captured by Rājēndra, is not easy to make out, though the suggestion may be offered that he was no other than the king who joined the confederacy of three southern kings whose opposition to Cōḷa rule in the Pāṇḍya country was suppressed by Rājādhirāja in the life-time of his father, in one of his early campaigns. ¶

* 87 of 1895; 270 of 1915, both of the ninth year.

† *SII.* iii p. 59; 612 of 1912, (*SII.* iv 1408).

‡ *viṟaṟpaḍaik-kalingar-man*, l. 12 of *SII.* iii 29.

§ Supposing that a Vīra-Salāmēgha 'perished in a hot battle' (*SII.* iii p. 56) with Rājādhirāja, Hultzsch distinguishes from him the '*kalingai-man*' of the same name of the Rājēndra inscriptions (*JRAS.* 1913 p. 520), and connects the latter with Trilōkasundarī, a Kalinga queen of Vijayabāhu I, A.D. 1054-1109, and suggests that her nephew Kitti-sirī-mēgha may have been named after Vīra-Salāmēgha. He also suggests that the Pāṇḍya Mānābharaṇa who was decapitated by Rājādhirāja was the ancestor of that Mānābharaṇa who was the nephew and son-in-law of Vijayabāhu I; and that Śrī Vallabha Madanarāja, the Ceylonese opponent of Rājādhirāja, was the ancestor of his namesake Śrī Vallabha, a third nephew and son-in-law of Vijayabāhu I. Arguments from the similarity of common names cannot be final; and Hultzsch has not considered the relation between the Mānābharaṇa whose sons were captured by Rājēndra and his namesakes.

¶ Vide p. 269 *ante*.

It may be observed that Indian coins found in Ceylon include issues of Rājādhirāja and Rājēndra, * and that Cōḷa inscriptions found in Ceylon, though not numerous or well preserved, carry us right to the end of the period covered in this chapter. † We may, therefore, conclude that the bulk of the island of Ceylon constituted an administrative division of the Cōḷa empire, while the South-western part of the island, called Rohaṇa in the *Mahāvamsa*, kept up an incessant warfare for the restoration of Singalese independence. Prince Kitti who assumed the title Vijayabāhu in 1058 A. D. was the leader of this effort. The *Mahāvamsa* and the inscriptions of Vīrarājēndra give some account of it. ‡ Like all conquerors, the Cōḷas were only exasperated by the most natural desire of the Singalese to be rid of them, and seem often to have adopted savage methods of repression such as transportation, decapitation and mutilation, even against the women of the royal family of Ceylon. After the accession of Kulōttunga to the Cōḷa throne in A. D. 1070, Vijayabāhu I succeeded at last where so many of his predecessors had failed and restored the independence of Ceylon; a detailed account of the steps leading to the success of Vijayabāhu belongs to the reign of Kulōttunga.

Cōḷa coins and inscriptions in Ceylon.

Repressive policy.

And its failure.

* Codrington, *Ceylon Coins* pp. 84-5.

† Cf. *SII.* iii 84 (266 of 1901) of the 7th year of Vīrarājēndradēva, claiming the subjugation of Ceylon among the king's achievements and 594 of 1912—*SII.* iv 1388 (Yr. 3 of Adhirājēndradēva).

‡ *MV.* Ch. 57 vv. 65 ff. *EZ.* ii p. 207; 182 of 1915.

Second war against Cāḷukyas.

A second war against Sōmēśvara was undertaken by Rājādhirāja between A. D. 1044 and 1046. The Maṇimangalam inscription * of 3rd December, A. D. 1046 gives a short account of this campaign stating that the Cōḷa king defeated in battle several subordinate chieftains † of the Cāḷukya forces, and destroyed the palace of the Cāḷukyas in the town of Kampili. Other inscriptions, of which the earliest is dated in the thirtieth year of Rājādhirāja, furnish some additional information about what followed the destruction of the palace at Kampili. ‡ Another engagement, said to be the third of its kind, followed at Pūṇḍūr, described as a *kaḍakamānagar* or cantonment city, on the left bank of the Kṛṣṇā river, in which several Telugu chieftains, vassals of Sōmēśvara, were made prisoners of war together with numberless women; thereupon, the city of Pūṇḍūr was sacked by the Cōḷa army and razed to the ground, its site being ploughed with asses and sowed with *varāṭikai*, a kind of coarse millet; finally, the large palace at Maṇṇandippai was consigned to the flames, and a pillar of victory erected, bearing the emblem of the tiger. These occurrences, no doubt considerably exaggerated in the partial report of the Cōḷa records, must have taken place before A.D. 1048; it is even possible that they had happened before the date of the Maṇimangalam inscription, end of A.D. 1046, and were not mentioned in that record.

* *SII.* iii 28.

† The text is: "*Kaṇḍar Dinakaran Nāraṇan Gaṇavadi vaṇḍalar teriyal Madiśūdanan.*" Hultzsch takes this to be four names; perhaps there are only three. In any case their identity cannot be made out fully though some of them seem to figure in the Western Cāḷukya inscriptions of the time.

‡ 6 of 1890 (Yr. 30); 221 of 1894; 81 of 1895 (Yr. 32).

For all the vaunted successes of the Cōḷas, the Cāḷukyas seem to have retained their power unbroken. The provenance of the inscriptions of Sōmēśvara, of which several are dated records, shows that the extent of the Cāḷukyan empire on the side of the Tungabhadrā continued undiminished. From the Haḍagaḷḷi taluq of the Bellary district comes an inscription * of Trailōkyamalladēva (Sōmēśvara I) dated (Śaka 968) early in A. D. 1047 recording a gift by the chieftain Kāḷidāsa, whose name figures also among the Telugu princelings † repulsed by the Cōḷa troops in one of the numerous fights of the time. Two other records ‡ from the same region are dated in the next year, Śaka 969, of which one records a gift of land to a Viṣṇu temple by Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Gaṇḍarādityarasa, 'lord of Māhiṣmatīpura,' ruling the Sindavāḍi 1000, Beṇṇevūru 12 and Nuruganḍa as a vassal of Sōmēśvara. This chieftain may perhaps be identified with Kaṇḍar-dinakaran of the Cōḷa inscriptions. § Even if we do not accept the rhapsodies of Bilhaṇa over Sōmēśvara's conquest of Kāñcī or Vikramāditya's *digvijaya*, we must assume that the repeated incursions of the Cōḷas into Cāḷukyan territory, however annoying to the king and detrimental to the happiness of his feudatories and subjects, resulted in no permanent loss of territory. On the other hand, the bulk of the fighting is on Cāḷukyan territory, and in the course of the wars many large cities seem to have suffered considerable damage from the destructive fury of the invader. The aim of the Cōḷas was apparently to reduce the Cāḷukyas to political subjection such as that of the Pāṇḍya, Kēraḷa and

Effects.

* 484 of 1914.

† 92 of 1892 (*SII.* iv 539) l. 31.

‡ 41 of 1904 ; 711 of 1919.

§ *Contra* Hultzsch, *SII.* iii p. 57, n. 1.

Vēngī kingdoms in this period. In this endeavour they failed totally. It would seem moreover that Sōmēśvara succeeded in extending his influence, at least temporarily, over Vēngī. His Mulgunḍ inscription * dated A.D. 1053 speaks of one of his sons, Sōmēśvaradēva, ruling over Beḷvōla 300 and Puḷigere 300, as bearing the title Vēngīpura-varēśvara. And there is found in Drākṣārāma a record of the same king † dated two years later (Śaka 977) registering a gift by a daughter of one of his ministers, Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa by name. Though it is not impossible to find other explanations for these facts, ‡ and the evidence is thus of a very inconclusive nature, still, considering that Vikramāditya VI, the son of Sōmēśvara I, is said to have conquered Vēngī, a claim supported by the presence of a number of his inscriptions at Drākṣārāma and other places in the Telugu country, the suggestion may be made that the Western Cāḷukyas began to cast longing eyes on Vēngī even from the time of Sōmēśvara I, or at least sought to divide the attention of their Cōḷa opponents by a hostile movement in the direction of their northern dependency. If such was the policy pursued by Sōmēśvara I, he only succeeded in exasperating the Cōḷas the more and goading them to a more relentless hostility.

War continued.

Rājādhirāja undertook another expedition against the Cāḷukya in which he was accompanied by his younger brother Rājēndra, whom he had chosen as heir-apparent in preference to his sons who, though not mentioned by name, are said to have occupied fairly high positions in

* *EI.* xvi p. 53.

† 185 of 1893.

‡ Fleet *BG.* I, ii pp. 440, n. 3 and 452-3. Also *IA.* xx p. 281 n. 39; and S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India* p. 120 n. 1.

the administration of the empire. * We get a vivid and obviously true description of the occurrences in this campaign from the records of Rājēndra II. The earliest mention of these events is in a record † of his second year A. D. 1054 ; more details are given in the Maṇimangalam record of his fourth year, A. D. 1055. This inscription records ‡ that the Cōḷa king sought an occasion for war, invaded the Raṭṭamaṇḍalam and began ravaging the country; the proud Cāḷukya Āhavamalla became furious when he heard of this, and marching out with his forces he met the Cōḷa in pitched battle at Koppam, § a celebrated *tīrtha* on the Kṛṣṇā, most probably identical with Khidrāpūr on the right bank of the river about thirty miles east by south from Kōlhāpūr. The battle that followed was long and fiercely fought on either side. For determining its exact course we have to combine information furnished by some of Rājēndradēva's later inscriptions ¶ with that of the Maṇimangalam record mentioned above. In the early stages of the battle, Rājādhirāja himself led the fight, Rājēndradēva apparently holding himself in reserve. At this stage, the Cāḷukya forces concentrated

Battle of Koppam.

* *SII.* iii 28 l. 1, which also mentions an elder brother of the king, possibly passed over by Rājēndra I.

† 214 of 1911. *SII.* iii, 55 ; ii p. 304 A (of Yr. 3).

‡ *SII.* iii 29.

§ Fleet *EI.* xii pp. 296-8. Lat. 16°36′, Long. 74°44′. For an earlier discussion of the identity of Koppam, *EC.* ix Introduction p. 16 n. 3, where attention is drawn to the reading in 168 of 1911—*tīrthakkoppattahavayil.* Hultzsch rendered '*sēpparundiratta*' into: "The strength (of whose position is) hard to describe" (*SII.* iii p. 63). We must now read the phrase as: "*šepparundirtta,*" meaning "a *tīrtha* (whose merits are) hard to describe." Rājēndradēva's introductions beginning *Tirumagaḷ maruviya* use the phrase: "*pērāṟṟangaraik-koppattu-vandedirtta Āhavamallan.*"

¶ 87 of 1895 ; 270 of 1915, both of the ninth year. A study of these records by the side of the Maṇimangalam inscription clearly shows that the latter has omitted the earlier stage of the battle in which Rājēndra took no part and Rājādhirāja met his fate.

on the elephant on which the Cōḷa king was riding and wounded him mortally, so that he "went up into the sky and became a sojourner in the country of Indra, where he was welcomed by the women of the sky." Then the vast ocean-like army of the Kuntalas dashed themselves against the Cōḷa forces which, unable to withstand the onslaught, broke up and began to retreat in disorder. At this stage, Rājēndradēva entered the fray shouting out to his retreating forces: "Fear not," and pressed forward on his elephant like very Death against the Karṇāṭaka forces, restored order in his army and won a brilliant success by further fighting. * Once more, the enemy concentrated on the Cōḷa king's elephant, and "the shower of (Āhavamalla's) straight arrows pierced the forehead of his elephant, his royal thigh, and (his) shoulders which resembled hillocks," and many warriors who had mounted the elephant with him perished in the action. But Rājēndra was more fortunate than his brother; he succeeded in putting to death several leaders of the Cāḷukyan army including Jayasimha, the brother of the Cāḷukya, † Pulakēśin, Daśapanman and Nanni-Nuḷumban. At last, "the Śaḷukki was defeated,—with Vanniya-Rēvan, ‡ Tuttan, (who had) a powerful army, Kuṇḍamayan, whose army spoke (i. e., threatened) death, and other princes,—fled, trembling vehemently, with dishevelled hair, turning (his) back, looking round, and tiring (his) legs, and was forced to plunge into the Western ocean." The elephants and horses and camels, the victorious banner of the boar and other insignia of royalty, together with

* From this point the two accounts agree closely.

† This could not have been the younger brother of Vikramāditya VI; he survived the battle of Koppam for many years.

‡ Perhaps same as Rēvarasa, ruling in the neighbourhood of Kembhāvi in A. D. 1054-55. Fleet, *BG*, I. ii p. 439; *SII*. iii p. 59.

the peerless Śattiyavvai, Śāngappai and all the other queens, a crowd of women and many other things abandoned by Āhavamalla on the field, became the booty of the Cōḷa king. Rājēndra then did a thing not known before, * and crowned himself king on the battle-field, when the wounds he had received in the fight were still fresh on his body. According to some of the inscriptions, † Rājēndra pressed on to Kōlhāpūr, where he planted a *jayastambha*, before he returned to his capital Gangāpurī. ‡ Such is the account of this celebrated fight at Koppam as narrated in the Cōḷa inscriptions. §

Rājēndra's coronation.

* 87 of 1895.

† *SII.* iii 55, ii p. 304 C.

‡ 87 of 1895.

§ In the *Tirumagaḷ maruviya* form of Rājēndra's *praśastis*, the clause that occurs is: '*Tan munnān śēnai pinnaduvāga munnedir śenṟu* * * * *Iraṭṭapāḍi-yeḻarai-yilakkamun-goṇḍu*', often contracted into '*pinnadu vāga Irattapāḍi.*' This is rendered by Hultzsch generally into "while the army of his elder brother was at his back." In the light of other records (esp. 87 of 1895) which clearly state that Rājādhirāja began the fight and Rājēndra entered it after he died, we must, it seems, amend Hultzsch's translation and say—" while the army of his elder brother began to retire " a translation which is also required by the phrase employed in the fuller of the two forms quoted above, viz. "*munnedir-śenṟu*" "going to the front in an opposite direction", as also by the reading "*munnēr śēnai pinnaduvāga,*" 'when the advancing army began to retreat" found in some records (*SII.* ii p. 305, F and G) and amended by Hultzsch into "*munnān śēnai.*" It is perhaps hardly conceivable, according to Indian notions of precedence, that while the elder brother was present in person on the battle-field, the younger took the lead; but this consideration need not be pressed as the cumulative force of all the inscriptions taken together is, doubtless, very clear. I may also observe that some records omit the word '*tan*' in '*tan munnān*' e.g., *SII.* iii 55; on this account, it should not be assumed, as Hultzsch seems to do, that the phrase '*Tirumaruviya śengōl vēndan*' refers to the elder brother, (*SII.* iii p. 112—English translation).

It may also be observed, in passing, that the words: "*tannānaiyil munnānai śella munnānai tavirttu*" *SII.* iii 55 (ll. 1–2), which occurs between "*Iraṭṭapāḍi-yeḻarai-yilakkamum-goṇḍu*" and "*Kollā-purattu jaya-stamba-nāṭṭi,*" has been translated by Hultzsch into: "when the first elephant (of the enemy) went at his elephant, (his) elder brother stopped (it)." But this seems hardly satisfactory, as the words '(of the enemy)' introduce into the meaning a concept not warranted by the original, and the locative of the first "*tannānaiyil*" seems to call for another explanation. I think that, in the context, '*ānai*' should be taken to be a mis-spelling of '*āṇai*' and the phrase translated into: "Displacing the old command (rule) by causing it to follow

Cāḷukya inscriptions silent on Koppam, in Sōmēśvara's reign, though not later.

The Cāḷukya inscriptions of the reign of Sōmēśvara tell us nothing of the battle of Koppam, and specific references to his warfare with the Cōḷas are few. In Śaka 981 (expired) he had returned from a conquest of the southern countries and a victory over the Cōḷa, and was camping in the Sindavāḍi country, * a province ruled by a Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Ciddaṇa Cōḷa-Mahārāja. In Śaka 987 Viṣṇuvardhana Vijayāditya was encamped at Aṟasiyakere on his way to the conquest of the south under orders from the king. † Bilhaṇa's account has, as has been pointed out already, apparently no relation to facts and seems to be pure fabrication. Shortly after the close of Sōmēśvara's reign, however, we get two inscriptions, ‡ both dated about A. D. 1071, giving an account of the Cōḷa invasion and the death of Rājādhirāja. Though the date is late and the Cōḷa king is not named, it is easy to infer from the Cōḷa inscriptions that the transactions recorded here relate to the war that led to the battle of Koppam and the death of Rājādhirāja. § The vigorous language

his own commands." The suggestion made at *ARE.* 1900 I 20 in reviewing the Tirukōyilūr inscription (123 of 1900, Yr. 6) of Rājēndra that the battle of Koppam was a later event than the expedition to Kollāpuram must be abandoned in view of the new identification of Koppam. The wording of the Tirukōyilūr records (*EI.* vii pp. 145-6), however, seems to lend some support to Hultzsch's view, and many of the shorter introductions mention Kollāpuram before Koppam.

* *BG.* I, ii, p. 441, 392 of 1920, *ARE.* 1921, II 5.

† *ARE.* 1919 II. 30.

‡ Aṇṇigere: *BG.* I, ii p. 441; and Gawarwad *EI.* xv, 23. ed. Barnett. See also *EC.* viii Sorab 325.

§ Fleet and, following him, Barnett ascribe the expedition and apparently the loss of life that followed to Rājēndradēva. But we have no evidence that Rājēndra lost his life in the Cāḷukya wars, though he was present at Koppam. cf. *SII.* iii p. 58.

employed by these records against the Cōḷa shows that the silence of the epigraphs of Sōmēśvara's reign is really due to a reluctance to record publicly in his life-time unfortunate events that caused so much misery and suffering in his country at the hands of the foreign invader. The *mahāpātaka* great sinner) Tamilian known as Pāṇḍya-Cōḷa, we are told, took to an evil course (*nele geṭṭu*) and abandoning the ancestral observances of his family, entered the Beḷvōla country, burned several temples including Jinālayas erected by Ganga-perumānaḍi, and was promptly punished for his wicked deeds by losing his life in battle and yielding his head to Sōmēśvara I. The Cōḷa account of the war, we may therefore conclude, is not by any means a greatly overdrawn picture of their achievement on this occasion.

Ānaimēṟṟuññina title of Rājādhirāja.

A great warrior.

From the manner of his death Rājādhirāja came to be known as "the king who died on the back of an elephant," and he is so styled in the inscriptions of his successors. * From the time he was chosen as heir-apparent by his father to the day when he laid down his life on the field of Koppam, Rājādhirāja led the life of a warrior king

* 193 of 1925 (Yr. 6 of Rājēndra II); possibly also 5 of 1899 of Rājarāja II (Yr. 6). This latter inscription, which is nearly one century later in its date, seems to mix up the achievements of Rājādhirāja I and Rājēndra II. It speaks of "Perumāḷ Vijayarājēndra-dēva who was pleased to conquer Kalyāṇapuram and Kollāpuram and to fall asleep (*i.e.*, to die) on an elephant" (*SII.* iii p. 191). Hultzsch remarks: "This statement must refer to Parakēsarivarman *alias* Rājēndradēva, who is known to have set up a pillar of victory at Kollāpuram"—a view expressed with more caution in *ARE.* 1899 I 53 by Venkayya. 472 of 1920 from Śaḷukki (NA.) of the fourth year of Rājakēsari Rājēndra (Kulōttunga I) gives the same description much earlier than the record noticed by Hultzsch; the title Vijayarājēndra is not, however, given here Rājēndradēva nowhere claims to have conquered Kalyāṇapuram, did not have the title Vijayarājēndra, and as far as we know, did not die on an elephant in battle. These features distinctly recall Rājādhirāja I (*ARE.* 1925 II 16), whose third year would fall, however, about A.D. 1021, in the

and took part in many campaigns led by him in person. His record strikes one as that of a born fighter and his warlike energy found full scope in the task of maintaining intact an overgrown empire that had risen on the ruin of old ruling families which never reconciled themselves to subjection to the Cōḷas. Some of this fighting, like the fatal expedition that led to Koppam, was of his own seeking. Rājādhirāja was first and foremost a soldier, and possibly his great military talent formed the reason for his being preferred for the succession against an elder brother of his. His performance of the *aśvamēdha* apparently in his father's life-time goes a long way to confirm this view.

Briefly and without much detail, Rājādhirāja's *praśastis* tell us that he employed his father's brother, his brothers, elder and younger, and his sons, in important offices of state and constituted them into subordinate rulers of particular regions. The star of Rājādhirāja's nativity was Pūrva-Phālguni. * Gangaikoṇḍa-Śōḷapuram was his capital. † His queens do not figure as prominently in his records as is usual in those of other reigns ; Trailōkyam Uḍaiyār was the title, rather than the name, of one of them, ‡ who, if she was the same as the *nambirāṭṭiyār* mentioned in an inscription of the third year of Rājēndra II, § may be taken to have survived her

Queens.

reign of Rājēndra I.(See also 472 of 1920—Yr. 4 of Kulōttunga I). If this view is correct, I am not sure it is, the theory, that during the Ālanguḍi famine the state could not help the sufferers owing to the treasury being impoverished by the horse-sacrifice of Rājādhirāja (*ARE.* 1899 I 53), cannot stand. But after all the famine might have occurred in the reign of Rājēndra II, about A. D. 1055; only the king might have been wrongly described in the record of Rājarāja II. The horse-sacrifice is, however, mentioned in the inscriptions of Rājādhirāja as early as the 26th year, A.D. 1044, if not earlier.

* 258 of 1910 (Yr. 35). † 420 of 1925 (Yr. 35).

‡ 446 of 1918 (Yr. 24). § 213 of 1894.

husband. Besides the title Vijayarājēndra assumed by him at Kalyāṇapuram, Rājādhirāja had other surnames like Vīrarājēndra-varman, * Āhavamalla-kulāntaka, † and Kalyāṇapurangoṇḍaśōḷa. ‡ Mention is made of a spiritual preceptor (*gurudēvar*) of the king by name Adhikārikaḷ Pārāśaryan Vāsudēvanārāyaṇan, also called Ulagaḷanda-śōḷa-Brahmamārāyan; § one wonders if Ulagaḷanda-ṣōḷa was also a title of Rājādhirāja, and whether a revenue survey was undertaken, in his reign, of a part of the country. ¶ Among the feudatories of Rājādhirāja mentioned in his records may be noticed Dāṇḍanāyakan Śōḷan Kumaran Parāntaka Mārāyan *alias* Rājādhirāja Nīla-gangaraiyar; ‖ a certain Piḷḷaiyār Śōḷa-vallabha-dēva whose wife was called Pañcavan-mahādēviyār **; Daṇḍanāyaka Appimayya, †† governor of Mahārājavāḍi 7000, who had Vaḷḷūru in the Cuddapah district as the seat of his government, and who may or may not be the same as Rājarāja Brahmādhirāja ‡‡ who is mentioned in the very next year as ruler of the same province; and Piḷḷaiyār Viṣṇuvardhana-dēva, doubtless Rājarāja I of Vēngī, whose queen Ammangādēvi was the daughter of Rājēndra I and the sister of Rājādhirāja, and who is said to have presented, in A. D. 1050, three hundred Rājarāja-māḍas, gold coins of the Vēngī kingdom, to the temple at Tiruvaiyāṟu in the Tanjore district. §§ There was also Sēnāpati Rājēndraśōḷa Māvalivāṇarāyar, an official who apparently took his title

Titles.

Feudatories.

* 78 of 1920 (Yr. 33). † 188 of 1919 (Yr. 35).

‡ 258 of 1910 (Yr. 35). § 413 of 1902 (Yr. 33).

¶ Tirukkaḷukkunṟam is called Ulagaḷanda-śōḷapuram in a record of the 26th year (172 of 1894).

‖ 102 of 1912. ** 85 of 1920. †† 279 of 1895. ‡‡ 295 of 1922.

§§ 221 of 1894 (*SII.* v 520). Viṣṇuvardhana has been identified with the future Kulōttunga I in *ARE.* 1895 I, 11.

from Rājēndra I under whom his public career might have begun, and who made a large endowment for higher education, of which more will be said in another place.

Rājēndra II.

Turning now to an account of the reign of Rājēndradēva, whose independent rule must have commenced some time in A. D. 1054-5, his inscriptions contain, like those of his predecessor, a variety of forms of his *praśastis.* The shortest form is a summary narration of his successes beginning *Iraṭṭapāḍi* and found in his records from his second year * onwards. Having much in common with this, but slightly more elaborate, is the form which begins *tiru*(*magaḷ*) *maruviya* also dating from his second year. † But the chief *praśasti* of the reign is the long account beginning *tirumādu* (or *mādar*) *puviyenum*, first appearing in the fourth year, ‡ and undergoing a revision in a subsequent edition, so to say, about the ninth year. § The main differences between the two forms in the treatment of the celebrated battle of Koppam have been dealt with in our account of that fight. The other points in which the later version differs from the earlier are: the omission of all other particulars of the Ceylon war except the mention of Vīra Salāmēghan; the definite statement that after proclaiming himself king on the battle-field in an unprecedented manner, Rājēndra returned to

His *praśastis.*

* 214 of 1911. In 421 of 1903 the king seems to be called Rājarāja by mistake. Sewell: (*HISI.* p. 72) adopts A.D. 1052, May 28, the date of the accession of Rājēndradēva, for the battle of Koppam. But we have no evidence that Rājēndra did not become heir-apparent some time before the battle.

† 81 of 1928. 173 of 1894 (Yr. 5) has '*nilaviya*' for '*maruviya*,' but is otherwise the same.

‡ 3 of 1892, (*SII.* iii 29); 396 of 1913. § 87 of 1895; 270 of 1915.

Gangāpurī; a slightly different account of the disposition of the administrative places held by the members of the royal family, given not at the beginning of the record as in the earlier version, but at a later stage; and an account, altogether new, of a fresh war with the Cāḷukyas.

His part at Koppam.

Both the *Kalingattupparaṇi* and the *Vikrama-śōḷan-ulā* make pointed reference to Rājēndra's part in the battle of Koppam. The former records that the king fought fiercely in the battle and saved 'the world' by his success and celebrated his coronation on the field of battle. * The *ulā*, with intelligible hyperbole, says † that with the aid of a single elephant he captured a thousand of the enemy at Koppam.

Employment of relatives in offices.

Among the king's relatives installed in different posts in the empire, the Maṇimangalam inscription of the fourth year mentions no fewer than thirteen persons,—a paternal uncle (*śiṟiya-tātai*) of the king, four younger brothers of his, six sons and two grandsons. ‡ The later records of the reign give a shorter list of only six persons so employed comprising the paternal uncle of the earlier record, his son—a new figure, only three of the four younger brothers mentioned before, and one son of the king, Rājēndra-śōḷan; why the rest are omitted it is not easy to explain. One wonders if they had all died in the interval, or were found unfit even for subordinate

* viii 27. † ll. 38-40.

‡ *SII.* iii p. 58. '*Kādalar*' definitely means 'sons' in this record; Rājēndraśōḷa one of the '*kādalar*' is clearly called '*tan-tirumagan*' in 87 of 1895, (*contra.* Hultzsch. *op. cit.* p. 62 n. 9)—unless indeed, we must assume the more general meaning for '*kādalar*,' take '*tirumagan*' to be a loose expression for son-in-law, and identify Rājēndra with Kulōttunga I. But the phrase '*kādalar kādalar*,' clearly means grandsons; and this clearly favours the first suggestion.

employment. There seems to be no evidence whatever by which this can be settled. The fact deserves to be noted, however, in view of somewhat hasty statements which, on very slender evidence, fasten on Kulōttunga I a series of cold-blooded political murders calculated to clear his way to the Cōḷa throne. * The date of the shorter list would fall about A. D. 1061, or nine years before the accession of Kulōttunga. Among the titles conferred on these members of the royal family, some like Cōḷa-Pāṇḍyan, Cōḷa-Gangan and Cōḷa-Kēraḷan perhaps connoted the charge of the administration of the particular provinces named; others seem to have been merely titles of personal distinction giving no idea of the spheres of their duties, if any. Such titles are Irumaḍi-śōḷan, Karikāla-śōḷan, Uttama-śōḷan, Vijayālayan, and even names like Śōḷa-vAyōddhirājan and Śōḷa-Kannakucciyan. Only the Cōḷa-Paṇḍya viceroys seem to have left behind a number of inscriptions of their own in the land over which they held sway; but even in their case, it is extremely difficult to identify the particular viceroy from his records, the first viceroy Jaṭāvarman Sundara alone excepted. †

In fewer numbers in the later years.

Rājēndra's son, also called Rājēndra-śōḷa in the records noticed above, was perhaps chosen heir-apparent some time about A. D. 1059, and assumed the title Rājakēsari Rājamahēndra. One inscription ‡ of his third year

Rājamahēndra.

* *ARE.* 1899 I, 51.

† He quotes his father's *praśasti* in some records. For the others many guesses have been put forward. See notes in the Appendix under 'Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya' inscriptions.

‡ 119 of 1902. His other records begin in three ways: *Manunīdi-muṟai-vaḷara ; tirumangai-vaḷara ; tirumagaḷ-viḷanga*: none of them is of any historical value.

claims a victory for him against Āhavamalla at Muḍakkāṟu, and furnishes valuable confirmation of the events relating to another Cāḷukya war narrated in more detail in the inscriptions of the ninth year of his father. We learn from these latter * that the Cāḷukya, anxious to wipe out the disgrace that befell him on the field of Koppam, advanced with numerous forces led by Daṇḍanāyaka Vālādēva and other chieftains of the army, and a battle ensued on the banks of the Muḍakkāṟu (winding river) in which the Daṇḍanāyaka and his followers fell, Irugaiyan and others were forced to retreat together with their king and the proud Vikkalan, unable to resist the vigorous attack of the Cōḷa forces. The inscription of Rājamahēndra says, likewise, that by a war-elephant, he caused Āhavamalla to turn his back on the Muḍakkāṟu. As it often happened that in the Cāḷukya wars several Cōḷa princes fought together on the same field, the inscriptions of successive rulers also often supplement each other.

Battle of Muḍakkāṟu.

It is possible, therefore, that the future Vīrarājēndra was also present on this field; and if that was so, this battle must be treated as identical with that of Kūḍal-Śangamam of the records of Vīrarājēndra. A long description of this battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam, with some details not found in Rājēndra's records, is given in Vīrarājēndra's inscriptions even of the second year † (A. D. 1063-4). It seems hardly likely that two first-class engagements took place on the same field in less than three or four years. In some of his later inscriptions ‡ occur expressions which imply that

Same as Kūḍal-Śangamam ?

* 87 of 1895; *SII.* v. p. 271 ll. 32-39.

† 113 of 1896; 718 of 1909.

‡ *SII.* iii. 84, l. 8. Hultzsch thinks this a reference to the fourth encounter preceding that in which Kampili was burnt (*ibid.* p. 195.)

Vīrarājēndra had taken part in the fight at Muḍakkāṟu before he became king, and that, in consequence, he came to be called Iraṭṭarāja-kula-kālan. If this view is correct, at least three Cōḷas were present at the battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam and took part in the fight: the king Rājēndradēva, the heir-apparent Rājamahēndra, and the king's brother Vīra-Cōḷa Karikāla (Vīrarājēndra), whose achievements came to be recorded in his inscriptions in detail when, after the death of Rājamahēndra, he became heir-apparent and later king.

Description of battle in Vīrarājēndra's inscriptions.

The account of the battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam and its antecedents given in the early inscriptions of Vīrarājēndra is as follows: *

"(He) drove from the battle-field in Gangapādi into the Tungabhadrā the Mahāsāmantas, whose strong hands (wielded) cruel bows, along with Vikkalan who fought under (his) banner at the head of the battle. † (He) attacked and destroyed the irresistible, great and powerful army which he (viz., Vikkalan) had again despatched into Vēngai-nāḍu; fought the Māḍaṇḍanāyakan Cāmuṇḍarājan and cut off his head; ‡ and severed the nose from the face of his (viz., Cāmuṇḍarāja's) only daughter, called Nāgalai, (who was) the queen of Irugaiyan and who resembled a peacock in beauty.

"The enemy, full of hatred, met and fought against (him) yet a third time, hoping that (his former) defeats would be revenged. (The king) defeated countless *sāmantas*, together with these (two) sons of Āhavamalla, who were called Vikkalan and Śinganan, at Kūḍal-Śangamam on the turbid river. Having sent the brave van-guard in advance, and having himself remained

* *SII.* iii. p. 37 (ll. 3-8) identical with 113 of 1896.

† I have adopted the reading: "*ikalmunai virudoḍu malaikkum*" of 113 of 1896.

‡ Hultzsch translates: "*ceṟṟavan-cirattinai-yaṟuttu*" into "cut off the head of the corpse" apparently failing to notice that "*ceṟṟavan*" is made up of "*ceṟṟu*" and "*avan.*" cf. *ceṟṟu van-cirattinai* (113 of 1896).

close behind with the kings allied to him, he agitated by means of a single *mast* elephant that army (of the enemy), which was arrayed (for battle), (and which) resembled the northern ocean. In front of the banner troop, * (he) cut to pieces Śingan, (the king) of warlike Kōsalai ; along with the furious elephants of his van-guard. While Kēśava-daṇḍanāyaka, Kēttaraśan, Mārayan of great strength, the strong Pōttarayan and (Irēccayan) were fighting, (he) shouted "(Follow) Mūvēndi, (who wears) a garland of gold!" and cut to pieces many *sāmantas*, who were deprived of weapons of war. Then Maduvaṇan, who was in command, fled ; Vikkalan fled with dishevelled hair ; Śingaṇan fled, (his) pride (and) courage forsaking (him) ; Aṇṇalan and all others descended from the male elephant on which they were fighting in battle, and fled ; Āhavamalla, too, to whom (they were) allied, fled before them. (The king) stopped his fast furious elephant, put on the garland of victory, (seized) his (viz., Āhavamalla's) wives, his family treasures, conches, parasols, trumpets, drums, canopies, † white *cāmaras*, the boar-banner, the ornamental arch (*makara-tōraṇa*), the female elephant (called) Puṣpaka, ‡ and a herd of war-elephants, along with a troop of prancing horses, and, amidst (general) applause, put on the crown of victory, (set with) jewels of red splendour."

Compared to that in Rājēndra's records.

Irugaiyan is said in Rājēndradēva's records to have fled with Āhavamalla, Vikramāditya and others from the battle of Muḍakkāṟu ; his wife suffered mutilation in the Vēngī fight of Vīrarājēndra with Cāmuṇḍarāya just before the battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam. And Vīrarājēndra is said to have 'seen the back of the hostile Śaḷukki' at Muḍakkāṟu before he became king, and there seems to be no other campaign narrated in Vīrarājēndra's inscriptions that will explain this last reference unless it be the battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam, described in such detail and said to have taken place before his second year. It is

* i. e. the van-guard (of the Cōḷa king)-Hultzsch.

† *Mēgha-ḍambar.*

‡ The text is *Puṣpakap-piḍiyum.*

difficult to resist the conclusion, already suggested, that the Muḍakkāṟu of the records of Rājēndradēvá and Rājamahēndra and the Kūḍal-Śangamam of the early records * of Vīrarājēndra refer to one and the same engagement. The same event is apparently once at least mentioned under the name of Muḍakkāṟu in the inscriptions of Vīrarājēndra himself.

Where Rājēndra's records simply state that Āhavamallā desired to avenge himself for the defeat at Koppam and advanced in great force, those of Vīrarājēndra show us the extent of the progress made by the Cāḷukyas by recording the necessity for chasing them through Gangapāḍi to the banks of the Tungabhadrā and thereby indicate how little the Cāḷukyas had suffered in the actual extent of the territory ruled by them even after Koppam. They also imply, by what they say about Cāmuṇḍarāya's movement against Vēngī, that an important, but unsuccessful, attempt was made by the Cāḷukyas to divide the attention of the Cōḷas between two fronts. This is noteworthy as evidence of the interest of the Western Cāḷukyas in Vēngī apart from any complications arising with regard to the succession after the death of Rājarāja-narēndra. † We have already had some evidence, though slight, of the eagerness of the Western Cāḷukyas to court the friendship of their Eastern cousins. In fact the possession of Vēngī made the Cōḷas formidable to the Western Cāḷukyas; the Cōḷas well understood the importance of Vēngī to them and took care to marry their princesses to the rulers of Vēngī for generations together and otherwise to keep

The place of Vēngī.

* Another engagement fixed at this same place for a later day did not come off. See *post.* pp. 326 ff.

† *Contra* S. K. Aiyangar-*Ancient India* p. 121.

on friendly terms with them. For the same reason, the Western Cāḷukyas, who looked upon Vēngī as a lost dominion, made vain efforts to undo the results of their slackness when it was too late. *

Kūḍal-Śangamam.

Kūḍal-Śangamam must be located at the junction of the Tungabhadrā and Kṛṣṇā rivers. † The first battle at this place, the one with which we are now concerned, took place after the Cāḷukyas were driven across the Gangapāḍi up to the banks of the Tungabhadrā, and after the failure of an expedition sent into Vēngī by the Cāḷukyas. On a later occasion, when the Cāḷukya failed to meet Vīrarājēndra at the same place as previously arranged, the Cōḷa planted a pillar of victory on the banks of the Tungabhadrā before he retired. ‡ The Śangamam meant by the inscriptions must, therefore, be some confluence of rivers on the course of the Tungabhadrā. The choice lies

* Another view of these events is possible. Muḍakkāṟu may not be Kūḍal-Śangamam; Irugaiyan may have fought at Muḍakkāṟu, and this need have no connection with the mutilation of his wife in the Vēngī campaign of Vīrarājēndra, which preceded the first battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam. As Vīrarājēndra's record is dated in his second year (*c.* A.D. 1064) and the E. Cāḷukya Rājarāja-narēndra died in 1063, it is just possible that Vikramāditya's entry into Vēngī (Cāmuṇḍa-rāya's expedition) was connected with some succession dispute after Rājarāja's death. On this scheme, we have to assume that the battle of Muḍakkāṟu—whatever river may be meant—took place *c.* A.D. 1060, and three years or so later came the first battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam recorded in the inscriptions of A.D. 1064. On the whole the view adopted in the text, based on the identification of Muḍakkāṟu with Kūdal-Śangamam, seems simpler, and there appears to be nothing that can be urged against such a position. It should also be observed, in this connection, that Vīrarājēndra's inscriptions of the second year say nothing about his helping Vijayāditya to gain or regain the Vēngī throne,—an event which is not mentioned as having taken place till after the second battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam and about the fifth-year of Vīrarājēndra (*c.* A.D. 1067). So that if we drop the somewhat uncritical assumption that Vikramāditya and Vīrarājēndra concerned themselves about Vēngī only after Rājarāja-narēndra's death, the course of events becomes clear and perhaps more easy to follow.

† *SII.* iii. p. 32.

‡ *SII.* iii. 30, l. 26.

between Kūḍali at the junction of the Tungā and Bhadrā in Mysore, or that of the Tungabhadrā and the Kṛṣṇā. While the name Kūḍali points to the former as the site of Kūḍal-Śangamam, the Vēngī interlude seems to make the latter more probable; a satisfactory identification of Kāndai or Karandai, where the Cōḷa awaited the Cāḷukya for about a month on the second occasion, may decide the choice more definitely. *

Close of Rājēndra's reign.

The latest regnal year in Rājēndra's records is the twelfth, † corresponding to A. D. 1063. He was succeeded by Vīrarājēndra already heir-apparent for sometime after the death of Rājamahēndra. Gangāpuri continued to be the Cōḷa capital under Rājēndra II and is mentioned as such in an inscription from Kanyākumāri, ‡ while another from Kuttālam makes mention of a big bazaar within the fort of this capital city. § Of the queens of Rājēndra, only one is mentioned by name in his records, a Kiḻānaḍigaḷ. His daughter Madhurāntaki was the wife of the Eastern Cāḷukya prince Rājēndra II, afterwards Kulōttunga I. ¶ Among the feudatories of Rājēndradēva II, prominent mention is made in his records of the Milāḍa chieftain Narasimhavarman who is said to have ruled Milāḍu

* Fleet suggested the confluence of the Pañca-gangā and the Kṛṣṇā in the neighbourhood of Khidrāpūr (Koppam) as the Kūḍal-Śangamam of the Cōḷa inscriptions; and identified Karandai with local Karañji in the same place (*EI.* xii p. 298). But as he does not seem to have written the more detailed note promised by him on the subject, it is impossible to see how he would have met the objections to these identifications that arise from the narrative of the campaign as given in the Cōḷa records which do not once mention Raṭṭapāḍi as having been entered by the Cōḷa forces on this occasion. On the later occasion Raṭṭapāḍi is said to have been devastated; but the pillar is erected on the banks of the Tungabhadrā.

† 144 of 1898.

‡ *TAS.* i 164-8.

§ 102 of 1926 (Yr. 9).

¶ *EI.* v. p. 77 v. 11; Cellūr v. 12.

2000 after his *abhiṣēka* and coronation under this title. * Others were Sēnāpati Araiyan Kaḍakkan-goṇḍa-śōḻan, † and Sēnāpati Jayamuri-nāḍāḻvān who is mentioned in an inscription from Ceylon, ‡ and who may be identical with Araiyan Rājarājan *alias* Vīrarājēndra Jayamuri-nāḍāḻvān of another inscription from Karuvūr. §

The *Vikramaśōḻan-ulā* ¶ records that Rājamahēndra made for Ranganātha, the god of Śrīrangam, a serpent-couch set with many precious stones; and the *Kōyil-oḻugu*, a late work on the antiquities and traditions of the Śrīrangam temple, though it knows nothing of the serpent-couch, mentions || many structural alterations in the temple as the work of Rājamahēndra, commemorated in the name Rājamahēndran - tiruvīdi. An inscription ** of the twelfth year of Kulōttunga I from the Salem district states that in Rājamahēndra's reign there was a land revenue assessment in Kolli-malai-nāḍu. The name of Rajamahēndra's queen, Lōkamahādēvi, seems to be preserved in a fragmentary inscription from Cidambaram. ††

Vīrarājēndra.

For a study of the reign of Rājakēsari Vīrarājēndra I, (accession A. D. 1062-3), we possess a considerable number of inscriptions with *praśastis* in two main forms and in various redactions, which fit into one another with remarkable correctness. ‡‡ The longer *praśasti* beginning *Tiruvaḻar-tiraḷ-puyattu* gives in its earlier form a list of the king's relations on whom he conferred

* *EI.* vii. pp. 145-6. † 84 of 1895.

‡ 612 of 1912. § *SII.* iii. 21. ¶ ll. 40-42.

|| In the section on *Rājamahēndran kainkaryam.*

** 502 of 1930. †† 612 of 1930.

‡‡ An admirable discussion of Vīrarājēndra's records by Hultzsch is found at *SII.* iii pp. 192-6.

various official positions, * but omits this list in its later editions. † The *praśasti* grows in length as the reign advances, and new events are incorporated in it. The shorter introduction beginning *Vīramē-tuṇaiy-āgavum* passes through many changes and attains in the seventh year an altogether new cast, and records facts not otherwise known. These changes will be noticed subsequently when they are of any historical importance. The *Kalingattupparaṇi* and the *Vikrama-śōḻan-ulā* record no events of the reign of Vīrarājēndra other than the battle of *Kūḍal-Śangamam.* The *Takka-yāgapparaṇi,* ‡ on the other hand, mentions his friendship with Vikramāditya VI.

Early in his reign, the king appointed § Madhurāntaka, described as his son *tan-tirup-pudal-vaṉ,* to rule over Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam with the title Cōḷēndra; another Gangaikoṇḍa-śōḷa, also called son, *tiṇḍiṟal maindan,* was made the Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya viceroy over the Pāṇḍya country. It is difficult to decide, in the light of subsequent events, whether the terms *pudalvan* and *maindan* are to be understood literally or only as terms of endearment applied to more distant relatives. Nor, on the former assumption, can it be decided if either of them was the son who was the brother-in-law of the Cāḷukya Vikramāditya VI and who had a short rule, on Vīrarājēndra's death, as Parakēsari Adhirājēndra. The king's elder brother Āḷavandān and a certain Muḍikoṇḍa-śōḷan also received titles and recognition; but though they too seem to have been placed in administrative charge of

* *SII.* iii 20; 113 of 1896 (*SII.* v. 976). † *SII.* iii, 30.

‡ V. 774. Pandit V. Swaminatha Aiyar's identification of this king with Rājarāja II seems rather doubtful.

§ 113 of 1896; *SII.* iii. 20, p. 33.

parts of the empire, the inscriptions do not tell us what exactly were the areas so entrusted to them.

Early Wars.

The early wars of Vīrarājēndra against the Western Cāḷukyas, which resulted in the battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam so graphically described in the inscription of his second year from Tiruveṇkāḍu, * were fought by him, as already observed, perhaps before he came to the throne or was even recognised as the successor to his elder brother Rājēndradēva. The bitterness that characterised the Cāḷukya wars of this period becomes clear from the eagerness of Vīrarājēndra to count up every little victory gained by him or his lieutenants as a personal affront to Sōmēśvara I Āhavamalla. "In perfect accordance with the longer redaction of the introduction, in which the battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam is stated to have been the third encounter with the Cāḷukyas, the Tirunāmanallūr inscription of the fourth year attributes to Vīrarājēndra I the *biruda* 'who saw the back of Āhavamalla three times'." † The Kanyākumāri inscription also gives a general description of the battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam, not very different in character. ‡ In the Karuvūr inscription of the fourth year, § we hear for the first time that Vīrarājēndra killed the king of Pottappi, the Kēraḷa, the younger brother of king Dhārāvarṣa, and Vīrakēsari, the son of the Pāṇḍya Śri Vallabha. The Maṇimangalam inscription ¶ of the next year adds to this list an expedition against Udagai and the Kēraḷas, from which Vīrarājēndra returned after collecting a large tribute in the form of elephants. Whether these achievements, altogether obscure in their nature and origin, were part of the

* 113 of 1896.

† Hultzsch, *SII.* iii. p. 193.

‡ v. 76.

§ *SII.* iii 20.

¶ *SII.* iii 30.

continuous war with the Cāḷukyas that forms the central feature of this reign, or were minor punitive expeditions which had nothing to do with this war, there is no doubt that the 'hot battle' which is next mentioned as having taken place by previous engagement on the banks of a river, of unknown name, did form part of the Cōḷa-Cāḷukya hostilities. For in this battle seven Cāḷukya generals who are named and the kings of the Gangas, the Nuḷumbas, the Kāḍavas and the Vaidumbas are said to have suffered decapitation; and before the Cōḷa king could get their heads nailed to the gates of his capital, Gangaikoṇḍa-śōḷapuram, * the Cāḷukya king, stung by the intolerable disgrace that had befallen his troops on this field, was roused to a greater effort against his Cōḷa opponent.

Kūḍal-Śangamam again.

Sōmēśvara, we learn, reproached himself saying: 'It is much better to die than to live in disgrace,' and wrote and despatched a letter to the Cōḷa king in which he assigned as the field for the next battle the very spot at Kūḍal whence his sons and himself had fled before in utter rout, and declared that whoever did not come, through fear, to the appointed field, should thenceforth be no kings but outcastes † who had incurred disgrace in war. This message from the Cāḷukya, when it was delivered to Vīrarājēndra, greatly pleased him. Accordingly he set out for the fight, and awaited at Kāndai the arrival of the Cāḷukya king for one full month beyond the date fixed by him. The Cāḷukya ran away and hid himself in the Western ocean; and the Cōḷa king subdued all resistance in Iraṭṭapāḍi by putting

* It must be noted that all the events up to this point are mentioned in a fourth year record found in Maḷūr, of which only the *praśasti* is preserved (194 of 1911: *EC.* ix Cp. 85.)

† The term "*piraṭṭa*" seems to be the Sanskrit word "*bhraṣṭa*" rather than the Tamil "*puraṭṭan*" a fraud or liar *contra* Hultzsch *SII.* iii p. 69.

to flight Dēvanātha, Śitti and Kēśi, each in a separate direction, and by setting fire to towns; he also planted a pillar of victory on the banks of the Tungabhadrā. Then the Cōḷa monarch seems to have made an effigy of Sōmēśvara and subjected it to various indignities,* before turning his attention to Vēngī where, apparently

* This, I think, is the real meaning, as suggested by A. V. Venkatarama Aiyar (*Life and Times of Cāḷukya Vikramāditya VI.* Tamil Edn. pp. 22-3 and n. 3). Hultzsch understands this rather obscure passage as referring to Vīrarājēndra's alliance with Vikramāditya. But that, I think, belongs to a later stage of the war when Sōmēśvara I was no more and to the first fight of Vīrarājēndra with Sōmēśvara II. On the present occasion, Vīrarājēndra is still fighting the entire family of Sōmēśvara I and on every front. The division between Vikramāditya VI and his brother which gave Vīrarājēndra the chance of an alliance with the former did not, it seems, arise until after the death of Sōmēśvara I, of which Vīrarājēndra had no knowledge on this occasion. The Maṇimangalam inscription of the fifth year, therefore, cannot be said to anticipate, as Hultzsch says it does (*SII.* iii pp. 194-195), the events recorded in the inscriptions of the sixth and seventh years of Vīrarājēndra. For one thing, the word *piraṭṭan* in l. 27 of the Maṇimangalam record makes it impossible for us to identify him with Vikramāditya VI (cf. l. 22 of the same record; also *Takkayāgapparaṇi* v. 774, where *piraṭṭan*, an unfriendly Cāḷukya, is contrasted with *iraṭṭan*, a friendly one). Again the expressions of the records of the sixth and seventh years make it clear that they are referring to a single occasion, which is different from that of the Maṇimangalam record and in which Vikramāditya became friends with Vīrarājēndra. *SII.* iii. 83. (Yr. 6), says that Vīrarājēndra burnt Kampili and occupied Karaḍigal before Sōmēśvara (II) could untie his necklace (ll. 7-8), and this is the first occasion of an encounter with the Cāḷukyas after the conquest of Vēngī on behalf of Vijayāditya VII; 84 (Yr. 7) records (ll. 5-6) that on the same occasion, Sōmēśvara (II) was forced to abandon the Kannaradēśa and that the submissive Vikramāditya was invested with the necklace by the Cōḷa king. The *Vikramāṅkadēva Carita* also places the alliance between its hero and the Cōḷa king some time after Sōmēśvara I's demise and on the banks of the Tungabhadrā; and according to the same poem, at the time of his father's death, Vikramāditya was absent on a conquering tour which extended to Vēngī and Cakrakūṭa, which, again, seems very probable, as Vīrarājēndra himself had to go off to Vēngī after Sōmēśvara I failed to keep his engagement with him at Kūḍal-Śangamam. Lastly, it does not seem necessary to assume that the *kaṇṭhikā* (necklace) was necessarily a symbol of heir-apparentship and not of kingship in general, and hold, as Hultzsch does (*SII* iii p. 194), that in the sixth year of Vīrarājēndra, Sōmēśvara was alive and Sōmēśvara II was still only crown-prince (*IA.* xx p. 267 under 17 Vijayāditya V and the references given there). Even if the *kaṇṭhikā* was a symbol of subordinate position, Sōmēśvara II's untying it may mean that his father was no more and that he had become ruler in his own right,— probably the best view of the situation.

owing to the exertions of the Western Cāḷukyas, things had gone against Vijayāditya, the ally of Vīrarājēndra.

Absence of Sōmēśvara.

The question why Śomēśvara I failed to keep an engagement fixed by himself and thus suffered once again the imputation of cowardice at the hands of his Cōḷa enemy cannot be answered with certainty. The date of the occurrence was some time in the fifth year of Vīrarājēndra, and from the details preserved in the record the exact day which is mentioned in the Maṇimangalam inscription is seen to have been Monday 10th September A.D. 1067. * Sōmēśvara sought relief from an incurable disease by religious drowning in the Tungabhadrā and the date of this occurrence was March 29, A. D. 1068. † The assumption has generally been made that Sōmēśvara's absence from Kūḍal-Śangamam on this occasion was due to his illness and death. ‡ It should, however, be observed that as early as the 10th September A.D. 1067 we find recorded not only the absence of Sōmēśvara from Kūḍal-Śangamam but the subsequent campaign of Vīrarājēndra in Vēngī and Cakrakūṭa which resulted in the restoration of the Vēngī kingdom to Vijayāditya VII. On the other hand, Bilhaṇa states distinctly that Vikramāditya VI was encamped on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā § on his way back home after his conquests when the news of his father's death reached him. And his language, though we cannot be sure about it, seems to rule out the protracted illness of Sōmēśvara I, who was suddenly

* *E.I.* vii p. 9.

† *Vikramānkadēva Carita* iv 44-68; *E.C.* vii Sk. 136.

‡ Dr. S. K. Aiyangar *Ancient India* p. 123; A. V. Venkatarama Aiyar *op. cit.* p. 28.

§ iv 36.

taken ill, in the midst of his rejoicing over his son's successes in the *digvijaya*. Unsatisfactory as it seems, we can, for the present, only assume that if Sōmēśvara's absence was due to illness, his ailment was of a rather longer duration than Bilhaṇa's account implies.

Vēṅgī affairs.

The conflicting nature of our sources and the fecundity of modern research, carried out sometimes under the subtle influence of the nascent patriotism of the Andhra country, have greatly obscured the course of events in the Vēṅgī kingdom during this period; one can hardly be too cautious in dealing with this phase of our subject. A more detailed consideration, however tentative, of the course of events in Vēṅgī will become necessary when we reach the problems connected with the accession of Kulōttuṅga I to the Cōḷa throne. Here we may note simply the facts as they are gathered from the inscriptions and the *Vikramāṅkadēva Carita* which seem to speak for themselves. The Maṇimangalam inscription records that from Kūḍal-Śaṅgamam Vīrarājēndra proceeded to Vēṅgī, after issuing a challenge to the Cāḷukya, saying: "We do not intend to return (home) till after we reconquer the good Vēṅgī country, once ours; listen! if you are a Vallava, * come and defend." This challenge to the Cāḷukya is a clear indication that the Vēṅgī country had just at that time passed into the hands of the W. Cāḷukyas from Vīrarājēndra or from his ally, Vijayāditya VII. The rhapsody of Bilhaṇa on Vikramāditya's *digvijaya* during the life-time of his father seems to furnish the clue to the real situation by including Vēṅgī and Cakrakūṭa † in an otherwise

* Means both 'a strong man' and 'Cāḷukya.'

† iv. 29, 30.

impossible list of conquests attributed to him. Apparently Vikramāditya did succeed in transferring Vēngī and Cakrakūṭa from their rulers to himself and adding them to his father's dominions. Attention has been drawn already to the evidence from some Western Cāḷukya records of this period showing their eagerness to gain control of Vēngī. But if the Maṇimangalam record speaks truly, the success of Vikramāditya in the east was shortlived; for it states that in a decisive battle on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā, in the neighbourhood of Bezwāda, Vīrarājēndra inflicted a crushing defeat on the Western Cāḷukya forces commanded by Jananātha,* Rājamayan and others compelling them to flee into the jungle for refuge. After this, the Cōḷa crossed the Gōdāvari, marched across Kalingam and beyond Cakkarakkōṭṭam. † Having thus regained Vēngī, he bestowed it on Vijayāditya who had sought his protection, before he returned to his capital Gangāpurī, adorned by the splendour of victory gained in many a fight. ‡

Battle of Bezwāda.

The second engagement at Kūḍal-Śangamam, which Āhavamalla failed to keep, and the resumption of the Vēngī country, which followed, are briefly alluded

* We have a number of undated inscriptions at Drākṣārāma recording vows taken by chieftains promising exclusive allegiance to Śrī Parāntaka, Konērinmaikoṇḍār Sarvalōkāśraya Śrī Viṣṇuvardhana Mahārāja. Perhaps Vīrarājēndra is meant by these titles and the records are of this period (*SII* iv. 1269-1275).

† 182 of 1915 distinctly says that the Cāḷukya forces were met at Śakkarakkōṭṭam and defeated by Vīrarājēndra - *paḍaik-kaḍalēvi vaḍa-tiśaic-Cakkarakkōṭṭattu puk-kuḍanṟeḻunda Śaḷukkiyat - tānaiyaik-kanal-paḍa nūṟi*: cf. also the early inscriptions of Kulōttunga.

‡ Hultzsch has clearly misunderstood the phrase–"*igaliḍaippūṇḍa jayattiruvoḍum*" which he translates into: "with the goddess of victory, who had shown hostility in the interval," and in which he sees "an admission of the fact that the Cōḷas had experienced reverses." *SII.* iii. p. 70 and n. 4. The '*iḍat*' after '*igal*' is clearly a locative suffix to the preceding word meaning 'battle,' *not* 'hostility', in the context.

to in the shorter *praśastis* of the fifth year of Vīrarājēndra I.* These imply that, by the reconquest of Vēngī, Vīrarājēndra fulfilled some vow made by his elder brother; † though we cannot be sure of it, this perhaps means that the Cōḷa control over Vēngī had been lost some time during the reign of Rājēndradēva II and that he had died without being able to recover it; if this view is correct, the Western Cāḷukya occupation of Vēngī must have been more complete and lasted longer than has so far been believed, and Sōmēśvara I must have recompensed himself for the defeat at Koppam by substantial success in another direction. The Kanyākumāri inscription ‡ also states that Vēngī and Kalinga, though part of the hereditary dominion of the Cōḷas, had been neglected by his brother and allowed to fall under the occupation of hostile kings, and that Vīrarājēndra regained them for the empire.

Ceylon War.

Vīrarājēndra had his attention drawn to Ceylon by the efforts made by Vijayabāhu to extend his power from Rōhaṇa and to expel the Cōḷas from the island. The *Mahāvamsa* and the only inscription of Vīrarājēndra which gives an account of this war are agreed that Vijayabāhu did not succeed in attaining his object. In the details, the two accounts differ. The *Mahāvamsa* says § that when the Cōḷa king heard of Vijayabāhu's

* Hultzsch *SII.* iii. p. 193.

† Hultzsch identifies this elder brother of the king with Āḷavandān, *SII.* iii. p. 194.

‡ v. 77.

§ *CV.* Ch. 58 vv. 1-77. Codrington (*Short History* p. 56) says: "A first attempt to secure Polonnāruwa was made in or about A.D. 1066 but ended in failure, and Vijayabāhu was compelled to fortify himself at Vātagiri (Wākirigala in Kēgalla district)." I think that the fortification at Vātagiri belongs to the later campaign of 1070 of which the narrative in the *CV.* begins with v. 18.

designs, he sent off his Sēnāpati who was then in Pulatthinagara against the Singalese ruler. The Cōḷa general entered Rōhaṇa, plundered Kajaragāma and returned to his province. Vijayabāhu saw the strength of the Cōḷa forces and was distracted by rebellions and treachery in his own camp. Nothing came of his effort. The inscription of Vīrarājēndra dated in his fifth year, A.D. 1067, states that the king sent a large army which crossed the sea in a number of ships without erecting a causeway, defeated the Singalese forces, compelled Vijayabāhu to seek refuge in flight, made his queen captive and restored the whole of Ceylon to Vīrarājēndra's sway. * We cannot accept the last statement literally; Vijayabāhu renewed the struggle with better results three or four years later, and he could not have done this if he had lost his hold on Rōhaṇa.

Kaḍāram.

For the transactions of the rest of Vīrarājēndra's reign we have to depend exclusively on the shorter *praśasti* in its later editions. Records of the seventh year † mention that Vīrarājēndra conquered Kaḍāram on behalf of a king who had come in search of his aid and protection, and handed it over to him. If the place of this event in these records indicates its chronological position in the reign, it must have occurred before the sixth year, *c.* A.D. 1068. We know as yet little of the relations between the Cōḷas and the empire of Śrī Vijaya, which no doubt is signified by the term Kaḍāram, in the interval that elapsed between Rājēndra's campaign against Sangrāma-Vijayōttunga-varman and the reign of Vīrarājēndra. Consequently we have no means of

* 182 of 1915. cf. Kaḍalaḍaiyādilangai-koṇḍa-Śōḷa-vaḷanāḍu.

† 175 of 1894; 266 of 1901, *SII.* iii. 84.

elucidating this brief reference to a second expedition against Kaḍāram in this reign.

War with Sōmēśvara II.

On the death of Sōmēśvara I, Sōmēśvara II came to the Cāḷukyan throne in A. D. 1068 (11th April), and Vīrarājēndra took the occasion to renew the ancient feud. The inscriptions of Sōmēśvara II state this fact clearly and imply that the Cōḷa began by attacking the fortress of Gutti and ended by retreating in haste before Sōmēśvara. * The Cōḷa inscriptions and Bilhaṇa tell another story. The former state that before Sōmēśvara could untie his *kaṇṭhikā*, that is, on the occasion of his coronation as king, † Vīrarājēndra burnt the city of Kampili and set up a pillar of victory at Karaḍigal, a village in the Lingsagar Taluk of the Raicūr district, ‡ and that he forced Sōmēśvara to abandon the Kannara country, and invested the Śaḷukki Vikramāditya with the *kaṇṭhikā* and Raṭṭapāḍi seven and a half lakh country conquered on his account, because he had come and sought the aid of the Cōḷa monarch. § This occasion is no doubt the one mentioned in the *Takkayāgapparaṇi* which says that the Cōḷa king, here called Rājagambhīra, took away the fillet of royalty from the Piraṭṭan and conferred it on the Iraṭṭan for the protection of the celebrated seven and a half lakh country. ¶ And the *Vikramānkadēva Carita* tells the same story, embellished from the standpoint of the hero of the poem. Soon after his father's death and brother's accession, Vikramāditya VI quarrelled with his brother who had fallen into evil courses, and left Kalyāṇa with his younger brother Jayasimha and destroyed the troops sent by his elder brother

* *EC.* vii Sk. 136.

† *SII.* iii. 83.

‡ *EI.* xii. pp. 295, 309.

§ *SII.* iii. 84.

¶ v. 774.

Sōmēśvara in pursuit of him. He reached the Tungabhadrā and rested his army for a time. * Then he became desirous of war with the Cōḷas and started on the expedition after spending some time in Banavāsi. Jayakēśi and the Āḷupa king did him obeisance, † and the Cōḷa himself, unable to resist the advance, sent an ambassador and offered his daughter in marriage to the Cāḷukya prince, and Vikrama agreed to retire to the banks of the Tungabhadrā, where the Cōḷa king subsequently met him, the marriage was celebrated and the alliance between the two kings concluded. ‡ It may be noted that Jayakēśi I, the Kaḍamba king of Goa who was ruling in this period, is said in Kaḍamba inscriptions to have placed the Western Cāḷukya firmly on his own throne, and to have brought about peace between the Cōḷa and the Cāḷukya at Kāñcī. §

Alliance with Vikramāditya VI.

All these lines of evidence point to the conclusion that soon after the death of Āhavamalla, trouble arose between Sōmēśvara II and Vikramāditya, on some matters of importance, if not about the succession itself, that Vikramāditya's younger brother Jayasimha, and the Kaḍamba Jayakēśi of Goa took his side in the dispute, that Jayakēśi officiated as Vikrama's ambassador to the Cōḷa, seeking Vīrarājēndra's aid for his ally, and that as a consequence of the powerful intercession of the Cōḷa monarch, Sōmēśvara II was compelled to part with portions of his hereditary dominions to Vikramāditya almost immediately after his accession to the throne. Though we have no other evidence for it than that of Bilhaṇa, the marriage of Vikramāditya with a Cōḷa princess may be accepted as a fact.

* *Vikramānkadēva Carita* iv 69 —v. 10.

† v. 25-6.

‡ v. 28 —vi. 3.

§ *JBBRAS.* ix. p. 278, 242 ; *BG.* 1, ii p. 567.

Vikramāditya's inscriptions with the title Trailōkya-malla and bearing dates earlier than A. D. 1076, which marked the commencement of the Cāḷukya-Vikrama era, are found in the southern parts of the Cāḷukyan empire; * and this goes far to confirm the hypothesis of a division of territory between the Cāḷukya brothers. It was not many years before the younger brother completely displaced the elder, as we shall see.

Summary of Wars.

In summing up the earlier achievements of Vīra-rājēndra, his later inscriptions which record the transactions just noticed, mention at the outset the beheading of the Pāṇḍya, the collection of tribute from the Kēraḷa and the subjugation of Ceylon, †—events which recall the inscriptions of Rājādhirāja and Rājēndra. It is quite possible that as in the fight at Muḍākkaṟu, (which we have identified with the first battle of Kūḍal-Śangamam and which is mentioned at the end of this *praśasti* and the beginning of the grant portion), Vīrarājēndra took part in the campaigns conducted by his brothers in the southern countries, long before any idea of his accession to the throne dawned on his mind. The wars against Sōmēśvara in which Vīrarājēndra took part are briefly summed up in this form of the *praśasti* in the statement that the Cōḷa king saw the back of Āhavamalla, that is to say, put him to flight, on five different occasions. ‡

Titles.

From the Tirunāmanallūr inscription of the fourth year, and the Yōgi-mallavaram and Kanyākumāri records of the seventh, § Vīrarājēndra is seen occasionally to have appropriated

* e.g. 127 of 1913; 455 of 1920; *EC* xi Cd. 82, *SII.* iii p. 65.

† *SII.* iii. 84 ll. 1-2.

‡ *SII.* iii. p. 194.

§ 371 of 1902, *SII.* iii. 81; 273 of 1904.

the full regal titles of the Western Cāḷukyas such as Sakala-bhuvanāśraya, Mēdinī-vallabha and Mahā-rājādhirāja, besides specially Cōḷa titles which, like Āhavamallakulakāla, recall the victories won against the Cāḷukyas. He also styled himself Pāṇḍyakulāntaka, Rājāśraya, and Rājarājēndra, titles which, together with Vallabhavallabha, Vīra Cōḷa, and Karikāla, are found in the Kanyākumāri inscription as well. * The same inscription tells us that Vīrarājēndra presented a fine ruby called Trailōkyasāra for being mounted on the crown of the Dancer of the Golden Hall, Naṭarāja of Cidambaram † and that he endowed many *brahmadēyas* in the countries of Cōḷa, Tuṇḍīra, Pāṇḍya, Gangavāṭi, and gratified forty thousand Brahmans, learned in the Vedas, by gifts of land. ‡ We have already noticed that Gangāpurī was the capital of the Cōḷa empire in this reign as well, and that at the end of his wars he returned to it in state. A palace in Gangaikoṇḍa-śōḷa-puram called Śōḷakēraḷa-māḷigai and a throne in it called Rājēndraśōḷa Māvali-vāṇarājan are mentioned in a record of the fifth year. § The latest regnal year of Vīrarājēndra that is found in inscriptions is the eighth, which is mentioned in a record ¶ of the third year of Parakēsari Adhirājēndradēva, the son and successor of Vīrarājēndra, and the brother-in-law of Cāḷukya Vikramāditya VI. Vīrarājēndra's death must have occurred, therefore, early in A.D. 1070. Śrāvaṇa Āślēṣā was the asterism of his birth. ‖ One of his queens, Arumoḷinangai, survived till the fifteenth year of Kulōt-tunga I; her name is mentioned in an incomplete inscription of that year from Tanjore. ** The presence of Buddhism in the Cōḷa kingdom in the reign of

* vv. 75; 77-8. † v. 79 (fragment). ‡ vv. 80-81.

§ 182 of 1915. ¶ *SII.* iii. 57 ll. 11-12.

‖ 182 of 1915. l. 25. ** *SII.* ii. 58. p. 234.

Vīrarājēndra, and the influence of Buddhist scholarship on Tamil literature, are attested by the *Vīraśōḻiyam*, a curious work on Tamil grammar conceived on ultra-Sanskritic lines by Buddhamitra, who calls himself chieftain of Ponperṟi. This place is identified by Venkayya with Ponpetti in the Paṭṭukkōṭṭai tāluq of the Tanjore district. *

* *ARE.* 1899, paragraph 50; *SII.* iii. p. 197; *Vīraśōḻiyam*-Pāyiram.

CHAPTER XII.

THE ACCESSION OF KULŌTTUNGA I

A. D. 1070

Adhirājēndra.

Vīrarājēndra died early in A. D. 1070, the eighth year of his reign. He was succeeded on the throne by Parakēsari Adhirājēndra who had a very short reign of some weeks' duration and was followed by Rājakēsari Kulōttunga Cōḷa I on the 9th June A. D. 1070. * As we find inscriptions of Adhirājēndra dated in his third year, and as the exact date of Kulōttunga's accession is quite clearly attested by his dated stone inscriptions from the Telugu country, it is evident that Adhirājēndra must have been chosen heir-apparent by Vīrarājēndra some time in 1067-8. Adhirājēndra's relation to Vīrarājēndra may be inferred from the explicit statement in the *Vikramānkadēva Carita* that on the death of his father-in-law, Vikramāditya started for Kāñcī and Gangākuṇḍapura in order to place his wife's brother on the Cōḷa throne. † Why his reign was so short and how the Eastern Cāḷukya prince Rājēndra II came to occupy the Cōḷa throne in 1070 are questions that do not admit of decisive answers. The evidence bearing on them proceeds from several quarters. These various sources of evidence differ so much from one another, and suggest so many explanations of the occurrences that the conviction is borne in upon us that almost every one of our authorities had strong motives to put forward a separate version of the course of events.

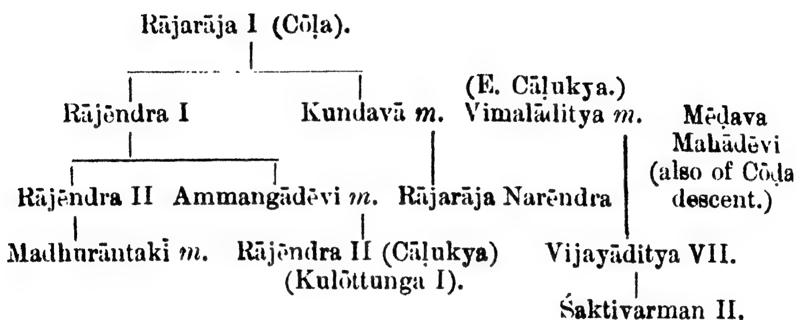
* *EI.* vii p. 7 n. 5.

† vi. vv. 6-25.

ACCESSION OF KULOTTUNGA I

The Cōḷas and Eastern Cāḷukyas.

As a result of several inter-marriages, for some time the members of the Eastern Cāḷukya dynasty had become plainly Cōḷas at heart, far more than Cāḷukyas. * The following genealogical table illustrates the interrelation between the two dynasties :—



The Eastern Cāḷukya copper-plates of the period fall into two sets, one of them mentioning the transactions of Vijayāditya VII and his son Śaktivarman II, omitted by others,—a feature not unknown in other passages of E. Cāḷukya history, as for instance the grants of Bādapa and Tāḷa II which seem to form a class apart, mentioning facts about the interregnum before the accession of Śaktivarman I, omitted elsewhere. The facts as set forth in the first set of plates are the following.

Vijayāditya VII.

After twelve years had elapsed from the accession of Rājarāja-narēndra, his step-brother Vijayāditya ousted him from the throne and crowned himself king in Śaka 952, A. D. 1030 ; † the grant which mentions this fact is dated in the second year of the reign of Vijayāditya. ‡ Then the Telugu Academy plates of Śaktivarman II, which do not mention any regnal year, state that Śaktivarman was crowned as king in the year Śaka 983, on a

* *IA.* xx p. 277.

† Pamulavāka plates of Vijayāditya VII. ll. 62-3 ; *JAHRS.* ii. 287.

‡ (*ibid*) l. 81.

day corresponding to 18th October A. D. 1061, after Rājarāja had enjoyed a reign of forty-one years; they omit the coronation of Vijayāditya in A. D. 1030. * Lastly, the Ryāli plates (two sets) of Vijayāditya VII omit all reference to the occurrences of A. D. 1030-2, give forty-one years to Rājarāja, state that Vijayāditya took by force the kingdom of his step-brother without his knowledge (in his absence?), † that he handed it over to his son Śaktivarman out of the love he bore him, and that, when Śaktivarman died at the end of one year by a bad stroke of fate, Vijayāditya was only persuaded with difficulty, like Arjuna at the death of Abhimanyu, to resume the duties of state. These grants are dated in the twelfth year of Vijayāditya's rule. There is nothing in the palaeography or the dating of these records that raises any doubt as to their genuineness.

Alike in their chronology and in their narration of events, these plates differ from those of Kulōttunga which will be noticed presently. These imply that Rājarāja-narēndra came to the E. Cāḷukya throne in 1018 after Vimalāditya had occupied it for seven years from A.D. 1011, thus completely vindicating the date of Vimalāditya's accession calculated by Kielhorn, 10th May 1011. ‡ But the facts that the Raṇastapūṇḍi grant of Vimalāditya is dated in his eighth regnal year, and that Rājarāja-narēndra's coronation is stated elsewhere to have occurred in A. D. 1022 should not be lost sight of. Though the grants of Vijayāditya VII

* *JAHRS*. v. pp. 33. ff.

† parokṣam Rājarājasya bhrātur-dvaimāturasya yaḥ |
paryagrahīn-mahā-rājya-śriyam vīra-śriyā yutaḥ ||.

My thanks are due to Mr. T. N. Ramachandran of the Madras Museum for assisting me in consulting the unpublished Ryāli plates in his custody. See also *ARE*. 1925. II 5; *JAHRS*. v. p. 44, v. 16.

‡ *EI*. vi pp 349-50.

and Śaktivarman II thus agree with those of the time of Kulōttunga I in ascribing a rule of forty-one years to Rājarāja-narēndra, they seem to reckon the years from a different starting point, A.D. 1018, which is four years earlier than the date usually given, in the later grants, for Rājarāja's coronation, A.D. 1022. The language of the Ryāli plates and the date of Śaktivarman II's coronation * even raise a doubt if Vijayāditya waited till the natural end of Rājarāja's life or deposed him earlier. In any event, seeing that Vīrarājēndra's inscriptions before his seventh year (A. D. 1068-9) do not mention his having had anything to do with Vijayāditya, there is no room for assuming, as has been sometimes done, that he interfered in any dispute relating to the succession, on Rājarāja's death, between Kulōttunga I and Vijayāditya VII or that he helped to keep out the former. †

His usurpation.

The hostility of Vijayāditya VII to Rājarāja, and possibly to his son Rājēndra-Kulōttunga, that becomes apparent from these plates has led to the identification of Vijayāditya VII with Viṣṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya (of some Western Cāḷukya inscriptions) who bears Eastern Cāḷukya titles like Sarvalōkāśraya and Vēngī-maṇḍalēśvara. Fleet who first proposed this identification, basing himself mainly on the similarity of names and titles, ‡ subsequently gave it up and made the Western Cāḷukya prince a fourth son of Sōmēśvara I, not mentioned by Bilhaṇa, apparently because he played a very insignificant part. § In recent years, Fleet's original identification has again found support from scholars under the influence of the newly discovered copper-plates of

Two Vijayādityas.

* This date is given as Ś. 986 in *ARE.* 1914 II 10 and 983 in App. A. (*ibid*). The text is: *guṇa-vasu-nidhi.* The astronomical details fit 983 better.

† *ARE.* 1901, paragraph 12; *SII.* iii p. 128.

‡ *IA.* xx 277-8.

§ *BG.* I, ii 454 and n. 5.

Vijayāditya VII and his son Śaktivarman II, and attempts have been made to prove that after the failure of his first usurpation (A. D. 1030-32), Vijayāditya left the Vēngī country and sought service under and support from Sōmēśvara I. * But there are several considerations militating against this view, and the arguments urged in its favour are by no means conclusive. It is true that a marriage relation between the two branches of Cāḷukyas such as was postulated by Fleet is impossible, and Vijayāditya-Viṣṇuvardhana, if he was a son of Sōmēśvara, could not have had an Eastern Cāḷukya princess for his mother. † It may also be conceded that the omission of this name by Bilhaṇa, and the phrase *tatpādapadmārādhaka* in the inscriptions, describing the relation of Viṣṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya to Sōmēśvara I, raise a doubt as to whether he was the son of Sōmēśvara though he is elsewhere called *maga* and *nandana*. ‡ But whether he was a son of Sōmēśvara or not, it seems unlikely that this Western Cāḷukya feudatory was identical with the step-brother of Rājarāja-narēndra. The dates of the known inscriptions of the feudatory are : A. D. 1064 and 1066, and his inscriptions bearing these years are found in the Mysore and Bellāry districts, and he acknowledges the overlordship of Sōmēśvara in these years. But what we gather from the Eastern Cāḷukya plates is : (1) that, if Vijayāditya VII was exiled at all, it must have been some time after A. D. 1032, at a time when the Western Cāḷukya feudatory with whom he is sought to be identified is not known to have recorded any inscriptions ; § and (2) that in the years A. D. 1063-70 he

* *JAHRS.* i p. 215 ; v 206-8 ; *ARE.* 1925 II 3.

† *ARE.* 1925 II 3.

‡ Fleet. *BG. ibid.*

§ The Maṇimangalam inscription (A. D. 1046) of Rājādhirāja has been thought, quite wrongly, to contain a reference to Viṣṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya. *JAHRS.* i 219 n. 33. We have only the name Vijayāditya in l. 3 among the leaders of the army, and this proves nothing.

must have been ruling in Vēngī after the death of his son Śaktivarman II. Again, there is no getting over the fact that about A. D. 1067-8 Vīrarājēndra did reconquer Vēngī from his enemies and hand it over to Vijayāditya VII, which clearly means that Vijayāditya could not have been the feudatory of Sōmēśvara I about the same time. Lastly, the title Vēngīpuravarēśvara is borne as early as A. D. 1053 by Sōmēśvara-dēva, the son of Sōmēśvara I, * which is proof that this title is for some unknown reason borne in this period by the governors of W. Cāḷukya provinces. It seems impossible therefore to uphold the identification of the two Vijayādityas of the Western and Eastern Cāḷukya records of the period.

E. Cāḷukya plates of Kulōttunga's sons.

To return to the evidence from the Eastern Cāḷukya copper-plates. Three grants of the sons of Kulōttunga, known as the Ṭēki, Cellūr and Piṭṭāpuram grants, dated respectively in the seventeenth, twenty-first and twenty-third years of his reign, narrate in almost identical terms the course of events in Vēngī as it was described by Kulōttunga himself to his son Rājarāja-mummaḍicōḍa, while sending him to Vēngī as viceroy of the northern province of the Cōḷa empire. † From these plates we learn that, at the death of Rājarāja after a rule of forty-one years, Rājēndra was first crowned as lord of Vēngī and attained great celebrity. He was then crowned in the Cōḍa-rājya, not less exalted in status than the position of Dēvēndra. He married Madhurāntakī, the very Lakṣmī risen from the occan, namely Rājēndra-dēva, the *tilaka* of the Solar race. He had many children by her, and to one of them, Rājarāja, he said : " Child, the great kingdom of Vēngī was, in

* Mulguṇḍ inscription *EI.* xvi. p. 53.

† *EI.* vi. 35. *SII.* i. 39, *IA.* xix. p. 427; *EI.* v. 10.

days gone by, entrusted by me to my paternal uncle, king Vijayāditya, as I was desirous of undertaking a conquering tour (or according to the Cellūr plates, 'as I was desirous of securing the Cōḷa kingdom'). He too, who was like a god and resembled a lion in his strength, went to heaven after ruling the kingdom for fifteen years." And the Ṭēki plates make it clear that Vijayāditya's death occurred some time in A.D. 1077; * this would mean that Kulōttunga appointed him as his deputy in A. D. 1062 or thereabout.

In order to reconcile these statements of Kulōttunga on his relations with Vijayāditya VII with what we know of them from other sources, we must recall the time and circumstance of the utterance attributed to Kulōttunga. By 1077 Kulōttunga was firmly seated on the Cōḷa throne; and securely established at the head of a prosperous and extensive empire, he was addressing his own son, after the death of his uncle and on the eve of sending him out as viceroy to the northern kingdom. Paternal solicitude as well as good taste and policy required that, rather than expatiate on ancient family feuds that deserved to be forgotten, he should give the best possible account of the past history of the viceroyalty that the young prince was about to take upon himself.

Relations between Kulōttunga and Vijayāditya.

That Vijayāditya's relations with Kulōttunga and his father, however, had been nothing so pleasant as Kulōttunga afterwards represented them to his son, becomes clear not only from his Pāmulavāka, and Ryāli plates, and the Telugu Academy plates of

* Rājarāja Cōḍa-ganga was crowned in Vēngī in Śaka 1006 (v. 34); before him Vīra Cōḍa was viceroy for six years and Mummaḍi-cōḍa for one year (vv. 19 and 17), so that the beginning of Mummaḍi's viceroyalty fell in Śaka 999 or A.D. 1077.

Śaktivarman II discussed above, but from other evidence as well. We learn from Eastern Ganga inscriptions that even after Kulōttunga became Cōḷa emperor, the hostile relations between Vijayāditya and his nephew continued more or less unabated. The Vizagapatam plates of Anantavarman Cōḍaganga * state that his father Rājarāja having, in the first instance, become the lord of the goddess of victory in a 'Tamil battle', then married Rājasundarī, the daughter of the Cōḷa king. The same lady is described elsewhere in unmistakable terms as the daughter of Rājēndra Cōḷa and the chief queen of Rājarāja. †

The Ganga king is also said to have offered help to Vijayāditya at the end of his life. The grant that mentions the 'Tamil battle' also states that "when Vijayāditya, beginning to grow old, left the country of Vēngī, as if he were the sun leaving the sky, and was about to sink in the great ocean of the Cōḍas," Rājarāja of Kalinganagara "caused him to enjoy prosperity for a time in the Western region," that is, Vēngī to the west of Kalinganagara. ‡ The approximate date for these occurrences is furnished by the Dīrghasi inscription of Vanapati dated Śaka 997, A. D. 1075, which makes a pointed reference to Vanapati's successes gained on behalf of his Ganga overlord against the Cōḷa forces. § A war between Kulōttunga and the E. Ganga Rājarāja followed by a peace sealed by a dynastic alliance, a mediation by Rājarāja Ganga

* *IA.* xviii pp. 166-9; Korni plates, *JAHRS.* i pp. 106. ff.

† *IA.* xviii. pp. 163-4.

‡ *IA.* xx. p. 276.

§ 271 of 1896; *EI.* iv. 45. E. Ganga Rājarāja came to power on May 20, A. D. 1070 (*ARE.* 1919, App. A, No. 4.) 248 of 1896, dated Śaka 990, records a gift by a queen of his predecessor Vajrahasta. It is surprising that, in utter disregard of all chronology, these inscriptions should have been dragged into a discussion of Vīrarājēndra's movements in *JAHRS.* i. p. 215.

between Vijayāditya VII and his nephew Kulōttunga on a subsequent occasion, and the demise of Vijayāditya some time after the successful intercession of Rājarāja are thus clearly attested by the Ganga records of the time.

Kulōttunga's position in 1063-70.

If Rājēndra-Kulōttunga was first crowned as lord of Vēngī, as the later E. Cāḷukya plates assert (in contradiction to those of Vijayāditya), it is remarkable that these plates fail to give us the exact date of this coronation as they do of most other coronations. The Telugu inscriptions of Kulōttunga containing both regnal years and Śaka dates support the date A. D. 1070 for the commencement of his rule, and this was the date of his accession to the Cōḷa throne. * The crux of the Kulōttunga problem is, in fact, the question: what did he do with himself in the interval between his father's death and A. D. 1070? Fleet added up the two statements in the Ṭēki and Cellūr grants that Kulōttunga appointed his uncle as deputy in Vēngī because he wanted to have (i) a conquering tour and (ii) the Cōḷarājya, and stated that 'Kulōttunga acquired the Cōḷa crown by hostile invasion and conquest,' and placed this event in A. D. 1063, in spite of the indication of a much later date for it furnished by the *Vikramānkadēva Carita*. † He also pointed out that Kulōttunga's conquest and annexation of the Cōḷa empire were not entirely the result of a failure of the Cōḷa succession, and that it must have been powerfully aided by a rebellion in the Cōḷa country and a state of anarchy of which we get some idea from the *Kalingattupparaṇi*. Later writers, while they have recognised the mistake in Fleet's date for

* *SII.* iii. p. 127.

† *IA.* xx. 277, 282.

these occurrences, have not been so ready to give up his suggestions of hostile invasion, and in fact have added to it the charge of political murder against Kulōttunga. * Reserving the literary sources for more detailed consideration at a later stage, it may be observed here that the course adopted by Fleet in putting together two alternative statements made in peculiar circumstances about past events and evolving the theory of hostile invasion seems to be of doubtful validity, and that even the *Vikramānkadēva Carita* does not contain the remotest suggestion that Kulōttunga put his rivals out of the way by secret murder, or even by open fighting. And now we must remember what Fleet was not aware of, viz., that the supposed appointment of Vijayāditya by Kulōttunga to deputise for him at Vēngī and his occupation of the Cōḷa throne are separated by the whole interval of the reign of Vīrarājēndra.

Evidence of the early Tamil inscriptions of Kulōttunga.

At the time of his father's death and the forcible seizure of the Vēngī throne by Vijayāditya mentioned in the Ryāli plates, Kulōttunga, or Rājēndra as he was then known, must have been a youth in his teens. For considering that he lived on to have a long rule of fifty years from A. D. 1070, it is hardly likely that about A. D. 1062 he was more than twenty years of age. His earliest Tamil inscriptions record certain facts which seem to indicate how Rājēndra engaged himself when he was thus kept out of his inheritance. The records of his second year † state that, with the aid only of the strength of his arms and

* *ARE.* 1899 paragraph 51.

† *SII.* iii 64-7, as corrected by Hira Lal, *EI.* ix p. 179 n. 1 and 2. Also 125 of 1900 with the *pū mēl arivai* introduction recording the same transactions in other words.

his sword, he overcame the treachery of his enemies, captured many herds of elephants, levied tribute from the Nāgavamśī king, Dhārāvarṣa of Cakrakūṭa, and gently raised the country in the eastern region, like Viṣṇu raising the Earth from the ocean in his boar incarnation, and seated her, to her great pleasure, under the shade of his parasol. 'The lotus-like *nila-magaḷ* (earth-maiden) in the direction of the rising sun' is clearly by itself and in the context a periphrasis for Pūrvadēśam, * and the elaborately ceremonial character of the language of these records seems to imply that Rājēndra at least succeeded in making himself acceptable as a great benefactor of that country, if not also as its ruler. His records soon came to describe these achievements as belonging to the period of his *iḷangōp-paruvam*, when he was still heir-apparent. † If this view is correct, we must conclude that Rājēndra spent the best part of the period A.D. 1063-70 in the region of the modern Bastar state, and possibly even carved out for himself a small dominion beyond it in the Pūrvadēśa, even if he did not gain complete control over the Cakrakūṭa state and annex parts of the Pūrvadēśa to it, as his inscriptions imply. Possibly this northern extension of the influence of Vēngī, so closely allied to the Cōḷas, was the cause of Vikramāditya's expedition against Vēngī and Cakrakūṭa, counteracted by the campaign of Vīrarājēndra culminating in the battle of Bezwāda. It will be remembered that in the course of this campaign, Vīrarājēndra is said also to have marched up to Śakkarakkōṭṭam. After the death of Vīrarājēndra, Kulōttunga marched into the Cōḷa country in good time to get himself accepted as

* Hultzsch's equation of this phrase with Vēngī (*SII.* iii p. 132) is hardly satisfactory, while Dr. S. K. Aiyangar is wide of the mark in suggesting that there is a reference to Kaḍāram here (*Ancient India*, pp. 130-1).

† *SII.* iii. 68.

king; but more of this later. And as he did some fighting during these years and subsequently came to look upon the whole period as a sort of probation for the Cōḷa throne, he might have felt justified in saying that he left Vēngī to his uncle Vijayāditya at the death of his father for a double reason. *

Literary evidence.

We may now turn to the literary evidence on the subject of Kulōttunga's accession. On one matter the evidence of two works is in complete accord with that of the inscriptions. Both the *Vikramānkadēva Carita* and the *Vikramaśōḷan-ulā* † are explicit in stating that Vīrarājēndra was succeeded by another king before Kulōttunga came to the throne; the *ulā* by its very brief reference giving no particulars whatever of his reign, and the

* It is obviously impossible to discuss fully all the theories that have been suggested about Kulōttunga's position in 1063-70. I am fully alive to the responsibility of adding one more to these, not to my knowledge suggested before by others. My only warrant is that this seems to be the normal interpretation of the language of the inscriptions of Kulōttunga himself. The other views centre round the hypothesis that Rājēndra was *yuvarāja* to his father Rājarāja-narēndra when he fought the campaign against Dhārāvarṣa or that he was *yuvarāja* to Vīrarājēndra. The latter seems impossible, in view of Adhirājēndra's position and inscriptions. The former hypothesis is quite feasible, provided the date is not placed too early. (*JAHRS*. i. pp. 217-8). But what, on this basis, can be the force of the claim that Kulōttunga gently raised the land in the eastern quarter and seated her under his umbrella? Another view makes Kulōttunga a dupe of circumstances who, having, after a fight in which Śaktivarman II was killed like Abhimanyu (an inference not supported by the language of the Ryāli plates), made his peace with his bereaved uncle, found himself baulked in his design upon the Cōḷa throne by the prompt usurpation of Vīrarājēndra (*JAHRS*. v. pp. 208-11). This writer has apparently overlooked the probability that Vīrarājēndra might have been recognised as heir to Rājēndradēva on the death of Rājamahēndra. He is also clearly wrong in mixing up Yaśaḥ-karṇadēva's inroad into Trikalinga with these transactions, for he did not come to power till A.D. 1073 (*EI*. xii p. 207). Hultzsch's view that before A.D. 1072 Rājēndra-Kulōttunga took Vēngī from his uncle Vijayāditya VII who appears to have received it from the Cōḷa king Vīrarājēndra (*SII*. iii. p 132) goes against the express statement in the Tēki and other grants that Vijayāditya ruled Vēngī continuously for fifteen years, and is now contradicted by the Ryāli plates of the twelfth year of Vijayāditya *c.* A.D. 1074; but the E. Ganga records (p. 345 *ante*) must be taken into account here. See also *ARE*. 1914, II 10 where *SII*. iii. p. 128 is followed.

† ll.44-5—*Angavanpin kāvalpurindavani kāttōnum.*

Carita by directly stating that he lost his life in a rebellion that occurred within a few days of his installation* , imply that he had a very short reign; this king was no doubt Parakēsari Adhirājēndra of the inscriptions. And Kulōttunga himself recognised the legitimacy of Adhirājēndra's position when he styled himself Rājakēsari. In some of his records, however, is found a double *praśasti* which, by combining the two forms *vīramē tuṇai-yāgavum* and *pugaḻmādu viḷanga*, seems to set up a claim that Kulōttunga should be considered the direct successor of Vīrarājēndra. † And the *Kalingattupparaṇi* of Jayangoṇḍār, makes it a point to ignore the reign of Adhirājēndra. ‡ This poem is often cited in support of the notions that at his birth

Was Kulōttunga adopted into the Cōḷa family?

Kulōttunga was adopted by Rājēndra Cōḷadēva I into the Cōḷa family and that he was brought up in his maternal grandfather's court. § But there is nothing in the actual words employed by the poet to suggest either a formal ceremony of adoption or to enable us to know where the prince spent his early years. In fact the date of this prince's birth must be placed at the end of Rājēndra I's reign, some time after A. D. 1040. By that time Rājādhirāja I had long been associated with his father as *yuvarāja*, and there were several brothers of his perhaps occupying responsible posts in the administration of the empire. There was no need for any adoption; and considering his marriage

* vi. 26

† 156 of 1923 (Yr. 2); 197 1919 (Yr. 5), the former having only *vīramē tuṇai*; 197 and 199 of 1929 and 434 of 1912 (Yrs. 37, 38 and 43). *ARE.* 1913, II. 33.

‡ Verse viii. 29 asserts that directly after the victory of Kūḍal-Śangamam the earth, to her great good fortune, passed into the hands of Abhaya, the hero of the poem. The 'mannar-mannan' or 'mannar-vīran' of x. 25 cannot be Adhirājēndra as Hultzsch thinks (*SII.* iii p. 129), but Vīrarājēndra.

§ Hultzsch *SII.* pp. 127, 196. S. K. Aiyangar—*op. cit.* pp. 125, 129.

with Madhurāntaki, it is impossible to postulate it. In fact all that Jayangoṇḍār says is that on the birth of the child, the queen of Gangaikoṇḍa-śōḷa raised him in her hands and expressed her admiration of the marks on his limbs by observing that he was fit to be a son of the solar line born for its protection; in the very next verse the poet takes good care to add that the kings of both the lunar and the solar dynasties, that is Rājarāja-narēndra and Rājēndra Gangaikoṇḍa, experienced joy on the occasion of the birth of the prince. * After a conventional account of the early years of the prince, the poet states that Abhaya † (Vīrarājēndra) made him crown prince, and then proceeds to describe his *digvijaya* of which particulars are furnished only with reference to the northern direction. He is said to have made his mark in Vayirākaram and Śakkarakkōṭṭam. He was still in the north engaged in these campaigns when the Cōḷa king died in the south, and there ensued anarchy and confusion until Abhaya Kulōttunga returned and restored order. This account of Jayangoṇḍār is remarkable in some ways. It studiously refrains from mentioning Adhirājēndra and asserts that Vīrarājēndra made Abhaya crown prince for the rule of the Earth, meaning no doubt, the Cōḷa kingdom; and it recounts details of campaigns in Wairagarh and Cakrakūṭa exactly like the early inscriptions of Kulōttunga to which attention has been drawn above. Though the poet aims, as Fleet has remarked, at treating Abhaya on the whole as a Cōḷa prince rather than as Cāḷukya, he has still not altogether suppressed the Cāḷukya connections, and in his account of the

* x, vv. 5-7.

† 'Abhaya' in this verse x. 18 does refer to Vīrarājēndra cf. viii 29; and from this account of Vīrarājēndra's recognition of Kulōttunga, the conclusion has been drawn that Adhirājēndra was a bastard with no title to the throne.

youthful achievements of Abhaya he follows the early records of the reign rather closely. Above all, his account leaves no room for doubt as to the whereabouts of Abhaya at the time when his chance arrived to seize the Cōḷa throne. It is also of some interest to note that in the account of Abhaya's *digvijaya*, and in the attempt made, in the inscriptions, to combine the *praśasti* of Vīrarājēndra with that of Kulōttunga, and thus cast a doubt on the legitimacy of Adhirājēndra's rule, the poem and the inscriptions are in perfect agreement.

Troubles of Adhirājēndra.

The *Vikramāṅkadēva Carita* of Bilhaṇa gives the story from yet another point of view, which is as hostile to Kulōttunga as the *Kalingattupparaṇi* is favourable to him. * Soon after Vikramāditya's marriage, his father-in-law the Cōḷa king, died and the kingdom fell into a state of anarchy. When he heard of these things, he set out for Kāñcī with the definite object of helping the late king's son to the throne. At Kāñcī, Vikramāditya spent some days in bringing the wicked (*duṣṭavarga*) to their knees, and then marched to Gangākuṇḍa where he destroyed the forces of the enemy and finally secured the throne to the Cōḷa prince. After spending about a month in that city, Vikramāditya, apparently satisfied that peace had been restored, retired to the Tungabhadrā. Within a few days after his return, the news reached him that his brother-in-law had lost his life in a fresh rebellion and that Rājiga, the lord of Vēngī, had captured the throne vacated by the Cōḷa prince. 'Vikramāditya VI marched at once against Rājiga. The latter induced Sōmēśvara II to combine with him; and a battle was fought. But the victory rested with

* vi. 7-26.

Vikramāditya VI; Rājiga fled and Sōmēśvara II was taken prisoner. This lost Sōmēśvara the throne; and shortly afterwards, according to the poem, Vikramāditya VI allowed himself to be proclaimed ruler of the Dekkan.' *

Kulōttunga's share in them.

Certain questions naturally arise from this account: who was responsible for the troubles that followed Vīrarājēndra's death and rendered it necessary for Vikramāditya to come over to Kāñcī and Gangākuṇḍa to secure the succession for his brother-in-law? Who were the wicked people of Kāñcī and the hostile forces of Gangākuṇḍa whom Vikramāditya had to suppress before Adhirājēndra could feel secure on the throne and Vikramāditya himself retire to the Tungabhadrā? And what was the nature of the rebellion in which Adhirājēndra lost his life within a few days after Vikramāditya's retirement? There is no direct statement in the *Vikramāṅkadēva Carita* of Kulōttunga's complicity in these conspiracies and rebellions; but the facts that they paved the way for Kulōttunga's accession to the Cōḷa throne, that Vikramāditya VI marched against him and made an attempt to oust him after he occupied it, and the silence of the *Kalingattupparaṇi* on Adhirājēndra's reign seem to furnish some ground for the inference that Kulōttunga's ambition and intrigue brought about these occurrences. But a strict regard to the actual statements of Bilhaṇa may not support any conclusion more precise than that of Fleet, † 'that Kulōttunga Cōḷadēva I was enabled to seize the Cōḷa crown through internal disturbances in the Cōḷa kingdom, which culminated in the death of the last Cōḷa king.'

* Fleet *IA.* xx. p. 281.

† *IA.* xx. p. 282.

An attempt has been made * to connect these internal disturbances in the Cōḷa kingdom that led to the extinction of the direct line of the Cōḷas with the story of the persecution suffered by Rāmānuja and his disciples as it is narrated in Vaiṣṇava hagiology. Without minimising the difficulty of reconciling all the data proceeding from a mass of contradictory legends, but confining our attention to the professedly earliest biographies of Rāmānuja like the final chapters of the *Divyasūricarita* † and the *Yatirāja-vaibhavam*, ‡ it is just possible to identify the Cōḷa who died as Krimikaṇṭha in consequence of the persecution to which he subjected Rāmānuja and his followers with either Adhirājēndra, or possibly with Vīrarājēndra with whom the direct Cōḷa line practically comes to a close. The categorical statement in the *Divyasūricarita* that God Śiva of Tiruvārūr proclaimed the end of the rule of the kings of the Cōḷa family, § and the chaos at the end of Vīrarājēndra's rule which is attested by, but not accounted for, by the *Kalingattupparaṇi* and the *Vikramāṅkadēva Carita*, and which might have been the concomitant of a religious upheaval, lend plausibility to the suggestion thus made. But it must be recognised that the details of the chronology of the life of Rāmānuja furnished by other works are not easy to explain on this assumption, and that it is perhaps impossible to reconcile all the data furnished by legend on any single hypothesis. ¶

Was religion the cause?

* *IA.* xli pp. 217 ff.

† Ed. Ālkoṇḍavilli Gōvindācārya-Mysore 1885, text in Telugu characters. Nāgari text in the *Sahṛdayā* (New series).

‡ *IA.* xxxviii pp. 129 ff. See, however, *IA.* xl p. 152, for a critique.

§ xviii 84.

¶ To refrain from dogmatism in dealing with such shifty material is as necessary as it is difficult. Krimikaṇṭha-Cōḷa has generally been identified with

Before concluding this discussion of the circumstances of Kulōttunga's accession, it must be pointed out that the provenance of the inscriptions of the early years of Kulōttunga now known does not confirm the views to which Hultzsch gave expression in his masterly introduction to Kulōttunga's inscriptions of these years. It shows, on the contrary, that from A.D. 1070 onwards Kulōttunga was practically master of the entire Cōḷa country, except, of course, for the hostile movement of Vikramāditya VI which remained to be dealt with, and the risings in the south, always ready to break out on every possible occasion and now favoured by the confusion following Vīrarājēndra's death. Inscriptions of Rājēndra's second year * with the characteristic introduction or with a verifiable date are found in Kaṇḍamangalam (South Arcot) and Vaḷuvūr (Tanjore); of the third year † at Ālanguḍi, Nallūr (Tanjore), Iḍaiyār and Tribhuvani, (South Arcot). And

Kulōttunga I, on the strength of the name Kulōttunga given to the Cōḷa persecutor of Rāmānuja in late works like the *Kōyiloḻugu*. A. Govindācārya-svāmin-*Life of Rāmānuja* (Madras 1906) p. 170. S. K. Aiyangar *Ancient India* pp. 150 and 207. Dr. Aiyangar is inclined to date the decline of Cōḷa power from the end of Kulōttunga I's reign. *op. cit.* pp. 152 and 318. It has been pointed out that the traditional date for the foundation of the temple at Mēlukōṭe is against this identification of Krimikaṇṭha. (*IA.* vol. xli. p. 224). It is possible that 'Kulōttunga' is used in late works as a generic name for Cōḷa. The name is not found even in the *Guruparamparāprabhāva* (*Āṟāyirappaḍi*; ed. Madras 1927). Krimikaṇṭha-Cōḷa is said to have uprooted and thrown into the sea the image of Gōvindarāja from the front of the Naṭarāja shrine at Cidambaram, and this act of sacrilege is placed by the *Divyasūricarita* at the very beginning of the Cōḷa persecution of Viṣṇuism, (xviii 72). The same fact is recalled by the much later *Prapannāmṛtam* (quoted by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar *op. cit.* p. 320). The poet Oṭṭakkūttan seems to attribute this deed to Kulōttunga II—*Kulōttungasōḻan-ulā* ll 76-8; *Rājarājasōḻan-ulā* ll. 64-6 which is most explicit, and *Takkayāgap-paraṇi* v. 777. But no one, on this account, seems to be prepared to identify the persecutor of Rāmānuja with Kulōttunga II. This king is, however, known to have extended the temple of Naṭarāja by putting up new structures and 'gilding' it and it may be that the Tamil poet in describing this act of his attributes to him a deed of one of his predecessors. Otherwise the genuineness of even the *Divyasūricarita* would be suspect.

* 358 of 1917; 425 of 1912.

† 497 of 1920; 55 of 1911; 279 of 1929; 185 of 1919.

there are records of the second and fourth years already giving him the name Kulōttunga. * It seems necessary therefore to give up the ideas that some years elapsed after Rājiga entered the Cōḷa kingdom and before he actually occupied the territory on the banks of the Kāvēri; and that his formal assumption of Cōḷa sovereignty in the fifth year was marked by the adoption of the name Kulōttunga. † The fact seems to have been that, as is implied by the *Vikramānkadēva Carita*, Rājiga came to the south soon after Adhirājēndra's demise ‡ and appropriated to himself the whole kingdom of the Cōḷas, in so far as it was possible to do this by a single formal act. In fact, he became the Cōḷa king. It remained of course for him to hold the new position against Vikramāditya's attack and to suppress other disorders. And if it is true, as seems likely, that some other records bearing early regnal years like the second and third of Kulōttunga § are also really his, then it becomes quite certain that the title Kulōttunga was also assumed by him from the very commencement.

Summary.

To sum up the results of the discussion. Despite the statement in the *Kalingattupparaṇi* that Vīrarājēndra made Kulōttunga his crown prince, the evidence of Adhirājēndra's inscriptions, the *Vikramānkadēva Carita* and the *Vikramaśōḷan-ulā* makes it clear that this could not have happened, and that, consequently, we have to assume that the court-poet of Kulōttunga introduced this story to give validity to Kulōttunga's title to the Cḷōa throne.

* 156 of 1923, (2); 101 of 1928, 468 of 1913 (4). † *SII.* iii pp. 132, 140.

‡ The civil war between Adhirājēndra and the 'usurper' postulated in *ARE.* 1904 paragraph 21 is pure myth. (See n. on 386 of 1903 Yr. 4, *post* Vol. ii. Appendix).

§ 145, 147, 151 of 1906; 142 of 1929; 55 of 1911; 586 of 1907; 267 of 1917; 126 of 1912.

There is no direct statement even by Jayangoṇḍār that Kulōttunga was either adopted into the Cōḷa family or that he was brought up in the Cōḷa court. The copper-plate grants of the Eastern Cāḷukyas, those of Vijayāditya VII, of Śaktivarman II and of the sons of Kulōttunga himself, together with the early Tamil records of Kulōttunga's reign, lead us to reconstruct the period of Kulōttunga's youth and his career until he came to the Cōḷa throne somewhat as follows. At the time of his father's death, his uncle Vijayāditya made himself master of the Vēngī kingdom and kept the prince Rājēndra, as he was then called, out of his inheritance. Alone and unaided, he sought a life of adventure across the Vēngī frontier in the land of Cakrakūṭa and Pūrvadēśa. Possibly he carved a small principality for himself and after making his peace with his uncle Vijayāditya, especially as, after the death of Śaktivarman II, this must have been easy, he bided his time hoping that in some manner he might gain the Cōḷa throne for himself. The confusion that followed the death of Vīrarājēndra in the internal affairs of the Cōḷa kingdom helped him to achieve his object in spite of the attempts of Cāḷukya Vikramāditya VI to prevent the union of the Vēngī and Cōḷa kingdoms in the same hands. The evidence is not clear on the question of Kulōttunga's complicity in the rebellions that at first obstructed the accession and then shortened the rule of Adhirājēndra. There is just a possibility that these disturbances were religious in origin and connected with the Cōḷa persecution of Vaiṣṇavism in the days of Rāmānuja, a fact well attested in legends, though the details of the story are very obscure. In any event, Kulōttunga began to rule in the Cōḷa kingdom from about the 9th June A. D. 1070. * In his later

* *EI.* vii. p. 7 n. 5.

inscriptions Kulōttunga *claims to have obtained the* Cōḷa crown by right and thereby become an acceptable companion to the land of the Kāvēri in her loneliness. *

* *SII.* iii 68. '*Podumai*' does not mean 'prostitution' as Hultzsch understands it. The idea is that Lakṣmī, the wealth of the southern country, had become common, ownerless, and the land of the Kāvēri lonely, uncompanioned, when the Cōḷa succession failed; both found a remedy for their situation in the coming of Kulōttunga.

APPENDIX

SELECT LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS OF THE CŌḶAS AND RELATED DYNASTIES (CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED.)

This list is intended to furnish a handy reference to the most important epigraphs on which the history of the Cōḷas is based. As far as possible, all the inscriptions of definite historical or social importance have been included, and references given to the known editions of published inscriptions. Most of the unpublished inscriptions have been consulted by me, thanks to the courtesy of the Archaeological Department, and the data gathered from their study have been incorporated in the summaries of the records. These will be found arranged in the order of regnal years of the rulers in whose reigns they were recorded, the inscriptions of each regnal year being arranged in the alphabetical order of the villages where they are found. Records dated on a numbered day in a regnal year are placed at the end of that year, *e. g.*, 185th day of year 10 will be found at the end of year 10 and before year 11. Only a few of the Rājakēsari and Parakēsari inscriptions have been included under the particular reigns to which they may be assigned. In the case of most of them, however, the identity of the ruler is either obscure or disputed; hence they have been put together in separate groups, and placed at the beginning of the list. Inscriptions of other contemporary rulers have also been listed wherever, as in the case of Kṛṣṇa III, such a list is calculated to elucidate the course of Cōḷa History.

The following abbreviations are used for the names of districts :—

Anantapur	An.
North Arcot	NA.
South Arcot	SA.
Bellary	Bel.
Chingleput	Ch.
Chittoor	C.
Coimbatore	Coi.
Cuddapah	Cud.
Ganjam	Gj.
Godavari	God.
Guntur	Gu.
South Kanara	SK.
Krishna	Kr.
Karnool	Kar.
Madras	Ms.
Madura	Md.
Malabar	Mal.
Nellore	Nel.
Ramnad	Rd.
Salem	Sm.
Tanjore	Tj.
Tinnevelly	Tin.
Trichinopoly	Tri.
Vizagapatam	Viz.
Cochin	Cn.
Mysore	Mys.
Pudukkottah	Pd.
Travancore	Tv.

Also, caturvēdi-mangalam is abbreviated into catm., and n-d. signifies 'no date.'

Year 2—*Lālguḍi* (Tri.)—Five *kaḻañju* for some lamps in the temple by Arangan Paṭṭālagan of the Madhurāntaka-teriñja-kaikkōḷa-paḍai, a Kaikkōḷa of Śōḷamādēviyār Vēḷam (in Tanjore). 89 of 1892 ; *SII.* iv 536.

„ *Śendalai* (Tj.)—Gold for lamp deposited with the sabhā. 61 of 1897 ; *SII.* iv 10.

„ *Śrīnivāsanallūr* (Tri.)—Thirty sheep and thirty goats for a lamp in the temple of Tiru-kurakkut-tuṟai-perumāṇaḍigaḷ at Mahēndra-mangalam. 586 of 1904.

„ *Śrīnivāsanallūr* (Tri.)—Registers the tax-free lands of the temple and allots the revenues therefrom for its various requirements. A special *vāriyam* and the *kaṇakku* did the work. 596 of 1904.

„ *Tirumaṇañjēri* (Tj.)—An arrangement by Uḍaiya-pirāṭṭiyār Śembiyan Mādēviyār, mother of Uttama Cōḷa, regarding expenses for the temple from the proceeds of 14 *vēli* of land in Mūlanguḍi. 21 of 1914.

„ *Tirumeyñānam* (Tj.)—The assembly of Nālūr, a *brahmadēya* transferred the right of collecting *angāḍik-kūli* in the bazaar of their town (*engaḷūr*) to the temple of Mūlasthānattu Mahādēva of Tirumayānam—the rate being *kāśinvāy nāḻi* of each measurable stuff like paddy and rice brought up for sale from outside Nālūr; *kiḍandu viṟpana kuvālāl* (*heap*) *nāḻi* ; one *palam* of articles sold by weight ; one *paṟṟu* on each basket of betel-leaves ; two nuts for each basket of areca-nuts. This transfer was apparently in consideration of 25 *kāśu* received by the assembly from the temple. 321 of 1910 ; *SII.* iii 90 *

„ *Tirunāgēśvaram* (Tj.)—Gift with the consent of the guild (*Nagara-anuccaiyāl*) of *vārāvaigal* collected annually till then by the Nagaram (i. e., the Perunagarattār of Kumāra-mārtāṇḍa-puram) on account of two flower gardens of the Milāḍuḍaiyār-paḷḷi of that

* Palaeographically of the time of Āditya I. H. K. Sastri.

village; the gift was made for the renovation (*puduk-kuppuṟam*) of the gōpura and the tiruccuṟṟālai (called Mouna-kumāra-māttāṇḍan) in the paḷḷi.
222 of 1911; *SII.* iii. 91 *

Year 2—*Tiruppaḻanam* (Tj.)—Thirty *kaḻañju* of gold by Śōḻap-perumānaḍigaḷ Perunaṟkkiḷḷi-śōḻan for lamp.
143 of 1928.

" *Tiruppugalūr* (Tj.)—Silver vessels to god Pugalūr-dēva. Another damaged record in year 3 of ...varman records gift of a silver vessel by Pattan Dānatongiyār queen of Uttama Cōḻa-dēva. 70 of 1928.

" *Tiruveṇkāḍu* (Tj.)—Land, by purchase, for offerings to the temple of Tiruveṇkāḍu-dēva by one of the Pārthiva-śēkharat-teriñja-kaikkōḻar. † 491 of 1918.

" *Tiruviḍaimarudūr* (Tj.)—Eight *Īḻakkāśu* to the shrine of Purāṇa-gaṇapati on the south side of the Mūlasthāna at Tiruviḍaimarudil by a native of Ēmanallūr, a *brahmadēya* in Vaḍagarai-maṇṇi-nāḍu. 239 of 1907.

" *Uḍaiyārguḍi* (SA.)—Land and house-sites by purchase for feeding 15 Brahmans and 5 Śivayōgis and for paddy for a Brahman who supplied water for the sacred bath of god. 577 of 1920. ‡

Year 3—*Allūr* (Tri.)—Gift of waste land with the permission of Vīraśōḻa-Iḷangōvēḷ *alias* Parāntakan Kuñjaramallan.
380 of 1903.

" *Kāñcīpuram* (Ch.)—Loan raised from the temple by the Ūrār of Tirukkaṟṟaḷipurattu-Menalūr. The interest on the loan of 18 *kaḻañju*, 3 *mañjāḍi* and 1 *kunṟi* was one *uḻakku* of oil every day. *SII.* i. 84.

* cf. 199 of 1907; *ARE.* 1912 II. 12. Kumāra-māttāṇḍa was a surname of Nandivarman II.

† Wrongly explained as 'a body of weavers' so named after Rājarāja I in *ARE.* 1919 II 10.

‡ This seems to refer to Āditya II falling a victim to some treachery on the part of local chiefs; their lands were confiscated by Rājarāja, and these lands, after purchase by another, came to be used for feeding Brahmans in the Śiva temple at Kāṭṭumannār-kōyil of which Uḍaiyārguḍi was a hamlet. *ARE.* 1921 II. 31.

Year 3—*Kilappaluvūr* (Tri.)—Two silver vessels to the temple by queen of Vikramaśōla Ilangōvēlār and daughter of Paluvēttaraiyar. 110 of 1895; *SII.* v. 671.

„ *Kumbakōṇam* (Tj.)—Sale of land by the assembly (*mūlaparuṣai*) of Tirukkuḍamūkkil to a Veḷḷāḷa, Araiyan Kalangāmalai, for feeding (uttamāgram) a Śivayōgin in a temple. 227 of 1911.

„ *Kumbakōṇam* (Tj.)—Mentions one of the Vīra-śōla-* teriñja-kaikkōlar of Tanjore. 228 of 1911.

„ *Kumbakōṇam* (Tj.)—Sale of land to temple for 500 *kalañju* of gold by the assembly of Tirukkuḍamūkkil, in order to pay a part of 3,000 *kalañju*, a *daṇḍam* levied upon them by Madiraikoṇḍa-uḍaiyār in his 38th year. Mentions Pāṇḍippaḍai as those to whom the amount was to be paid and the temple of Jalaśayana. 255 of 1911. †

„ *Olagapuram* (SA.)—Sheep for lamp by Ambalavan Gaṇḍarādittanār, a *perundaram* of the king, who built the temple of Śrī-Kailāyattu-Paramasvāmigaḷ; Ulōgamādēvi-puram a *taniyūr* in Ōymā-nāḍu. 129 of 1919.

„ *Paṇḍāravāḍai* (Tj.)—Land, by purchase, by a Veḷḷāḷa of Iḷamangalam a suburb (*piḍāgai*) of Rājakēsari-catm., to a resident of Manōramac-cēri ‡ for bringing water from the river for the sacred bath of the deity. Coin *karungāśu* mentioned. The purchase was *bināmi*, (anyanāma-karaṇam) 238 of 1923.

„ *Paṇḍāravāḍai* (Tj.)—Land by a native of Puḷḷamangalam residing at Naratongac-cēri, as a *jīvita* to a person for bringing water daily from the river for sacred bath. 276 of 1923.

„ *Salem* (Sm.)—Five *kalañju* of gold for feeding Brahmans in the temple by a merchant belonging to the *maṇigrāmam* of Koḍumbāḷūr. 47 of 1888; *SII.* iv. 147.

* Title of Parāntaka I. cf. Samarakēsari and Vikramaśinga in other names of similar groups of Kaikkōḷar. 278, 279 of 1911, *ARE.* 1912 II. 16.

† Perhaps Gaṇḍarāditya, Rājāditya having died. *ARE.* 1912 II. 15.

‡ Parakēsaric-cēri in the same village mentioned in 268 of 1923. See also next entry.

Year 3—*Śendalai* (Tj.)—Gold (for lamp) deposited with the sabhā. 62 of 1897 ; *SII.* vi. 11.

„ *Tillaisthānam* (Tj.)—Mentions two persons among the Samarakēsarit-teriñja-kaikkōḷar.
24 of 1895 ; *SII.* v. 580.

„ *Tillaisthānam* (Tj.)—Mentions Samarakēsari - * and Vikramaśinga-teriñja-kaikkōḷar. 278 of 1911.

„ *Tirukkoḷambiyūr* (Tj.)—Assembly of Dūvēdimangalam makes tax-free some temple land in return for 14 *kāśu*. 53 of 1925.

„ *Tirumalavāḍi* (Tri.)—Gold by a native of Toṇḍai-nāḍu for *aval* (crushed rice) offering on the *Ārdrā* day in the month of Mārgaḻi to Gaṇapati. The temple, which is picturesquely situated on the bend of the Koḷḷiḍam river, is called Punal-vāyil-Śrī-kōyil.
98 of 1920.

„ *Tiruneḍungaḷam* (Tri.)—Year six in words. Image Lōkasundari set up by a private individual in the temple of Tiruneḍungaḷattu Āḻvār. Also land for offerings. 682 of 1909.

„ *Tiruvāmāttur* (SA.)—96 sheep by Rāman Siddhavaḍavan *alias* Vikkarama-śōḻa-Milāḍuḍaiyān of the Bhārgava gōtra, for lamp in the temple at Tiruvāmāttūr, a *dēvadāna* in Vāvalūr-nāḍu, a division of Aruvā-nāḍu.
29 of 1922.

„ *Tiruveḷḷaṟai* (Tri.)—Gold for feeding at noon a Brahman versed in the Vēdas. 519 of 1905.

„ *Tiruveṟumbūr* (Tri.)—Sale of land by residents of Erumbiyūr and the assembly of Śrīkaṇṭha-catm., to Śembiyan Vēdivēḷān. 123 of 1914.

„ *Tiruveṟumbūr* (Tri.)—Land by assembly for singing Tiruppadiyam in temple with *uḍukkai* and *tāḷam*. The donor was Śembiyan Vēdivēḷān. Refers to a śīmāvivāda between sabhā and ūr. 129 of 1914.

* Also in 279 of 1911 same year and place.

Year 3—*Tiruviḍaimarudūr* (Tj.)—Paddy by Tiraimūr sabhā and Tiruviḍaimarudil nagarattār, Tirukkōyil-uḍaiyār and Śrīkāryam-ārāy-ginra Irumuḍi-sōḷa-pallava-Araiyar.
152 of 1895 ; *SII.* v. 716.

„ *Tiruviḍaimarudūr* (Tj.)—Provision for supply of two tender cocoanuts daily to the deity. Six *karungāśu* with Tiruviḍaimarudil Sēnaiyār. 242 of 1907.

„ *Tiruviḷakkuḍi* (Tj.)—Land by assembly of Murugavēḷ-mangalam for maintaining three musicians (*kāḷam* and gong) during *śrībali* to Mangaḷa Nakkar in the temple of Mahādēva. 116 of 1926.

„ *Tiruviśalūr* (Tj.)—Land by queen of Uttama Cōḷa-dēva, who seems to have been the daughter of Milāḍuḍaiyār.
325 of 1907.

„ *Tiruviśalūr* (Tj.)—Mentions mother of Śrī Uttama Cōḷa-dēva. 327 of 1907.

„ *Uḍaiyārguḍi* * (SA.)—Gold for lamp by a native of Paṇḍitavatsalac-cēri. 543 of 1920.

„ *Uḍaiyārguḍi* (SA.)—Gold by a Brahman lady of Vāda-vūr in Pāṇḍi-nāḍu for lamp. 599 of 1920.

„ *Uḍaiyārguḍi* (SA.)—19 *vēli* of land by three persons for feeding 56 Brahmans ; king Uttama Cōḷa mentioned.
614 of 1920.

„ *Uṟaiyūr* (Tri.)—Mentions Kīrtti-mārtāṇḍa-Brahmādhi-rājan. 182 of 1907.

„ *Vṛddhācalam* (SA.)—Assignment by residents (ūrōm) of Neṟkuppai of some *dēvadāna* lands got from the king to an individual for supply of *sandal* paste etc.
57 of 1918. †

* A number of Rājak. records ranging from year 3 to year 16 come from this place. The temple here came into existence only in Parāntaka I's time. Hence this Rājak. must be either Gaṇḍarāditya or Sundara Cōḷa. But the name of G. is omitted in the Kanyākumāri inscription, and he perhaps had a short reign, or was only coregent with his father. *ARE.* 1921 II. 27.

† Mentions a grant by Uttama Cōḷa and hence may be of Rājarāja I. *ARE.* 1918 II. 23.

Year 3+1 *Nangavaram* (Tri.)—Land for maintaining the boat plying in the tank at Ariñjigai-catm. 342 of 1903. *

Year 4.—*Guḍimallam* (NA.)—Land, two *paṭṭis* of 1000 *kuḷi* each, for offerings etc., to an image of Kūttapperumāḷ set up in the Paraśurāmēśvara temple by Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarādittar. † 222 of 1903.

„ *Innambūr* (Tj.)—Temple called Ariñjigai Viṇṇagar was built in the name of Śatti-Ariñjigai *alias* Tennavan Viḻupparaiyan of Innambar, and provision made for feeding five Brahmans in the temple. 321 of 1927.

„ *Tirukkurugāvūr* (Tj.)—Remission by the assembly (sabhā) of Poygaikkuḍi of the taxes due on the lands granted to temple. 430 of 1918.

„ *Tirumāḷam* (Tj.)—Crown set with gems to the temple of Mahākāḷattu Mahādēva by Kāripuliyan ‡ *alias* Śōḻamārāyan of Paḻuvūr in Kunṟak-kūṟṟam. 114 of 1910.

„ *Tiruppaḻanam* (Tj.)—Land for two gardeners in a garden endowed by the father of the donor, a merchant. 149 of 1928.

„ *Tiruttaṇi* (NA.)—Lamp. Endowment to be supervised by the 'annual committee' of Tiruttaṇiyal. (*Samvatsara-vāriyam* of the sabhā). 432 of 1905.

„ *Tiruvaḷandai* (Ch.)—Twenty *kaḷañju* of gold by a merchant of Puruṣōttama-mangalam in Vaḷḷuva-nāḍu, a district of Malai-nāḍu, for a perpetual lamp in the Varāhadēva temple of this village. for ghee (*neyyeṇṇai*) supplied as interest by the residents of Paḍuvūr. 263 of 1910.

* 341 n-d. grantha verse gives names of tank and donor; 343 n-d. (Tamil) gives details of daily removal of silt, and of repairs to boat.

† Perhaps son of Madhurāntaka Uttama Cōḷa, son of Gaṇḍarādittan. cf. *SII.* iii. 49 (*ARE.* 1904 I 20). This Gaṇḍarāditya II must have been the religious devotee, author of Tiruviśaippā, rather than the son of Parāntaka. (Venkayya) *ASI.* 1905-6 p. 173, n. 5.

‡ cf. 117 of 1910 of Year 2 of Parak. who took the head of Pāṇḍya. The Rājak. of this record must be the immediate predecessor of Parak. Ariñjaya of Āditya II. *ARE.* 1910 II. 17.

Year 4.—*Tiruveṟumbūr* (Tri.)—15 *kaḻañju* of gold by Tiruvaranga-dēvaraḍiyāḷ Śēndan-śeyyavāy-maṇi for a lamp and a pot of water every day to the temple of Tenkailāyattu Mahādēva at Śrīkaṇṭha-catm.
114 of 1914. *

„ *Uḍaiyārguḍi* (SA.)—Land by purchase for the mid-day meal of three persons every day. 560 of 1920.

„ *Uḍaiyārguḍi* (SA.)—Land (*iṟaiyili*) by the great assembly of Vīranārāyaṇa-catm., assembled at Vīranārāyaṇaviṇṇagar, for food offerings thrice a day to the deity. 562 of 1920.

„ *Veṇpākkam* (Ch.)—Construction of a sluice (*tūmbu*) by a certain Kēraḷan Rājādittan *alias* Nāṇi-viccādaramārāyan who had the *jīvita* in Vēlikkōn-mangalam in Kunṟa-nāḍu, a sub-division of Ūṟṟukkāṭṭu-kōṭṭam.
419 of 1923.

Year 4,—, day 89—*Śrīrangam* (Tri.)—A settlement re: the temple *dēvadānas* and other matters by the Perunguṟi-sabhā of Śrīrangam. 69 of 1892 ; *SII.* iv. 516.

„ , day 204—*Mēlappaḻuvūr* (Tri.)—Grant of certain rights in the temple of Tiruttōṭṭam-uḍaiyār built by Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyan Kaṇḍan Maṟavan who seems to have been staying at Śēnāpuram in Malāḍu. † 394 of 1924.

Year 4 + 1—*Tiruvāmāttūr* (SA.)—Lamp by Śiṟiya-mārāyan of Īkkuḍi and his brothers, on behalf of Candirāccan, son of Kāḷi *alias* Mīnavan Mārāyan of Tennavan-mādēvi in Veṇ-nāḍu. 27 of 1922.

Year 5.—*Kāmarasavalli* (Tri.)—Land (made tax-free by sabhā) for *śidāri* by a Brahman of Ādanūr. 74 of 1914. ‡

„ *Kiḻūr* (SA.)—Sheep for lamp. Mentions queen of Vikrama Cōḷa Malāḍuḍaiyār, who was the daughter of Pāṇḍiyanār. 7 of 1905. §

* Later than Parāntaka I. *ARE.* 1915 II. 20.

† *Malāṭṭuc-cēnāpurattē irukka* (Text).

‡ 4th Jan. 964 A. D. (Sundara) or 2nd Jan. 991 A. D. (Rājarāja)—K. V. S. Aiyar, *EI.* xix. p. 86.

§ cf. 10 of 1905.

Year 5.—*Kumbakōṇam* (Tj.)—70 *Īḻakkāśu* for offerings.
236 of 1911.

" *Maṇimangalam* (Ch.)—90 sheep for lamp to Tiruvāyappāḍi Śrīkṛṣṇa Perumāḷ. Name Lōkamahādēvi-catm., and the Gaṇapperumakkaḷ doing *śrīkāryam* to this god (*inda dēvarkku*) mentioned.
292 of 1897 ; *SII.* vi. 270.

" *Paḻūr* (Tri.)—One *vēli* of land for offerings to Paramēśvara at Tiruppaḻuvūr in Viḷattūr-nāḍu by the chieftain Mahimālaya Irukkuvēḷ *alias* Pirāntakan Vīra-śōḻan. *
346 of 1918.

" *Pulallūr* (Ch.)—Land for offerings at mid-day service to Tirumēṟṟaḷi-mahādēva of the village, and for a flower garden, at the instance of the assembly of Paramēśvara-catm. in Eyiṟkōṭṭam, the members of the annual supervision committee and two other persons. 47 of 1923.

" *Tiṇḍivanam* (SA.)—Lamps to Tiruttiṇḍīśvara at Kiḍangil. 143 of 1900 ; *SII.* vii, 157.

" *Tiruvaiyāṟu* (Tj.)—25 *kaḻañju* of gold for half a lamp deposited with the Nagarattār of Śivapuri.
135 of 1918.

" *Tiruveṟumbūr* (Tri.)—Land for feeding 15 Brahmans by Śembiyan Vēdi-vēḷār. 103 of 1914.

" *Tiruveṟumbūr* (Tri.)—Decision of the assembly of Śrīkaṇṭha-catm. that no taxes shall be levied on the temple belongings; the persons who violate this decision will be shunned and treated as *grāmakaṇṭakas*, and fined by the Māhēśvaras. The settlement was engraved on the Śrīvimāna by the committee supervising the affairs of the temple for the year.
133 of 1914. †

Year 6.—*Allūr* (Tri.)—Gold for supply of bathing water to temple. 383 of 1903.

* Indicates original employment under Parāntaka I. Hence, this record is one of Gaṇḍarāditya or Parāntaka II. *ARE.* 1919 II 10.

† *ARE.* 1915 II 20. Earlier than 907 A.D. (L.D.S.) ; 4th January 961 A. D. (Sundara) or 27th May, 991 A.D. (Rājarāja) K. V. S. Aiyar, *EI.* xix p. 86.

Year 6.—*Kāñcīpuram* (Ch.)—900 sheep by the king for ten lamps in his name in the temple of Aiñjaṇḍi Durgaiyār ; an *adhikārin* distributed these among certain persons who in turn had to supply *ghī*. These sheep were got when Śippuli-nāḍu and Pākki-nāḍu were conquered * by Paraman Maḻapāḍiyār *alias* Mummuḍi-Cōḻan, chief of Kārukuḍi in Tañjāvūr-kūṟṟam. 79 of 1921.

„ *Kāvērippākkam* (NA.)—90 sheep for lamp to the Kīrtti-mārttāṇḍan-kālapriya temple. † 382 of 1905.

„ *Maṇimangalam* (Ch.)—Land, 4,000 *kuḻi*, tax-free, to Viṣṇu temple at Ratnāgrahāra, also called Maṇi-maṅgalam *alias* Ulōkamahādēvi ‡ - catm. in the Tamil part. The deity is called Dvārapuridēva. The Mahā-sabhā agree not to collect *iṟai*, *eṟcc oṟu*, *veṭṭi*, *veyadi-kāṇam* or anything else, and to condemn every one who does so to pay a fine of 25 *kaḻañju*.

7 of 1892 ; *SII*. iii. 27.

„ *Paḻangōyil* (NA.)—Lamp by Pāpayan, son of Nuḻambar-Vīra-śōḻan. § 362 of 1925.

„ *Paḻūr* (Tri.)—Land by a native of Kāraikkuḍi for singing Tiruppadiyam in the temple. 349 of 1918.

„ *Paṇḍāravāḍai* (Tj.)—Village Kundamangalam, given tax-free (*mīḻā-viṟaiyili*) to the temple of Bhūmi-sundara-viṇṇagar Paramasvāmi at Simhaviṣṇu-catm. in Mudiccō-ṇāḍu, built by the donor Kaṇṇandai Arivāṇan Bhūmisundaran *alias* Sundaraśōḻa-Mūvēnda-vēḻān. For securing the exemption from taxes, the donor deposited 200 *kaḻañju* of *pon* with the assembly of Simhaviṣṇu-

* Pākki-nāḍu is the northern part of the Nellore District. Śippuli-nāḍu must also have been there cf. *ARE*. 1913 II 18 ; also 160 of 1912 of year 34 of Parāntaka I for the earliest conquest. *ARE*. 1921, II 31.

† Built possibly by Kṛṣṇa III who, in his Karhāḍ inscription, says that he was encamped at Mēlpāḍi for 'establishing his followers in the southern provinces', and for 'constructing temples to Kālapriya, Gaṇḍamārtāṇḍa, Kṛṣṇēśvara and others' (*EI*. iv p. 281). If this view is correct, this inscription may be one of Ariñjaya, probably a Rājakēsari. *ARE*. 1906 II 21.

‡ After queen of Rājarāja I?

§ These names imply a time soon after Parāntaka I. Nuḻamba and Vīra may be the same as Nuḻamba Tribhuvana-dhīra or his son Nuḻamba and the Ganga Pṛthivīpati II (*EI*. iv pp. 88, 223). *ARE*. 1925 II 10.

catm. Paddy was being sold at 15 *kalam* per *kaḻañju*. Interest rate was 75 per cent per annum. 232 of 1923.

Year 6.—*Pulalūr* (Ch.)—Lamp to Taṇḍaladēva by the great assembly of Paramēśvara-catm. 49 of 1923.

" *Salem* (Sm.)—40 *pon* by Śelvan-aḍigaḷ to feed Brahmans every year on stated occasions, at the rate of 25 Brahmans per *kaḻañju*, with three curries, half *piḍi* of *ghī*, curd and betel. The occasions for feeding were the festival in the temple of Kiḻivaṇṇamuḍaiyār in Salem and Māśi Makham. 49 of 1888 ; *SII*. iv 149.

" *Tiruccirṟambalam* (Tj.)—Remission of taxes by assembly of Kuḷakkuḍi for lump amount received by them from a person, the amount being utilised for offerings to the deity at Tiruccirṟēmam, a *dēvadāna-brahmadēya* in Rājarāja-vaḷanāḍu. 187 of 1926.

" *Tirumālpuram* (NA.)—A gift by Madurāntakan Gaṇḍarādittan. 268 of 1906.

" *Tiruveṟumbūr* (Tri.) Land sold tax-free by the Peruṅguṟi-sabhā of Śrikaṇṭha-catm. met in the Tiruccitrakūṭam of the village ; the land was to serve as provision for feeding one Brahman daily in the manner detailed. 101 of 1892 ; *SII*. iv. 549.

" *Tiruveṟumbūr* (Tri.)—Land by a resident of the village for feeding in the choultry on the sacred hill a Brahman versed in the Veda. The Peruṅguṟi-sabhā of Śrikaṇṭha-catm. met in the Tiruccitrakūṭam of the village for making the land *iṟaiyili*. 127 of 1914. *

" *Tiruveṟumbūr* (Tri.)—Land set apart for feeding Brahmans versed in the Veda. Made tax-free by sabhā of Śrikaṇṭha-catm. Wide discretion to Panmāhēśvarar in enforcing sabhā's decision. 130 of 1914. †

" *Tiruveṟumbūr* (Tri.)—Land as *iṟaiyili* by assembly of Śrikaṇṭha-catm. for the Maḍaviḷāgam of the temple. 131 of 1914.

* Earlier than A. D. 907 (L.D.S.) ; 23rd Dec. 962 A. D. (Sundara) or 17th Jan. 993 A.D. (Rājarāja.). K.V.S. Aiyar *EI.* xix. p. 86.

† Earlier than 907 A.D. (L.D.S.) ; 27th December 964 (Sundara-*con.* preceding entry) or 19th January 992 A.D. (Rājarāja) K. V. S. Aiyar, *EI.* xix p. 86.

Year 6.—*Tiruviḍaimarudūr* (Tj.)—The Cōḷa queen (Vāna ?)- * van Mahādēvi came to worship the god. Meeting of sabhā and nagaram of the place. 215 of 1907.

„ *Tiruvirāmīśvaram* † (Tj.)—Gift of land by purchase. 117 of 1911.

„ *Uḍaiyārguḍi* ‡ (SA.)—Land by purchase to the assembly called *Śāsananuddha-caturvēdibhaṭṭa-perumbaḍi-sahasradāna-perumakkaḷ* of Vīranārāyaṇa-catm. by Śēkkiḻān Araiyan Śaṅkaranārāyaṇan *alias* Śōḻa-muttaraiyar of Mēṟpaḻuvūr(of Maṇayiṟkōṭṭam in Toṇḍai-nāḍ) as charity to the temple. 585 of 1920.

Year 6,—day 55—*Śambanārkōyil* (Tj.)—Fragment of an introduction (Rājādhirāja II ?). Land, for welfare of the king, for worship and repairs in temple by the assembly of Talaiccangāḍu. Mentions Rājasundaravadi. 174 of 1925.

Year 7.—*Kīḻappaḻuvūr* (Tri.)—Land by wife of Aḍigaḷ Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇḍan Māṟan for daily offerings. 226 of 1926. §

„ *Kuttālam* (Tj.) Temple constructed by Śembiyan Mahādēviyār, mother of Uttama Cōḷa. Gift of lands by her as provision for offerings, worship, music and other expenses, and for twenty-five Brahmans reciting the Sāma, Taittirīya and Chandōgā Sāma in the temple. 103 of 1926. ¶

„ *Olagapuram* (SA.)—Sale of land by the Nagarattār of Ulakamādēvipuram to Gangan-Ambalavan Gaṇḍarādittaśōḷa Viḻupparaiyan of Kuvaḷālam in Gangarasāyira for being presented to the temple for laying out a flower-garden. Mentions Kalikaṇṭaka-peruvarambu. 127 of 1919.

* Text has (Pañca).

† Perhaps Rāmanadīccaram of the *Dēvāram-ARE.* 1911 II 17.

‡ Kāṭṭumannārkōyil (Cdm).

§ Palaeographically Rājarāja I-*ARE.* 1926 II 17.

¶ Ascribed to Parakēsari Uttama Cōḷa in *ARE.* 1926 II. 18, apparently because Uttama is named at the beginning of the record. But year 7 of Rājarājakēsari is mentioned later; perhaps a record of Rājarāja's time.

Year 7.—*Tukkōlam* (NA.)—Eighty *kaḷañju* of gold by Dharmak-kaṭṭaḷai-kal borrowed from the temple by the assembly of Aparājita-catm., a hamlet of Tiru-vūṟal-puram, on interest at 10 *kaḷañju* per annum, the rate being 1/8 *kaḷañju* per *kaḷañju* per annum, and a fine of 1/8 *pon* for each day of default. 255 of 1921.

" *Tiruveṟumbūr* (Tri.)—Land for feeding three Śivayōgins and two Brahmans in the choultry on the sacred hill of the Āḻvār at Tiruveṟumbiyūr. 101 of 1914. *

" *Tiruveṟumbūr* (Tri.)—Land for a channel by the sabhā of Śrikaṇṭha-catm. 102 of 1914.

" *Tiruveṟumbūr* (Tri.)—Sale of land by assembly of Peru-veṅgūr to Vēḷān Viranārāyaṇan *alias* Śembiyan Vēdivēḷān, who is said to have constructed the Śrī-vimāna of Tiruveṟumbiyūr Āḻvār. Land also made *iṟaiyili* by sabhā after taking *iṟai-kāval-dravyam*. 104 of 1914. †

" *Tiruveṟumbūr* (Tri.)—Sale for 45 *kaḷañju* of the right to levy some paddy on lands by the assembly of Śrīkaṇṭha-catm. to Śembiyan Vēdivēḷān for digging the village tank. 105 of 1914. ‡

" *Tiruveṟumbūr* (Tri.)—Land as *jīvita* for maintaining a watchman, bought from the ūr for money provided by Śembiyan Vēdivēḷān, who built the central shrine. 112 of 1914.

Year 8.—*Śendalai* (Tj.)—Assembly of Candralēkai-catm. sold one *vēli* of land, tax-free, to a person for upkeep of an *ambalam* which he had erected in the village. 202 of 1926.

* 27th December 964 A.D. (Sundara) or 19th January 992 A.D. (Rājarāja) K. V. S. Aiyar *EI*, xix p. 86.

† Earlier than 907 A.D. (L.D.S.). But the names Viranārāyaṇa and Uttama-śīli-catm. make this impossible. Either 14th January, 964 A.D. (Sundara), or 11th January 994 A.D. (Rājarāja)-K. V. S. Aiyar *EI.* xix. p. 86.

‡ See note under preceding entry. Either 15th August 963 A.D. (Sundara) or 12 August 993 A.D. (Rājarāja)-K. V. S. Aiyar *EI.* xix. p. 86.

Year 8.—*Tillaisthānam* (Tj.)—Twenty *kalañju* gold for lamp by Ādittan Kannaradēvan, * son of the Cōla king. Sabhā and ūr in charge of the endowment.
38 of 1895, *SII.* v. 595.

„ *Tirunedungalam* (Tri.)—Land to a native of Śūralūr by the Māhēśvaras, temple servants and residents of the village. 683 of 1909.

„ *Tiruppalātturai* (Tri.)—Land to Paramēśvara temple at Tiruppanambūdūr in Uttamaśili-catm., a *brahmadēya* in Ten-karai, by an officer of Pillaiyār Arikulakēsari-dēvar. † Sabhā makes the land tax-free. 176 of 1907.

„ *Tiruppalātturai* (Tri.)—Land to Tiruppanambūdūr Paramēśvara by one of the *perundaram* of Pillaiyār Arikulakēsari-dēva. ‡ The land was made *iraiyili* by the Perunguri-sabhā. 570 of 1908 ; *SII.* iii. 111.

„ *Tiruppalātturai* (Tri.)—Land, tax-free, by the Perunguri-sabhā of Uttamaśili-catm. Mentions the servant of Ālvār Arikulakēsari-dēva who figures as donor in the preceding record (570 of 1908).
574 of 1908 § ; *SII.* iii. 112.

„ *Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—Land sold tax-free by the Mahāsabhā for feeding daily twenty Brahmans in the Kurukṣētra temple of the village. The charity was to be administered by the authorities of the temple (*ikkōyil śrī-kāryam śeyvārē*) 40 of 1898, *SII.* vi. 323.

* i. e., Kṛṣṇa, son of Āditya. Archaic palaeography. Āditya I perhaps had a son, an unknown brother of Parāntaka. Thus, archaic Rājakēsari inscriptions may be those of Āditya I, and likewise, Parakēsari records, those of Vijayālaya. (Hultzsch in *ARE.* 1895 paragraph 12). cf. 251 of 1894 of Rājak 20; 356 of 1903 of Parak. 15 ; 218 of 1904 of Rajāk. 37. Also T. A. G. Rao in *MCC. Magazine* Vol. 24. pp. 128-9, agrees with Hultzsch.

† Son of Parāntaka I (*EI.* vii pp. 141-2)-*ARE.* 1908 II 51.

‡ If Arikulakēsari is identical with Ariñjaya, the Rājakēsari of this record may be Gaṇḍarāditya *ASI.* 1908-9, p. 122 (H. K. Sastri).

§ King identified with Gaṇḍarāditya by H. K. Sastri. Tiruppāṟṟurai and Tiruppanambūdūr were apparently hamlets of Uttamaśili, quite close. For Arikulakēsari, see 316 of 1903 of Parak. 3 (Parāntaka I), and *EI.* vii p. 141. He is said to be a military officer of Parāntaka in *ARE.* 1909 II. 38, where also the Parak. of 316 of 1903 is taken to be Gaṇḍarāditya.

Year 8.—*Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—A resolution of a full meeting (*ābāla-vṛddhar-amaiya*) of the Mahāsabhā, met in the big maṇḍapa, by which *paṭṭi-kāḍi* was not to be collected after a certain day and the Śraddhāmantar were authorised to punish breaches of the resolution.
62 of 1898; *SII.* vi. 345.

Year 9.—*Alanguḍi* (Tj.)—Land, on a solar eclipse day, by the headman of Tañjāvūr for mid-day offerings every day to Rāghava Perumāḷ at Irumbūḷai in Simhaviṣṇu-catm. a *brahmadēya* on the S. bank. 498 of 1920.

" *Badūr* (NA.)—Land as *iṟaiyili* to temple by the residents (ūr) of Vāḍavūr. 410 of 1922.

" *Śendalai* (Tj.)—The Perunguṟi-sabhā of Candiralōkai-catm. purchase land in the 53rd *kuḍumbu* of the village, and assign it as *iṟaiyili bhāratappangu* to Śinginandil-Svarūpa-bhaṭṭa of the Ātrēya gōtra and Vaikhānasa sūtra, a native of Perumbuliyūr, who has to read the Bhāratam every day in the *ambalam* built in the *brahmasthāna* of the village by one Vairamēgha-bhaṭāra. Whoever enjoys the *pangu* after the first incumbent has to do the same.
63 of 1897; *SII.* vi. 12.

" *Śendalai* (Tj.)—Two bits of land by purchase by two members of the assembly for expenses during the festival to Tiruppeṟundurai-perumāṉ-aḍigaḷ.
209 of 1926. *

" *Tirunāgēśvaram* (Tj.)—Mentions Ariñjigaip-pirāṭṭiyār, a Bāṇa queen and daughter of prince Arikulakēsari; and the Simhaḷas. 215 of 1911. †

" *Tiruviḍaimarudūr* (Tj.)—The laying out of a *śiṟu-śeṇbaga* flower-garden by Tiruveṇkāṭṭu-piccan.
260 of 1907.

Year 10—*Mēlappaḻuvūr* (Tri.)—The residents (Nagarattār) of Avani-Kandarpapura had the inscription engraved to

* Āditya I, *ARE.* 1926 II. 17.

† The date is doubtful in the original; the regnal year may be 2 or 3. *ARE.* 1912, II 16.

the effect that the *manṟupāḍu* prevailing at Nandipuram from olden times should also be in force in this village. Order issued by Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyan Maṟavan Kaṇḍanār. 365 of 1924.

Year 10—*Tiruccuḻi* (Rd.)—(Vaṭṭeḻuttu)—Frag. Lamp. 417 of 1914.

„ *Tiruviḍaimarudūr* (Tj.)—Twenty *īḻakkāśu* equal to 10 *kaḻañju pon* for a lamp by Poduvan Śiṟṟaḍi, a woman (*peṇḍātti*) of the retinue of Uḍaiya-pirāṭṭiyār, the *ācciyār* of Ānaimēṟṟuñjina Uḍaiyār. Twenty-four *kaḻañju* more for *taṇṇīr-amudu-vaṭṭil*. 156 of 1895; *SII.* v 720.

Year 11.—*Tillaisthānam* (Tj.)—Two *paṭṭams* of gold made by the auditor of temple accounts (? *śrīkāryam ārāyappeṟṟa*) out of 13¼ *kaḻañju* and 2 *mañjāḍi* collected as *kuṟṟa-daṇḍam* from three persons including the Nagarakkaraṇattān of the place (*ivvūr*). 35 of 1895; *SII.* v 592, same as 283 of 1911.

Year 11, day 300—*Tiruppūndurutti* (Tj.)—30 *pon* for lamp by Nangai Śāttaperumānār, the mistress (*bōgiyār*) of the Cōḻa king. 105 of 1931. *

Year 12—*Kīḻappaḻuvūr* (Tri.)—Ninety sheep for lamp by Aḍigaḷ Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar Maṟavan Kaṇḍan. 229 of 1926. †

„ *Talaiccangāḍu* (Tj.)—Lamp by a merchant of Kollam in Malai-nāḍu. 202 of 1925.

„ *Tiruvaiyāṟu* (Tj.)—Lamp by a queen, Śembiya .... dēviyār *alias* Kulamāṇikka Nambirāṭṭiyār. 250 of 1894; *SII.* v 549.

„ *Tiruviśalūr* (Tj.)—Ninety-six sheep for a lamp by a native of the Pāṇḍya country. 37 of 1907.

Year 12 + 1.—*Mēlappaḻuvūr* (Tri.)—Assignment of a temple land to an individual by the temple authorities at the instance of Aḍigaḷ Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar Maṟavan Kaṇḍanār. 370 of 1924.

* Āditya I. *ARE.* 1931, II. 4.

† Sundara Cōḻa—*ARE.* 1926 II. 7.

Year 13—*Lālguḍi* (Tri.)—Sale of land by sabhā of Maṇalkal for 30 *kaḻañju* for a lamp endowed by Nangai-Varaguṇa-perumānār, the sister of the Cōḷa king (Śōḻapperumanaḍigaḷ tiru-uḍaippiṟandār Nangai-Varaguṇa-perumānār). 250 of 1931; *EI.* xx. p. 53.

„ *Mēlappaḻuvūr* (Tri.)—Eight *mā* of land reclaimed for one lamp in each of the two shrines in Avanikandarpa-Īśvara temple in Kunṟak-kūṟṟam, under orders of Nakkan Pūdi Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyan Kumāran Kaṇḍan. 357 of 1924.

„ *Tillaisthānam* (Tj.)—50 *kaḻañju* gold to Tiruneyttānattu-Mahādēva by Tennavan Pirudi Mārāśan *alias* Kaṭṭi Oṟṟiyūran, and Varaguṇa-perumānār queen of Parāntaka Iḷaṅgōvēḷār.* With this gold some land was converted from dry to wet cultivation. Among the boundaries is Karikālakkarai. 287 of 1911; *SII.* iii. 113.

Year 14.—*Paṇḍāravāḍai* (Tj.)—Twenty *karungāśu* by Śenda Nakkapirān Bhaṭṭa Sarvakratu-yājiyār (cf. 234 of year 7.) The interest on the amount, 3 *kāśu* was to be given to the best reciter of certain prescribed portions of the Jaiminīya Sāma Veda on the night of the Ārdrā festival in Mārgaḻi after the sacred bath of the deity. It was stipulated that no prize-winner should compete a second time. 266 of 1923.

„ *Tillaisthānam* (Tj.)—Thirty *kaḻañju* of gold for lamp by Naṅgai Śāttapperumānār, the concubine (*bōgiyār*) of the Cōḷa king. The *sabhā* and *ūr* undertake to maintain the lamp, by assigning some temple land for the charity, and use the money for making a *Namanamaṇḍapa* to the deity. 36 of 1895; *SII.* v. 593; 284 of 1911 is copy of the same.

* Another name of Vikramakēsari, contemporary of Āditya II. But this Iḷangōvēḷ is mentioned in 27th and 21st year of Rājāk. and Parak. inscriptions, and it is difficult to fit such high figures into the 35 years before the accession of Rājarāja. (*ARE.* 1912 II. 18). Venkayya suggested Āditya's time for Vikramakēsari; but palaeographically it seems to be earlier,—H. K. Sastri, who makes this a Gaṇḍarāditya record. *SII.* iii *ibid.*

Year 14.—*Vēḍal* (NA.)—Viḍāl is called also Mādēvi-ārāndimangalam. * Mentions Kanakavīrakkuratti, a female disciple of Guṇakīrtibhaṭārar, and her disciples (*vaḻimāṇākkiyār.*) The *vaḻiyilār*, lay disciples, undertake the protection and feeding of those 400 *tāpasis*, as there was no agreement (*koḷḷādamaiyil*) between them and the 500 male members of the monastery (*ikkōyiṟpiḷḷaigaḷ.*) 84 of 1908 ; *SII.* iii. 92. †

Year 15.—*Tillaisthānam* (Tj.)—Lamp by an inhabitant of Tañjāvūr. Ends: *Ippatipāda mūlaṭṭōmum piramadēyak-kiḻavarum ūrōmum.* 39 of 1895 ; *SII.* v. 596.

Year 16.—*Kāvanūr* (NA.)—400 *kuḻi* of land by a member of the assembly (*āḷunganam*) for lamp to Puli-pagava-dēva. 158 of 1921.

" *Mēlappaḻuvūr* (Tri.)—An order communicated to Vēḷān Cintāmaṇi, the headman of Tattanūr, permitting the adoption of the old scale of taxes prevailing at Nandipuram ‡ for the village Paḷavūr by the chief Aḍigaḷ Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar Maṟavan Kaṇḍanār § to whom Karambiyan Pirāntakan *alias* Karuviḍaip-pēraraiyan had petitioned. 367 of 1924.

" *Tiruccengōḍu* (Sm.)—Gold for feeding Brahmans. 625 of 1905.

" *Tiruvaiyāṟu* (Tj.)—Land for lamp by Mūvaraiyan Pāḷi Nakkan bought from Andanūr-ūrār for thirty *kaḻañju.* 249 of 1894 ; *SII.* v. 548.

Year 17.—*Brahmadēśam* (NA.)—Land by one of the members of the temple of Tiruvēgambam at Kaccippēḍu for sandal paste to god at Rājamalla-catm. The charity was under protection of *Śrī-kōyiṟ-kaṇavāriyap-perumakkaḷ.* 206 of 1915.

* On the *kiḻvaḻi*, eastern road, like Neṟkuṇam. *ARE.* 1909 II 36.

† Palaeographically Āditya I.

‡ cf. year 10—365 of 1924.

§ This person is not mentioned in the inscriptions of Parāntaka. Must be later, perhaps of the time of Sundara Cōḷa. cf. 381 of 1924, Parakēsari (Yr. 13). *ARE.* 1924 II 10. Text has date, 1(1).

Year 17.—*Paṇḍāravāḍai* (Tj.)—Undertaking by two persons to supply *ghī* and paddy to temple in return for cows and money received by them at various times in the reign of 'Madiraikoṇḍa Mārāyar.' 230 of 1923.

" *Paṇḍāravāḍai* (Tj.)—Agreement by certain persons to burn lamps in the temple for the money they had received from the temple in the years 1(2), 14 and 19 of 'Madiraikoṇḍa Mahārāyar.' 237 of 1923.

" *Śendalai* (Tj.)—Ten *kaḻañju* gold by a lady for offerings (*tiruvamidu*). Deposited with the Vaḍavāccālaip-perumakkaḷ, the interest being "*niśadi kuṟuṇi nel.*" 58 of 1897 *; *SII.* vi. 7.

" *Tillaisthānam* (Tj.)—100 sheep with the *sabhā* for lamp by the Cōḷa queen Kiḻāraḍigaḷ. 41 of 1895 ; *SII.* v. 598.

" *Tillaisthānam* (Tj.)—Twenty *pon* for lamp by another Cōḷa queen Tennavan Mahādēviyār. 42 of 1895 ; *SII.* v. 599.

" *Tiruvaiyāṟu* (Tj.)—Thirty *kaḻañju* gold for a *nandā-viḷakku* by 'Niyamattu Irāśa-māttāṇḍapurattu Nakkan Aiyāṟṟaḍigaḷ,' the concubine (*bōgiyār*) of the Cōḷa king. 244 of 1894 ; *SII.* v. 543.

" *Tiruvaiyāṟu* (Tj.)—Thirty *kaḻañju* for lamp by Dēviyār . . . . kolāliyār for which the *sabhā* of Ādambuli(n)-guḍi gave tax-free land. 245 of 1894 ; *SII.* v. 544.

" *Tiruviḍaimarudūr* (Tj.)—Land for jasmine garden by sabhā and ūr of Tiraimūr and nagaram of Tiruviḍai-marudil. 216 of 1907.

" *Tiruvirāmīśvaram* (Tj.)—Land for lamp by one of the gaṇattār of Madanamañjari-catm. 138 of 1911.

Year 17, day 122.—*Ukkal* (NA.)—Mentions a meeting, in the local Viṣṇu temple, of the Mahāsabhā of Śrī-Vikram-ābharaṇa - catm. including the *samvatsara-vāriyap-perumakkaḷ* and the *ēri-vāriyap-perumbhaṭṭar* for the year, and others. 31 of 1893 ; *SII.* iii. 13.

* 6-A of 1899 *i.e.*, *SII.* vi 442 is another similar record of same date.

Year 18.—*Kiḻiyanūr* (SA.)—75 *kaḻañju* of gold to the sabhā by an individual for feeding five Brahmans every day. 155 of 1919.

" *Śendalai* (Tj.)—Twelve *kaḻañju* of gold by Māṟambāvai, for lamp to the Piḍāri temple of Māgāḷam at Niyamam. 13 of 1899 * ; *SII.* vi. 449.

" *Tiruveṟumbūr* (Tri.)—Land for lamp to Ten-Kailāyattu-Mahādēva at Śrikaṇṭha-catm. 119 of 1914. †

Year 19.—*Tiruccatturai* (Tj.)—*Śaṅgu iraṇḍu ivai ūduvārkku bhōgam* (incomplete). 5 8 of 1895 ; *SII.* v. 615.

" *Tiruvaiyāṟu* (Tj.)—Land for lamp by Kaccippēṭṭuk-kudiraic-cēri Ammakkanār* magaḷār Śōḷa-perumān-aḍigaḷ dēviyār Aḷiśi-kāṭṭaḍigaḷ. Mentions (in recording boundaries) Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar Nambi Maṟavanār Tirup-paḷḷittāmam. 238 of 1894 ; *SII.* v. 537.

" *Tiruvaiyāṟu* (Tj.)—Sheep (18.) for lamp by Śōḷap-perumānaḍigaḷ Dēv ..... ṭṭu Aḻundūr Tirunāraṇa Mahādēvi. 239 of 1894 ; *SII.* v. 538.

" *Tiruvēdikkuḍi* (Tj.)—Ten *kaḻañju* gold for lamp ; undertaking to burn a lamp with ¼ measure of oil every day, as interest on the sum, by '*Tiruvēdikkuḍi Tiru (kko). .... munbu ninṟu dēvar paṇi śeydōm*' and others. 67 of 1895 ; *SII.* v. 624.

" *Tiruveṟumbūr* (Tri.)—Land for lamp and offerings by a Brahman lady who built the shrine of Ādittabhaṭṭāraka on the hill. 118 of 1914.

Year 20.—*Brahmadēśam* (NA.)—Land for feeding a Brahman in the temple of Pondai Perumānaḍigaḷ by one of the *āḷunganattar* of Rājamalla-catm. in Tiruvēgamba puram. 237 of 1915.

" *Kuḍumiyāmalai* (Pd.)—Gold for lamp by one of the female relatives of Perumbiḍugu Muttaraiyan. 314 of 1904.

* cf. 16 of 1898—Year 24.

† Later than Parāntaka I. *ARE.* 1915 II. 20.

Year 20.—*Tiruccendurai* (Tri.)—A certain merchant of Tañjāvūr named Karuṇāṭaka Pulalāya Śeṭṭi built the temple called Pulalāya Viṇṇagar and set up the deity. He purchased and gave to the temple the land adjoining it. 325 of 1903.

„ *Tiruppalanam* (Tj.)—One hundred sheep left with the *pādamūlattār* for one lamp and occasional service. 124 of 1895 ; *SII*. v. 686.

Year 20, day 333—*Tiruvaiyāṟu* (Tj.)—Land for lamp by the nurse *(tāti)* of Kannaradēva. 251 of 1894 ; *SII*. v 550 ; *MCC. Mag*. xxiv. p. 128.

Year 22.—*Mēlappaḻuvūr* * (Tri.)—Land, 8 *mā*, to temple by Vaḍugan Mādavan Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyan Kumaran Maṟavan, after reclaiming some waste land in the *dēvadāna* villages, to provide for one perpetual lamp in each of the shrines in the Amanikandarpa-Īśvara-gṛha. 360 of 1924. *

„ *Tirakkōl* (NA.)—Gift to Gangāsūrap - perumbaḷḷi at Rājēndrapuram. 277 of 1916.

„ *Tiruppalanam* (Tj.)—397½ *palam* of (?) to temple by Māṟpiḍugu Kaḷvan Amarakālan † of Tirukkōṭṭiyūr. 169 of 1928.

Year 23.—*Puduppākkam* (Ch.)—Land, tax-free, to temple of Bhaṭāri by assembly of Nallaḍimangalam, in Mēṟpaḷugūr-nāḍu, a sub-division of Maṇayiṟ-kōṭṭam. Mentions Iḷamakkaḷ Kārtigaik-kaṇattār. 61 of 1923.

„ *Tiruccendurai* (Tri.)—Sale of land to Pūdi Ādicca Piḍāriyār by Paruḍai of Īśānamangalam for 5 *kaḻañju* by Viḍēlviḍugu. 320 of 1903. ‡

„ *Tirumalavāḍi* (Tri.)—Land by Āyiravan Ēnādi, headman *(kiḻān)* of Ārkkāḍu. 18 of 1920.

* cf. 357 of Year 13.

† Perhaps a Muttaraya chief of the locality. *ARE*. 1928 II 2.

‡ cf. 316 of 3 Parak.

Year 23.—*Tiruppaḻanam* (Tj.)-Twenty *kaḻañju* by Kāḍupaṭṭigaḷ-Tamarmēttiyār, * mother of Vayiri Aka .... *alias* Tribhuvana-mādēviyār, queen of Śōḻap-perumānaḍigaḷ.
161 of 1928.

„ *Ukkal* (NA.)—A record by the sabhā of Aparājita-catm., of the receipt of 200 *pon* from Śediṟūr-Trivikkarama-bhaṭṭa *alias* Brahmādhirājar of the *mīyāḷunganam* of Uttaramēru-catm., for feeding 12 Brahmans. Interesting details.
19 of 1893 ; *SII.* iii. 1. †

Year 24.—*Neṟkuṇam* (NA.)—Gift of three fields as *ērippaṭṭi* by Nambiyamallanār, son of Nṛpatunga-maṅgalap-pēr-araiyar, for the benefit of the tank at Neṟkuṇam (Śinga-puranāṭṭuk-kiḻvaḻi-Neṟkunṟam). *Ānavāy daṇḍamuḷḷiṭṭu eppēṟppaṭṭa manṟupāḍum ērikkuk-kuḍuttēn Nambiya mallanēn.* 86 of 1908 ; *SII.* iii. 93. ‡

„ *Niyamam* (Tj.)—Five *kaḻañju* gold by Aḍigaḷ Kaṇḍan Māṟambāvai, § queen of Nandipōttaraiyar of the Pallavatilaka race, for offerings to god and feeding twenty Brahmans and the '*taḷippaṇi-śeyyum māṇigaḷ.*' The interest is stated to be 1/8 *kaḻañju* per *kaḻañju* per *pū* (harvest). The money was on deposit with the temple priest, Ittaḷippaṭṭuḍaiyān Īśvarakkāraṇi Vāma-dēvan Tiruvenkāḍan. 16 of 1899 ; *SII.* iii. 94. ¶

„ *Śendalai* (Tj.)—Five *kaḻañju* for lamp by the wife of a learned Brahman. 208 of 1926 ‖

„ *Takkōlam* (NA.)—Piritipatiyār son of Māramaraiyar gave a silver vessel *(keṇḍi)* weighing 317 *kaḻañju* to

* Perhaps Āditya I, who ruled for at least 28 years, espoused the daughter of a Pallava chieftain. Rājak. records from Tiruppaḻanam with years 21 to 26 may, hence, be his. Palaeography supports this—*ARE.* 1928 II. 2.

† Perhaps Āditya I.—Hultzsch.

‡ Palaeographically, Āditya I. *ARE.* 1909 II. 36. *Ānavāy-daṇḍam* is taken to be the name of a tax by H. K. Sastri ; but *ānavāy* may have the meaning 'as occasion arises.'

§ 13 of 1899 (Yr. 18) ; 301-A of 1901 from Tiruccennambūṇḍi.

¶ Palaeographically Āditya I.

‖ Āditya I ; 210 of 1926. *ARE.* 1926 II. 17.

Tiruvūṛal-Mahādēva on the occasion of a solar eclipse.
5 of 1897 ; *SII.* v. 1368 ; *EI.* xix. 12 *.

Year 25.—*Ālambākam* (Tri.)—Land to temple of Saptamātṛkas by the assembly of Dantivarma-maṅgalam. 705 of 1909.

„ *Tiruvaiyāṛu* (Tj.)—Thirty *kaḷañju* gold for lamp, deposited with the Śivapuri-nagarattār.
243 of 1894 ; *SII.* v. 542

„ *Tiruveḷḷaṛai* (Tri.)—Thirty cows for a lamp by Śembiyan Malanāṭṭu Vēḷān *alias* Koṛṛan Māṛan. 522 of 1905.

Year 26.—*Tiruppaḻanam* (Tj.)—Gift of a *rudrākṣa* necklace, set with gems to the deity by Gangamāttāṇḍar *alias* Śembiyan Pṛthivī-gaṅgaraiyar, son of Mahādēvar of Pangaḷa-nāḍu. † 177 of 1928.

Year 26, day 181—*Śrīraṅgam* (Tri.)—90 *kaḷañju* of *puttaḍikaḍanda śemmai-pon.* Interest rate was one *kalam* and one *tūṇi* of old paddy, yielding 120 *kalam* per annum, for feeding four Brahmans (daily.) ?
70 of 1892 ; *SII.* iv. 517.

„ day 280-*Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—Twenty *kaḷañju* gold for maintaining a place for supply of drinking water during part of the year, before the pramāṇi-maṇḍapa of the village. The total interest yield per annum was 3 *kaḷañju*, at 3 *mañjāḍi* per *kaḷañju* per annum (15 per cent). The supervision of the charity was with the tank-committee. 75 of 1898 ; *SII.* vi. 360.

* Palaeographically earlier than Parāntaka I. The donor here is the same as Pṛthvīpati II, son of Mārasimha, and later, friend of Parāntaka I. Date must be either 7th June 894 A. D. or 28th May 895 A. D. giving *acc.* 870 or 871. The Kanyākumari record says that, Āditya killed Aparājita, whose friend at Śrī-Puṛambiyam (870 A. D), was Gaṅga Pṛthivīpati I, grandfather of the present donor. 'The Cōḷas apparently did not count for much' at the time of the battle of Śrī-Puṛambiyam. K.V.S. Aiyar. *EI. ibid.*

† cf. 139 of 1928, Parak. Yr. 11. Aḻivin-kaḷḷarśiyār an *alias* of Pṛthivī-gaṅgaraiyar. 428 of 1902 (Ś. 871 or A.D. 949) mentions a Kaḷḷanangai, daughter of Pṛthivī-gangaraiyar who died at Arunguṇṛam. Pangaḷa-nāḍu, part of Palkuṇṛa-kōṭṭam, was in the N. Arcot dt. A 'Pṛthivīgangaraiyar was a feudatory of Parāntaka I, and later of Kṛṣṇa III. *ARE.* 1928 II 3.

Year 27.—*Brahmadēśam*(NA.)—Gold for lamp and for feeding a Brahman by Nallulān Ūradimagan Aṭṭamūtti.
230 of 1915. *

" *Tirukkaḻukkunṟam* (Ch.)—(Vaṭṭeḻuttu) On being petitioned by Puttan, son of Kuṇavan, the king renewed a gift of land to Tirukkaḻukkunṟattu Śrī Mūlasthānattu-perumānaḍigaḷ, originally made by Skandaśiṣya and continued by Pādāvikoṇḍa Naraśinga-pōttaraiyar.
167 of 1894; *EI.* iii. 279. †

" *Tirumalavāḍi* (Tri.)—Land for lamp by purchase from the assembly of Māṟpiḍugu-catm. 15 of 1920.

Year 30.—*Tiruveḷḷaṟai* (Tri.)—Gold for feeding at noon a Brahman versed in the Veda. 518 of 1905.

Year (3)7. ‡—*Mēlśēvūr* (SA.)—Mentions Kannara-dēvar.
218 of 1904.

The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following :—

Ālambākkam.—Gift of Land, purchased from the sabhā of Dantivarma-mangalam, which had a tank called Māṟpiḍugēri. 712 of 1909.

Kōviladi (Tj.)—Temple of Tiruppuṟatturai Emberumān built of stone by Śembiyan Vēdi Vēḷān, who also bought some land from the sabhā of Tirupperūr, for *uvaccak-kāṇi.* 279 of 1901; *SII.* vii. 499.

Perungalūr (Pd.)—Fragment in early characters recording a gift of gold. Mentions a temple of Mahādēva at Śōḷacūḍāmaṇi-catm., and the village of Perungōḷūr.
203 of 1914.

* Āditya I. The high regnal year will not suit any other Rājak. before Rājarāja I. Same donor in 224 of 1915-Parāntaka I, Yr. 17. *ARE.* 1916 II 9.

† Āditya I. Palaeographically pre-Parāntaka. Kuṇavan Puttar is also mentioned in 103 of 1931. Rajak. n-d.

‡ Text has 2(7).

Tiruccattuṟai (Tj.)—Gold for lamp by Tribhuvanamādēviyar Vayiri-akkanār, queen of the Cōḷa king and mother-in-law of Kāḍupaṭṭigaḷ. 180 of 1931. *

Tiruneḍungaḷam (Tri.)—Money for lamp. Refers to Pāṇḍya Varaguṇa Mahā(rāja.) Near this is another fragment of Maduraikoṇḍa Parakēsari. 696 of 1909.

Tiruviḷakkuḍi (Tj.)—Money by a merchant for sounding gong † in the temple. 133 of 1926.

* *cf.* 100 *of* 1931.

† This purpose is not clear from the very damaged text though we have: *itta śeyakaṉ . . . . . . aḷivu śoḷa.*

Year 2.—*Karuttaṭṭānguḍi* (Tj.)—Mentions Virasōḻapperunderu in Tanjore. Agreement registering the sale of days (of worship) in three temples by two persons to a third.
49 of 1897 ; *SII.* v. 1412.

„ *Kiḻūr* (SA.)—Gift of 192 sheep for two lamps by Śembiyan Milāḍuḍaiyār. 271 of 1902 ; *SII.* vii. 900.

„ *Kiḻūr* (SA.)—(4)80 sheep for five lamps.
281 of 1902 ; *SII.* vii. 910.

„ *Kumbakōṇam* (Tj.)—Sheep for lamp by one of Uḍaiyār Vira-śōḻa-teriñja-kaikkōḻar. 251 of 1911.

„ *Paṇḍāravāḍai* (Tj.)—Gift of thirty *kāśu* for a lamp by the wife of a merchant of Tribhuvana-mādēvip-pērangāḍi at Tañjāvūr. 274 of 1923.

„ *Śrīrangam* (Tri.)—Gift of 410 *pon* for feeding a Brahman (*vēdam-vallān*) at mid-day (*uccippōdu*) service to god Ranganātha. The number of dishes and other details prescribed. 73 of 1892 ; *SII.* iv. 520.

„ *Tiruccenduṟai* (Tri.)—Twenty *kaḻañju* gold for lamp with paruḍai of Īśāna-mangalam. Weight *viḍēl-viḍugu*. The donor was Koḍumbāḷūr Nakkan Vikramakēsariyār, the *dēviyār* of Tennavan Iḷangōvēḷ *alias* Maṟavan Pūdiyār. 306 of 1903.

„ *Tiruppaḻanam* (Tj.)—Gift of land, after its purchase from the temple for feeding four Brahmans, by Kaṟṟaḷi-paṭṭālakan of the Arumoḻi-dēva-teriñja-kaikkōḻar.
144 of 1928.

„ *Tiruppaḻanam* (Tj.)—Land given for five drummers for the temple by Araiyan Ādittan Vīman. *
162 of 1928.

* Perhaps father of Vīman Kundavai, mother of Parāntaka II. If so, the king was Ariñjaya who had a short reign of not less than three years, *ARE.* 1928 II 3, *contra* *ARE.* 1921 II 26 where Vīman Kundavai is connected with Cāḷukya Bhīma.

Year 2.—*Tiruppalanam* (Tj.)—Land given by Araiyan Ādittan Vīman for offerings during the *ardhayāma* and for lamp. 172 of 1928.

" *Tiruvāduturai* (Tj.)—Sale of land made tax-free by the assembly (sabhā) of Śāttanūr * to a member of the Ādittapanmat-terinda-kaikkōlar for the maintenance of a cocoanut and flower garden to the temple. 135 of 1925.

" *Tiruvidaimarudūr* (Tj.)—Mentions the Śingalāntaka-terinda-kaikkōlar. † 244 of 1907.

" *Tiruvidaimarudūr* (Tj.)—Records the erection, by the Kaikkōla-Perumbadai, of window, door, door-post and steps in front of the big *mandapa* called Tigai-Āyirattaññūrruvar. 253 of 1907.

" *Udaiyārgudi* ‡ (SA.)—Gift of 96 sheep and a ram for lamp to Tiruvanantēśvarattālvār of Vīranārāyana-catm., by Parāntakan Mādēvadigal *alias* Śembiyan Mādēviyār, the daughter of Malavaraiyar and queen of Gandarādittan called here also Merkelundarulina-dēvar. 540 of 1920.

" *Udaiyārgudi* (SA.)—Gold for lamp by a member of the Kōdandarāmat-teriñja-kaikkōlar. 545 of 1920.

" *Udaiyārgudi* (SA.)—Aryan Gēyavitankan, one of the Tāyatongat-teriñja-kaikkōlar, gave ten *kāśu* for cloths to Kūttar, to the south of the stone temple of Tiruvanantēśvarattālvar. He also built in the temple shrines to Kūttar, Ganapati and Piccar. 555 of 1920.

" *Udaiyārgudi* (SA.)—Gold for lamp by the Parāntakat-teriñja-kaikkōlar on behalf of one of themselves. 574 of 1920.

" *Udaiyārgudi* (SA.)—Gold for lamp by one of the Mūttavāl-perra-kaikkōlar. § 581 of 1920.

* 136 of 1925 is similar. † Also in 590 of 1920. (Udaiyārgudi.)

‡ Near Kāttumannārkōyil (Cidambaram Tq).

§ 584 of 1920 is similar.

Year 2.—*Uḍaiyārguḍi* (SA.)—Gold by Kōyil-peṟṟāḷ *alias* Vānavan-mādēviyār, daughter of Pūpāla-śēkariyār, for a lamp and mid-day offerings in the temple and for the sumptuous feeding, once a day, of one Brahman learned in the Vēda. 594 of 1920.

„ *Uḍaiyārguḍi* (SA.)—Gold, 12½ *kaḻañju*, by Paluvēṭṭaraiyan Kōdaṇḍan Tappili-dharmman for a lamp in the central shrine of the temple. 609 of 1920.

Year 2 + 1.—*Pullamangai* * (Tj.)—The village assembly (sabhā) met in the *maṇḍapa* opposite to the Tiruvālanduṟai temple and sold 1½ *mā* of land to the temple of Kāḷāpiḍāri of Naḍuviṟcēri for 25 *kāśu* and allowed it to be tax-free as before. 549 of 1921.

„ *Tiruviḻimiḻalai* (Tj.)—Silver dish for *śrībali* to temple by a certain Tāṉṟōṉṟi-taniccēvagan, (tāṉṟōṉṟi being the god's name.) 439 of 1908 †

Year 3.—*Ālambākkam* (Tri.)—Land to Amarēśvara-Perumāḷ at Dantivarma-mangalam by the sabhā of that village. 720 of 1909.

„ *Allūr* (Tri.)—Land for lamp by Ganga-mādēviyār, wife of Vīraśōḷa-Iḷangōvēḷār, on the occasion of her sati. ‡ 376 of 1903.

„ *Kiḷaiyūr* (Tj.)—Gold for supply of *ghī* on new moon days by a certain Tūppil Śattikumārabhaṭṭan residing at Viranārāyaṇac-cēri of Viranārāyaṇa-catm., § on the northern bank. 92 of 1925.

„ *Kumbakōṇam* (Tj.)—25 *kaḻañju* of gold for lamp by a native of Neḍum-puṟaiyūr in Malai-nāḍu. 248 of 1911.

„ *Paṇḍāravāḍai* (Tj.)—Four *mā* of land to a learned Brahman who was doing pūja to Tirucceyalūr-perumāḷ at Rājakēsari-catm. 252 of 1923.

* Text gives Paśupati-kōyil.

† The king is said to be Vijayālaya in *ARE.* 1909 II 35.

‡ The text is: "*Iḷangōvēḷār-dēviyār Gangamādēviyār-tīppāykinṟār-kuḍuttadu.*"

§ After Parāntaka I? *ARE.* 1925 II 10.

Year 3.—*Śiyamangalam* (NA.)—Land. Mentions Gangarāja with surnames Ganga-cūḷāmaṇi * and Mummaḍi-śōḷac-cembiyan-śrīgangaraiyar, who was governing Palkunṟa-kōṭṭam, Venkunṟa-kōṭṭam and Śingapura-nāḍu, (portions of modern N. and S. Arcot.)
69 of 1900 ; *SII*. vii. 73.

" *Tillaisthānam* (Tj.)—Thirty *kaḻañju* of gold for a lamp by Muḷḷūr-nangai, † mother-in-law of the king. The gold was left with the sabhā and the *Pādamūlattār*.
45 of 1895 ; *SII*. v. 602.

" *Tirakkōl* (NA.)—Sheep for *ghī* to the Jaina temple (*paḷḷi*) at Taṇḍapuram by Eṟanandi *alias* Naratonga Pallavaraiyan, a native of Nelvēli in Nelvēli-nāḍu of Tenkarai-Panaiyūr-nāḍu in the Śōḻa-maṇḍalam.
276 of 1916.

" *Tiruccatturai* (Tj.)—Thirty *kaḻañju* of gold for a lamp by Muḷḷūr-nangai, mother of queen Śōḻa-mādēviyār. ‡
169 of 1931.

" *Tirumalavāḍi* (Tri.)—Land by purchase for lamp by Ariñjigaikēṇi daughter of Mūtta Uḍaiyār. 8 of 1920.

" *Tirunāmanallūr* (SA.)—Land reclaimed for temple of Tiruthoṇḍīśvaram by Vikramābharaṇa Pallavaraiyan under orders of Munaiyadaraiyar Aparāyitan Kulamāṇikkerumānār. 369 of 1902 ; *SII*. vii. 999.

" *Tiruppaḻanam* (Tj.)—Thirty *kaḻañju* of gold for lamp by Muḷḷūr-nangai. 125 of 1895 ; *SII*. v 689.

" *Tiruppaḻanam* (Tj.)—Thirty *kaḻañju* of gold by Nakkan Ariñjigai *alias* Parāntaka Pallavaraiyan for a lamp to be maintained in the temple by the Nagarattār of the village. 165 of 1928.

* Ganga-cūḷāmaṇi was a surname of Mārasimha II (*EI*. v p. 177). But, as it is not likely that he ruled in Pallava country as a Cōḷa feudatory, this chief was perhaps related to the local Ganga chiefs Śankaradēva and Sōmanāthadēva of the Tiruvallam records of Rājarāja I and Rājēndra I-*ARE*. 1900, paragraph 18.

† See also under Tiruccatturai and Tiruppaḻanam.

‡ 107 of 1931 (Tiruppūndurutti) is similar.

Year 3.—*Tiruvāduturai* (Tj.)—The boundary (of the land?) purchased from the assembly of Śirupuliyūr by the ūr of Karai-nalūr in Pērāvūr-nāḍu.
107 of 1925.

„ *Tiruvaiyāṟu* (Tj.)—Land for three lamps. *Nandā-viḷakku iravum pagalum-erivadaṟku.*
234 of 1894; *SII.* v. 533.

„ *Tiruvāmāttūr* (SA.)—Twenty *kaḻañju* gold for two lamps by Śembiyan Kaṭṭimānaḍigaḷ who built the Tiruccuṟṟu-maṇḍapam, the gold being left in charge of the sabhā, and ūr of the place. 403 of 1903.

„ *Tiruvāmāttūr* (SA.)—Ten *pon* for lamp by Muṭṭanāṭṭuk-kaṟpūṇḍi-nāḍuḍaiya Parabhūmikan Mallan *alias* Gaṇḍarāditta Pallavaraiyan. * *Sabhaiyum ūrum dēva-kanmigaḷum* to protect the gift.
425 of 1903 † ; *SII.* iii. 95.

„ *Tiruvaṇṇāmalai* (NA.)—Gold for lamp by the Cēra queen Kiḻānaḍigaḷ. 470 of 1902 ; *SII.* viii. 58.

„ *Tiruvēdikkuḍi* (Tj.)—Thirty *kaḻañju* gold for lamp in the temple of Parakēsari-purattu-mahādēva, left with the Parakēsaripurattu-nagarattār.
66 of 1895 ; *SII.* v. 623.

„ *Tiruviḍaimarudūr* (Tj.)—A silver *kalaśam* by a native of Pāṇḍi-nāḍu. 247 of 1907.

„ *Uḍaiyārguḍi* (SA.)—Gold for lamp by a Brahman of Paṇḍitavatsalac-cēri. ‡ 556 of 1920.

„ *Uḍaiyārguḍi* (SA.)—Land for *akkāra-aḍiyal* to god.
582 of 1920.

„ *Uḍaiyārguḍi* (SA.)—Gold by Pañcavan-mahādēvi, wife of Araiyan Mahimālaya *alias* Parāntaka Muttaraiyan,

* If this man was an officer of Gaṇḍarāditya, the inscription must be one of Parāntaka I. H. K Sastri.

† 426 of 1903 is a similar gift by the same donor, which mentions no king but is dated Ś. 8(7)9. A few years after Takkōlam, this falls in Gaṇḍarāditya's reign, who must been have a Parakēsari according to the large Leyden grant. *AKE.* 1904 paragraph, 20.

‡ Evidently so called after Parāntaka I. Same śēri in 559 of 1920.

for a lamp to Candraśekhara-perumāḷ in the Anantēśvara temple. 602 of 1920.

Year 3.—*Uḍaiyārguḍi* (SA.)—The supervisor of temple affairs for the year distributed the temple lands among the temple servants in proportion to the services rendered by them. 605 of 1920.

Year 4.—*Kāñcīpuram* (Ch.)—The sabhā of Kallaḍuppūr raised a loan from the temple of 20 *kaḻañju* by Kaccipēṭṭu-āṇikkal; the interest on the loan was 90 *kāḍi* of paddy per annum which was to be taken and measured out in the premises of the temple by the *ūramai-śeyyum vāriyap-perumakkaḷ*. *SII.* i. 85. *

„ *Kīḻappaḻuvūr* (Tri.)—Lamp to temple by the dēviyār of a Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar, who was the daughter of ..... varaiyar. 222 of 1926.

„ *Mēlappaḻuvūr* (Tri.)—Gold for lamp. The sixteenth year of Parakēsari Uttama Cōḷa is quoted and Aḍigaḷ Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar mentioned. 373 of 1924.

„ *Nangavaram* (Tri.)—Land to two trumpet-blowers of of the Sundarēśvara temple in the village called here Ariñjigai-catm. † 303 of 1903.

„ *Tīrthamalai* (Sm.)—Gold for lamp. Mentions queen of Mummuḍi-śōḷa-perumāḷ. The temple is called Kūḍalāḻvār. 673 of 1905.

„ *Tiruccenduṟai* (Tri.)—Gold by Pūdi Āditta Piḍāri. 312 of 1903.

„ *Tirumalai* (NA.)—Four *kaḻañju* gold for feeding one *aḍigaḷ* in the *paḷḷi* on the Tirumalai. 66 of 1907 ‡; *SII.* iii. 97.

„ *Tirumaṇañjēri* (Tj.)—Gift of 96 sheep for a lamp, of a lamp-stand, and of the stone on which the inscription is

* Perhaps of Vijayālaya- *SII.* iii p. 17 *n*. 4.

† Called also Nangai-Brahmadēya in Rājagambhīra Vaḷa-nāḍu (334 of 1903 of year 34 of Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān.)

‡ The earliest Cōḷa inscription in this locality; it shows that the Jaina settlement on the hill is older than the time of Rājarāja I, *ARE.* 1908 II, 51.

engraved by a *peṇḍāṭṭi* attached to the (royal ?) kitchen at Tañjāvūr. 11 of 1914.

Year 4.—*Tiruvāmāttūr* (SA.)—Lamp by Kaṇḍarādittan *alias* . . . Mahārājan of Vāṇagappāḍi. 404 of 1903.

„ *Tiruveṇkāḍu* (Tj.)—Gold ornaments by a Kaikkōḷan. Below this is another record of resumption and reassignment at a higher rate of rent of some temple lands. 495 of 1918.

„ *Tiruviḍaimarudūr* (Tj.)—A gold hand (*hastaka*) set with precious stones. Gift by a merchant. 198 of 1907.

„ *Tiruviḷakkuḍi* (Tj.)—36 sheep for a lamp by the headman (*kiḻān*) of Ārkkāḍu. 124 of 1926.

„ *Tiruviśalūr* (Tj.)—100 sheep for lamp by Nakkan Ariñjigai *alias* Pirāntaka Pallavaraiyan. 18 of 1907.

„ *Vēḷaccēri* (Ch.)—Land for lamp and offerings to Kāḷābhaṭāri given by the sabhā of the village. 317 of 1911.

Year 5.—*Ālambākkam* (Tri.)—Land to Amarēśvara-perumāḷ. Māṟpiḍugēri and sale by sabhā of Dantivarmamangalam mentioned. 715 of 1909. *

„ *Kiḻūr* (SA.)—Gold, 15 *kaḻañju*, for lamp by queen of Vāṇakōvaraiyar, called Ilāḍaigaḷ magaḷār Nangai Kulamāṇikkattār. Interest rate was *kaḻañjin-vāyt-tingaḷ urip-paḍi*. 299 of 1902 ; *EI.* vii. 141.

„ *Pūvāḷakkuḍi* (Pd.)—Construction of the *maṇḍapa*. 147 of 1907. Pd. 42.

„ *Salem.* (Sm.)—Year described as '*Tiruveḻuttiṭṭuc-cellāninṟayāṇḍu aiñjāvadu.*' The sabhā of Rājarājāśrayacatm. accepted an endowment of five *kaḻañju* gold for a lamp. 43 of 1888 ; *SII.* iv. 141.

„ *Śiyamangalam* (NA.)—Land by purchase from ūr by an inhabitant of the Pāṇḍya country to Tirukkaṟṟaḷi-

* *ARE.* 1910 II 14.

mahādēvar at Śīyamangalam in Tennāṟṟūr-nāḍu, a sub-division of Palkunṟa-kōṭṭam in Jayangoṇḍaśōḻa-maṇḍalam. 60 of 1900 ; *SII.* vii. 64.

Year 5.—*Takkōlam* (NA.)—90 sheep for lamp. "Iccirikōyil-ārāyvōmum padi(yum) (p)ādamūlattōmum Takkōlattil nagarattōmum" take charge of them.
60 of 1897 ; *SII.* v. 1369.

„ *Tiruccatturai* (Tj.)—Gold for lamp (by the queen of) the Pāṇḍya king Pirāntakan. 133 of 1931.

„ *Tiruccengāṭṭangudi* (Tj.)—Land for two lamps by the assembly of Marugal in lieu of money (*pon*) taken from a certain Viraśōḻan *alias* Uttamaśōḻa-nenmali-nāṭṭu-mūvēnda-vēḻān. 60 of 1913.

„ *Tirukkaḷāvūr* (Tj.)—Land. Īḻakkāśu mentioned. The donor was Śingan Kaliyan *alias* Uttamaśōḻa-mūvenda-vēḻān of Kommaipākkam. 46 of 1910.

„ *Tiruvēngavāśal* (Pd.)—(Verse). Lamp by a native of Malanāḍu. 239 of 1914.

Year 6.—*Kīḻappaḻuvūr* (Tri.)—Gold, 1½ *kaḻañju* and paddy, three *kalam*, as *koṟṟu* to Alayūrc-cākkai for enacting three scenes of the Śākkaik-kūttu on the Aśvati day of the festival in Arpaśi at Tiruvālanduṟai-nallūr.
250 of 1926.

„ *Kudumiyāmalai* (Pd.)—The cows donated to the temple for lamps could not be protected from robbers by the temple authorities and were sold for gold.
315 of 1904 ; Pd. 44.

„ *Kudumiyāmalai* (Pd.)—Gold for lamp by Varaguṇanāṭṭi, daughter of Muttaraiyar * and queen of Śembiyan Irukkuvēḻār. 337 of 1904 ; Pd. 45.

„ *Pullamangai* (Tj.)—Land to temple for morning service by Śembiyan Mahāvali Vāṇarāyar. 559 of 1921.

* Viḍēlviḍugu-muttaraiyar. Irukkuvēḷ was the same as Vikramakēsari (*ARE.* 1908 p. 88) the contemporary of Āditya II-K. V. S. Aiyar *EI.* xiii. p. 138.

Year 6.—*Śōmūr* (Tri.)—Gold, 2½ *kalañju*, for lamp by Pirāntakan Puruṣōttaman of the Dānatongat * - teriñja kaikkōḷar. 208 of 1917.

„ *Tillaisthānam* (Tj.)—Gold, 83 *pon* (*kalañju*), for two lamps by an *uvaccan* of the temple (*ittaḷi*). 27 of 1895 ; *SII.* v. 584.

„ *Tillaisthānam* (Tj.)—Gold, 25 *kalañju*, for lamp deposited with the sabhā and ūr. 47 of 1895 ; *SII.* v. 604.

„ *Tirumalavāḍi* (Tri.)—Sheep for lamp by Kāman Tāyan, a teacher (*vātti*) of Iḍaiyāṟu. 17 of 1920.

„ *Tiruppalanam* (Tj.)—Gold, 30 *kalañju*, for lamp by Tippāñja-aḻagiyān Maṟavan. The sabhā of Aṇiyamangalam invested it in buying 6 *mā* of land. 148 of 1928.

„ *Tiruppalanam* (Tj.)—Lamp, and 25 *kalañju* for its maintenance, by a servant of the headman of Karugāvūr. 153 of 1928.

„ *Tiruppāṟkkaḍal* (NA.)—Gold for lamp. The supervision of the charity was vested in the annual tank supervision committee. 685 of 1904.

„ *Tiruvāmāttūr* (SA.)—Refers to the mason Arugūrttaccan Nārāyaṇan Vaikundan who built the temple (Abhirāmēśvara). 413 of 1903.

„ *Tiruviḍaimarudūr* (Tj.)—Record of an *iṟaiyili-ōlai* given by sabhā of Tiraimūr, nagaram of Tiruviḍaimarudil and others. 219 of 1907.

„ *Tiruviḷakkuḍi* (Tj.)—Land, after being purchased tax-free from the assembly of Viḍelviḍugu-catm., given for lamp to Kūttapperumāḷ in Tiruviḷakkuḍi in the same place. 121 of 1926.

* Was this a surname of Parāntaka I? Śōmūr has Parāntaka's records. The *Kongudēśarājākkaḷ* attributes the conquest of Kongu to Āditya I and Parāntaka does not claim to have conquered it. *ARE.* 1918 II 22.

Year 6.—*Tiruviḻimiḻalai* (Tj.)—Gold for feeding four Brahmans given by Amarabhujangan Muppuḷi *alias* Gaṇḍara-gaṇḍa-Pallavaraiyan. 436 of 1908. *

Year 7.—*Pullamangai* (Tj.)—Great assembly of Pullamangalam sold 1½ *mā* of land for an endowment in the temple by Āridan Māṟanārāyaṇan. 551 of 1921.

„ *Siddhalingamaḍam* (SA.)—Money for two lamps by a female servant of Varagūr-kōṭṭamuḍaiyān. 422 of 1909.*

„ *Tillaisthānam* (Tj.)—Sheep for lamp left with the sabhā and ūr of Tiruneyttānam. 28 of 1895 ; *SII.* v. 585.

„ *Tiruppāṟkaḍal* (NA.)—Sabhā accepts an endowment for offerings and places it under control of the annual tank-committee. The corpus was apparently used for repairing a breach in the tank-bund. 688 of 1904.

„ *Tiruvāḍuturai* (Tj.)—Sale of land, tax-free, to temple by the assembly of Śāttanūr for 15 *kāśu* endowed to the temple for the sacred bath of the deity at Uttarāyaṇa Sankrānti by Ōmāśi Oṟṟiyūran Kūttan of Tiruvānaikkā, a *dēvadāna-brahmadēya* in Kiḷiyūr-nāḍu. 127 of 1925.

„ *Tiruviḍaimarudūr* (Tj.)—Building of the temple mentioned. Land for a person singing *dēśi.* 233, 234 of 1907.

„ *Tiruviḷakkuḍi* (Tj.)—Sale of land to revenue officers (*puravu-vari tiṇaik-kaḷattār*) by the assembly of Vidēlviḍugu-catm. 135 of 1926.

„ *Tiruvoṟṟiyūr* (Ch.)—30 *kaḻañju* of *ūrkkaṟ-cemmai pon* for lamp deposited with the sabhā of Maṇali near Tiruvoṟṟiyūr (*Tiruvoṟṟiyūrp-purattu Maṇali-sabhai-yōm*). 402 of 1896 ; *SII.* v. 1357, same as 165 of 1912.

* This, like some other records, is on a pillar in a minor shrine in a temple which bears only later Cōḷa records. The pillars were evidently secured from an older structure. Vijayālaya ? *ARE.* 1909 II 35.

Year 8.—*Kilappaluvūr* (Tri.)—Twelve sheep by Kāman Kōviyār, wife of Paluvēṭṭaraiyar Vikramādityar, for one *piḍi* of *ghī* daily to the temple. 237 of 1926.*

" *Paṇḍāravāḍai* (Tj.) Tax-free land by *madhyastha* for music by five persons during *śrībali* every day. 272 of 1923.

" *Śendalai* (Tj.)—Details of the expenditure of paddy got annually from the *dēvadāna* village Punṟagai. 204 of 1926.

" *Tillaisthānam* (Tj.)—Thirty *kalañju* of gold for lamp by Pāṇḍiyanār Mānābharaṇa-dēvi . . . . kilavan. 26 of 1895 ; *SII.* v. 583.

" *Tiruppalanam* (Tj.)—90 sheep for lamp by a native of Nandipuram *alias* Āyirattaḷi. 145 of 1928.

" *Tiruppalātturai* (Tri.)—Gold for lamp. The village is called Tiruppāṟṟuṟai in Uttamaśīli-catm. a *brahmadēya* in Tenkarai. 173 of 1907.

" *Tiruppalātturai* (Tri.)—A copy of an inscription of the 18th year of Madiraikoṇḍa Parakēsari and of another of the same king, twentieth year. Among the boundaries occur names : Vīraśrikāmuka-vadi ; Ādicca Vāykkāl ; Kōdaṇḍarāma-vadi ; Uttamaśili-Vāykkāl. The Perunguṟi sabhā of Uttamaśili-catm., ordered the reengraving of the records found on the older *śrīvimāna*. 174 of 1907 ; *SII.* iii. 133. †

" *Tiruvellarai* (Tri.)—Twenty *kalañju* of gold by the queen of Uḍaiyār-Ānaimēṟṟuñjinār (Rājāditya) called Īrāyirandēvi-ammanār, to Śrī-Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī ‡ of the big temple at Tiruveḷḷaṟai. 534 of 1905 ; *SII.* iii. 132.

* Was the king Uttama Cōḷa? *ARE.* 1926 II 20.

† The king may be Ariñjaya, or Āditya II or Uttama Cōḷa ; probably the last. H. K. Sastri.

‡ Record of Uttama Cōḷa or Āditya II- H. K. Sastri. Earliest epigraphical reference to Kṛṣṇa worship in the Tamil country. *ARE.* 1906 II 21.

Year 9.—*Erumūr* (SA.)—Ten *kaḷañju* of *tuḷai poṉ* paid to the village assembly for remission of dues on seven *mā* of land presented to the temple. 393 of 1913.

„ *Kāmarasavalli* (Tri.)—Land for *śrībali* and *tirupaḷḷi-eḻicci*. Mentions Kōdaṇḍarāma-Vāykkāl. 78 of 1914.

„ *Kīḻappaḻuvūr* (Tri.)—Maḷavar Konkaṇi Śenni Nambiyār, uncle (*māmaḍi*) of Aḍigaḷ Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar Maṟavan-Kaṇḍanār, made a gift of land by purchase for a lamp in the temple of Maṟavaniśvara-gṛhattu Mahādēva. * 219 of 1926.

„ *Kīḻappaḻuvūr* (Tri.)—Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar Maṟavan-Kaṇḍanār purchased land and assigned portions to several persons for service and for lamp before Maṟavanīśvarattu-mahādēva. 249 of 1926. †

„ *Kuhūr* (Tj.)—25 *kāśu* for lamp to Ādittēśvaram-uḍaiya Bhaṭṭārakar by a certain Astraśiva with the *tiruvuṇ-ṇāḻigaip-perumakkaḷ* of the temple. 292 of 1917 ‡

„ *Paṇḍāravāḍai* (Tj.)—Land for expenses on Sankrānti days and 108 copper water pots for bath by the queen-mother (Uḍaiya-pirāṭṭiyār) on behalf of prince Gaṇḍarādittan Madhurāntakan Uttama Cōḷa. § 250 of 1923.

„ *Tiruccengōḍu* (Sm.)—Gold for feeding Brahmans by a native of Īrōḍu. 636 of 1905.

„ *Tiruppalātturai* (Tri.)—An exchange of land, by the sabhā of Uttamaśili-catm. Mentions an image of Sūryadēva in the temple at Tiruppāṟṟuṟai. 177 of 1907.

* cf. Sambandar on Paḻuvūr, esp. v 11, on Malabar Brahmans worshipping here, *ARE.* 1926 II 9.

† Parak. identified with Uttama Cōḷa *ARE.* 1926 II 19.

‡ Record of Parāntaka I whose father was Āditya. *ARE* 1918 II 22.

§ This makes it a record of Uttama Cōḷa *ARE.* 1924 II 13 (where Śembiyan Mahādēvī's charities for Uttama in the reign of Rājarāja are referred to in support of the identity.)

Year 9.—*Tiruvâdi* (SA.)—Gold for *ghī* to seven temples: Tiruvīraṭṭānam, Tiruvāraṇavāsi, Tirunāgīśvaram, Tiruvagattīśvaram, Tiruvāgīśvaram, Tiruśidaiñālal, Tiruppaḷañjūḍu. 368 of 1921.

„ *Tiruveḷḷaṟai* (Tri.)—Gold, 25 *kaḻañju*, for lamp by a native of Iḍaikkāḍu who was a royal officer called Kumaran-kōn. 524 of 1905.

Year 10.—*Aṇḍanallūr* (Tri.)—Gold for lamp by Puliyūr-nāṭṭu-aḍigaḷ, queen of Śembiyan Irukkuvēḷ *alias* Pūdi Parāntakan. 348 of 1903.

„ *Karuttaṭṭānguḍi* (Tj.)—Images of two door-keepers set up by Śembārkkōṭṭattu Paṭṭina-nāṭṭup-paḻam-paṭṭinattu irukkum veḷḷāṭṭi Aruṇilimalaip-pirāṭṭi.
51 of 1897; *SII.* v. 1414.

„ *Kiḻappaḻuvūr* (Tri.)—90 sheep by *nāṭṭār* of Kunṟa-kūṟṟam for lamp to Maṟavanīśvaram-uḍaiyār.
217 of 1926.

„ *Kiḷiyanūr* (SA.)—Provision for offerings on new moon days by one of the *āḷunganam* of the village.
148 of 1919.

„ *Kuḍumiyāmalai* (Pd.)—Gold for lamp by the queen of Śembiyan Irukkuvēḷ. 321 of 1904.

„ *Tillaisthānam* (Tj.)—When a person described as Viḷattūr-nāṭṭuk-kōn enquired into the affairs of the temple (*ivvūr śrīkāryam-ārāyāniṟka*), those who were doing *nagaravāriyam* in this place (*ivvūr*) agreed to maintain a perpetual lamp from the proceeds of *angāḍikkūli* collected by the *ūr-āḷvārgaḷ*.
40 of 1895; *SII.* v. 597.

„ *Tiruccattuṟai* (Tj.)—Gold by Śembiyan Buvaniganga-raiyan *alias* Aḻivin Kaḷḷaraśi for a lamp Kumaramārt-tāṇḍan. 177 of 1931 *

„ *Tiruccenduṟai* (Tri.)—Sale of land to Nangai Pūdi Āditta-paḍāri by parudai for 7½ *kaḻañju* by *viḍēl-viḍugu-kal*. 309 of 1903.

* *ARE.* 1931 II. 8.

Year 10,—*Tiruccendurai* (Tri.)—Gold by Pūdi Ādicca Piḍāri.
311, 314 of 1903. *

" *Tirumalavāḍi* (Tri.)—Silver salver (*pingāḷam*) for betel offerings to Tirumalavāḍi Uḍaiyār by Nakkan Tillaiyaḻagiyār *alias* Śōḻa-mādēviyār. Weight called *vaiyagattār-kal* mentioned. 1 of 1920.

" *Tiruppaḻanam* (Tj.)—Lamp by Tennavan Mādēviyār, queen of Rājakēsari. 166 of 1928.

" *Tiruppuṟambiyam* (Tj.)—45 sheep for half a lamp.
76 of 1897 ; *SII.* vi. 25.

" *Tiruveṇkāḍu* (Tj.)—25 *kaḻañju* of gold for lamp by Śadirayan Uttamaśiliyār wife of Vannāḍuḍaiyār.
482 of 1918.

" *Tiruveṇṇainallūr* (SA.)—Lands to temple by purchase from the sabhā of Tiruveṇṇainallūr by Aparāyitan Uttamaśōḻa Mārāyan. 429 of 1921.

" *Uḍaiyārguḍi* (SA.)—Twenty *Īḻakkāśu* by Śembiyan Mūvēndavēḷān for lamp. 554 of 1920.

" *Udaiyārguḍi* (SA.)—Gold for land for feeding five Brahmans in the temple at mid-day ; the donor was Nandi-pūttān *alias* Śembiyan Mūvēndavēḷān. Mentions *tālam* and *vaṭṭil*, five of each. 593 of 1920.

" *Uyyakkoṇḍān Tirumalai* (Tri.)—140 sheep for two lamps (90 and 50) by Vīranārāyaṇan *alias* Śembiyan-mārāyan, a *perundanam* of Vīra-śōḻa-Iḷangōvēḷār of Koḍumbāḷūr, to the temple of Kaṟkuḍi † in Nandi-vanma-mangalam. ‡ 470 of 1908 ; *SII.* iii. 98.

Year 11,—*Ālambākkam* (Tri.)—Land for lamp by a member of the *āḷunganam* of Dantivarma-mangalam. Mentions *Māṟpiḍugēri* in Dantivarma-mangalam.
711 of 1909.

* 315 of 1903 n-d. records lamps by Śembiyan Iḷangōvēḷ *alias* Pūdi Āditta Piḍāran.

† Ancient Dēvāram name for Uyyakkoṇḍān Tirumalai—H. K Sastri.

‡ In the 10th year of Rājarāja I this name was changed into Rājāśraya-catm, For Virasōḻa Iḷangōvēḷ, see 323 of 1903- *ARE.* 1909 II 37.

Year 11.—*Aṇḍanallūr* (Tri.)—Śembiyan Irukkuvēḷ *alias* Pūdi Parāntaka built the stone temple (Vaṭatīrthanātha) and granted land to it with the permission of Parakēsari. This land was made the *kāṇi* of Araiyan Vīraśōḷan by order of king in year 18. 359 of 1903. *

„ *Paṇḍāravāḍai* (Tj.)—Lamp by one of the Madhurāntakat-teriñja-kaikkōḷar. 240 of 1923. †

„ *Tiruccattuṟai* (Tj.)—Sheep for lamp by Cēdi-mahādēviyār, queen of the Malāḍu chief ‡ Siddhavaḍatt-aḍigaḷ. 193 of 1931.

„ *Tiruccengāṭṭanguḍi* (Tj.)—Land sold by the assembly of Marugal for the endowment of a lamp. 62 of 1913.

„ *Tiruppalanam* (Tj.)—Thirty *kaḷañju* gold for a lamp by Prithivī-gangaraiyar, § son of Mahādēva of Pangaḷa-nāḍu. 139 of 1928.

„ *Tiruviḍaimarudūr* (Tj.)—Gift of 18 eating vessels (*tālam*) weighing altogether 262½ *palam* and a large spoon (*śaṭṭuvam*) weighing 5 *palam* for feeding Brahmans in the local *śālai—Tiruviḍaimarudu-Uḍaiyār-śālai--uṇṇum-pirāmaṇarkku.*
150 of 1895, *SII.* v. 714.

„ *Uḍaiyārguḍi* (SA.)—Land for lamp by a lady, Nakkan Piratamādēvi *alias* Mummuḍi-śōḷat-talaik-kōli, daughter of Ārūrdēvanār. ¶ 563 of 1920.

Year 12—*Kiḷaiyūr* (Tj.)—Remission of taxes by the big assembly of Tiruvaḷundūr on land given for a flower-garden by Kaṇṇan Mallan *alias* Udayamāttāṇḍa Mūvēndavēḷār, headman of Nāgan-kuḍi in Ambar-nāḍu.
94 of 1925.

* cf. 360 of year 25.

† Must be a record of Uttama Cōḷa *ARE.* 1924 II 13.

‡ *EI.* vii, p. 135, for a Narasimhavarman (of the time of Kannaradēva) who had the title Siddhavaṭṭattaḍigaḷ.

§ cf. 177 of Rājak. 2(6).

¶ 485 of 1918 (n-d) from Tiruveṇkāḍu mentions a lady Āṟūran Ambalattāḍigaḷ.

Year 12.—*Kīlappaluvūr* (Tri.)—180 sheep for two lamps by Aḍigaḷ Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇḍan Sundara Śōḻaṇār. 120 of 1895 ; *SII.* v. 681.

„ *Nangavaram* (Tri.)—Lōkavidyādhara Brahmādhirājan reclaimed some land and presented it to the goddess Umā-bhaṭṭāraki with the previous permission of the sabhā. 332 of 1903.

„ *Pallikoṇḍa* (NA.)—Agreement by the assembly of Nandikampa-catm. to remove silt from the tank every year to the extent of 20 *kuḻi* with the interest on an endowment by a resident of Iraiyānśēri in Kaccippēḍu. 474 of 1925.

„ *Śendalai* (Tj.)—Mentions Paḷḷiyuḍaiya Kanakasēna-bhaṭāra, probably a Jaina. 7 of 1899 ; *SII.* vi. 443.

„ *Tirakkōl* (NA.)—Paddy to Kanavīra-śittaḍigaḷ. Mentions Śembiyan Śembottilāḍanār, son of Viḍēl-viḍugu Śembottilāḍanār, *alias* Gaṇaperumāṇār. 279 of 1916.

„ *Tiruccengōḍu* (Sm.)—Gold for feeding Brahmans. 628 of 1905.

„ *Tiruppalanam* (Tj.)—Gift to temple by Pūdi Kūttan of Māramangalam. 147 of 1928.

„ *Uḍaiyarguḍi* (SA.)—500 *kaḻañju* gold. Image of Sūrya-dēva set up by Kundavaiyār * who made a gift of gold, 25 *kaḻañju*. for a lamp in front of it. 606 of 1920.

„ *Vṛddhācalam* (SA.)—Śrīkōyil, snapana-manḍapa, gōpura, *śūṟṟālai* and minor shrines constructed by Śembiyan Mādēviyār, mother of Śrī Uttama Cōḻa, daughter of Maḻaperumānaḍigaḷ, and queen of Gaṇḍarāditta-dēvar, son of Parāntaka-dēva *alias* Periyaśōḻaṇār ; gift of gold ornaments and silver vessels to the temple by Uḍaiya Pirāṭṭiyār. 47 of 1918. †

„ *Vṛddhācalam* (SA.)—45 sheep for half a lamp to Sūryadēva of Tirumudukunṟam. 56 of 1918.

* This name makes the inscription a record of the reign of Rājarāja I.

† A record of Uttama Cōḻa.

Year 13—*Aṇḍanallūr* (Tri.)—Gold 30 *pon* for lamp by Tingaḷ-nimmaḍigaḷ, queen of Śembiyan Irukkuvēḷār, invested with the ūr. 357 of 1903.

„ *Mēlappaḻuvūr* (Tri.)—Gift of an image of Gaṇapati, a pedestal, and a golden flower by the temple manager Nāvalūruḍaiyān Kaṇḍan Tēvaḍi to the temple with the permission of Aḍigaḷ Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇḍan Sundara Śōḻan. 381 of 1924.

„ *Nāngupaṭṭi* (Pd.)—Refers to Vīraśōḻan Uttamaśīlan. 341 of 1914.

„ *Tirukkurugāvūr* (Tj.)—Land by Śemban Aruḷan Uttamanīdi *alias* Uttamaśōḻa Mūvēndavēḷān * to nine persons for beating drums in the temple of Tiruveḷ-ḷaḍai-Mahādēva at Tirukkurugāvūr. 434 of 1918.

„ *Tiruppḻanam* (Tj.)—Land to temple by Pūdi Kūttan of Mangalam in Nallūr-nāḍu. The king † was staying at Paḻaiyāṟu. 141 of 1928.

„ *Uyyakkoṇḍān Tirumalai* (Tri.)—90 sheep for lamp by a Brahman woman. 471 of 1908. ‡

„ *Vṛddhācalam* (SA.)—Dry land to Sūryadēva by residents of Neṟkuppai; converted into wet land later. 59 of 1918.

Year 14—*Āttūr* (Sm.)—Paddy to Tirumēṟṟaḷi Nakkar at Malaiya-mānāṟu, a *brahmadēya* in Āṟṟūr-kūṟṟam in Milāḍu, by three servants of that temple. 407 of 1913.

„ *Kuḍumiyāmalai* (Pd.)—Gold for feeding 15 Śaivas for seven days during the Māśi Makham festival of Tirumēṟṟaḷip-perumāṉaḍigaḷ at Tirunilakkuṉṟam, a *dēvadāna* in Kuṉṟiyūr-nāḍu. 334 of 1904.

„ *Purandūr* (Ch.)—A transaction of the sabhā of Aparājita-catm. in Puriśai-nāṭṭup-perundarappuram. Mentions *sabhai-vāriyam* and *ēri-vāriyam*. 74 of 1923.

* cf. 433 of 1918 (Year 15)

† Identified with Uttama Cōḷa-*ARE*. 1928 II 3.

‡ Earlier than 472 of 1908 of year 2 of Parakēsari who took Vīra Pāṇḍya's head which is below this. cf. 470 of 1908 of Parak. 10- *ARE*. 1909 II 37.

Year 14.—*Tirumālpuram* (NA.)—Provision by Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarādittar for bathing the image of the deity every month with 108 pots of honey, *ghī*, curd etc.
280 of 1906.

„ *Tiruneḍungaḷam* (Tri.)—*Ghī* for *agnikārya* * thrice a day. Gift made by one Gōvinda Bhaṭṭa who was enquiring into temple affairs on behalf of Uttama Cōḷa Brahmādhirāja-kanmi Śembiyan Vaḍapuṟaiyūr-nāṭṭu-Mūvēndavēḷān. 684 of 1909 ; *SII.* iii. 140.

„ *Tiruvaiyāṟu* (Tj.)—90 sheep for lamp by Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyan Kaṇḍan Amudan. 252 of 1894 ; *SII.* v. 551.

„ *Tiruvōttūr* (NA.)—A defaulter tracked by the *tiruvuṇṇāḻigai* of the temple and made to pay for a lamp to be maintained by him.
102 of 1900 ; *SII.* vii. 112.

„ *Tiruvōttūr* (NA.)—Sheep lost in a raid (*śūṟai*) and 200 fresh ones given by Uḍaiyār Śembiyan Mahādēvi for two lamps. 104 of 1900 ; *SII.* vii. 114.

„ *Uḍaiyārguḍi* (SA.)—Gift of some tank-irrigated land, by purchase, by Kāḷi-kaṟṟaḷi, one of the Uḍaiyār-Karikāla †-śōḻatteriñja-kaikkōḷar to seven musicians (*uvaccar*) for conducting the *śrībali* to Tirumuḷḷūr-uḍaiya Paramēśvara of Tirumuḷḷūr *alias* Simhaviṣṇu-catm., a *brahmadēya* of the Kā-nāḍu. 617 of 1920.

Year 15—*Aṇḍanallūr* (Tri.)—Land for lamp by Pūdi-Mādēvaḍigaḷ, queen of Kannaradēva. 356 of 1903.

„ *Kāñcīpuram* (Ch.)—Sale of land by Mānagarattār; temple called Teṟkirunda-nakkar. Mentions Karikālaśoḻap-piḷḷai(yār) in the above temple at Kaḍumbiḍugu-mēṟkāppu in the city. 1 of 1906.

* Agnikārya—not aupāsana; hence there was no goddess in the temple *ARE.* 1910 II. 18.

† This must be Āditya II; hence the king of this record may be Uttama Cōḷa. *ARE.* 1921 II 29.

Year 15.—*Kāñcīpuram* (Ch.)—Land by purchase from the merchants of Kāñcīpuram by Āccan Śēnāccan of the Müttavāḷpeṟṟa-kaikkōḷar for offerings to Karikālap-piḷḷaiyār in the temple of Teṟkirunda-nakkar in the western block of Kaḍumbiḍugu in Kāñci; and gift of three *kāśu* for lamp in that temple. 84 of 1921.

" *Kīḻappaḻuvūr* (Tri.)—Sheep for *ghī*. Mentions Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar Maṟavan Kaṇḍan as having built the temple (Vaṭamūlēśvara). * 245 of 1926.

" *Kuḍumiyāmalai* (Pd.)—Gold for lamp by a native of Malai-nāḍu. 328 of 1904.

" *Māmandūr* (Ch.)—45½ *śāvā-mūvāp-pēṟāḍu* (sheep) for ½ lamp by two persons contributing equal shares. The half lamp was to burn by day before Vāliśvaram-Uḍaiyār of Narasimha-mangalam.
40 of 1888; *SII.* iv. 138.

" *Mēlappaḻuvūr* (Tri.)—Land in Uṟattūr as *janmabhūmi* to Vēngaḍavan Arangan *alias* Śembiyan Virainā̄ṭṭuk-kōnār by the assembly of Kunṟak-kūṟṟam, under orders of Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyan Kaṇḍan Maṟavan, with the condition that the donee should pay 25 *tālaccemmai-pon* annually as fixed assessment (*nilaiyiṟai*) on the land. 356 of 1924.

" *Vṛddhācalam* (SA.)—Money for *ghī* for lamp, deposited with the assembly of Arikulakēsari-catm.
46 of 1918. †

Year 15, day 143.—*Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—Land to Tiruvayōdhyai Perumāṇaḍigaḷ. The Mahāsabhā took *pūrvācāram* and assigned to the god as *iṟaiyili* all the *iṟai* land in Pūngōdai-pūṇḍi saying : "*kuḍigaḷai veṭṭiyum amañjiyum iṟaiyum eppērppaṭṭidum koḷḷappeṟādōmāgavum.*"
14 of 1898; *SII.* vi. 297.

* cf. 219, 249 of year 9. King identified as Uttama Cōḷa in *ARE.* 1926 II, 19.

† Either Parāntaka I or Uttama Cōḷa *ARE.* 1918 II 22.

Year 16.—*Kīḻappaḻuvūr* (Tri.)—Land as *dēvadāna* (for offerings) by a private person. 244 of 1926.

„ *Kiḷiyanūr* (SA.)—Mahāsabhā of Kiḷinalūr agree to make farmers contribute to annual repairs of a tank named after a person who gave money for the same purpose. 160 of 1919.

„ *Kuḍumiyāmalai* (Pd.)—Gold for lamp by a native of Malai-nāḍu. 350 of 1904.

„ *Lālguḍi* (Tri.)—Gold by Kōkkiḻānaḍigaḷ, daughter of Śeramānār, * for lamps. 111 of 1929.

„ *Tirukkaḷāvūr* (Tj.)—Land as *iṟaiyili* to Mahādēva by the Mūlaparuḍaip-perumakkaḷ of Tirukkarugāvūr. 35 of 1910; *SII.* iii. 123 †

„ *Tiruttaṇi* (NA.)—Sale of land by assembly of Tiruttaṇiyai. 438 of 1905.

„ *Tiruveṟumbūr* (Tri.)—Land for *ardhayāma* offerings by the ūr of the village. 128 of 1914.

„ *Ukkal* (NA.)—Land to temple. *Nilam* figures as unit of land-measurement. The gift was made to Bhuvana-māṇikka-viṣṇugṛha by the Mahāsabhā, including the *samvatsara-vāriya* and the *śri-vāriyap-perumakkaḷ* at the request (*viṇṇappam*) of Cakrapāṇi-nambi who was doing *śrīkāryam* for Perumān-aḍigaḷ. 28 of 1893; *SII.* iii. 11. ‡

„ *Uṟaiyūr* (Tri.)—Provision for daily requirements of Tiruvaḍaitalai-perumāḷ at Uṟaiyūr. 183 of 1907.

„ *Uḍaiyārguḍi* (SA.)—Land by two *māṇiyar*, and gold for its reclamation; two batches of 80 and 20 Brahmans were to be fed for merit of the donors' uncle in the choultry erected by them. 621 of 1920.

* Queen of Parāntaka I *ARE*: 1929 II 27.

† Uttama Cōḷa or Parāntaka I—H.K. Sastri.

‡ Hultzsch identifies the king with Vijayālaya on account of the absence of distinguishing surnames. *SII.* i. 85, 148; and iii 12 (Introd).

Year 16.—*Valappuranaḍu* (Sm.)—Pirāntakan Mādēvaḍigaḷ *alias* Śembiyan Mādēviyār, mother of Gaṇḍan Madurāntakan *alias* Uttama Cōḷa, deposited 100 *kaḷañju* of gold with the *ūrār* of some villages in Kollimalai-nāḍu, the *ūrār* agreeing to pay monthly interest to the sabhā who were to dispose of it in the manner laid down. 503 of 1930.

„ *Vṛddhācalam* (SA.)—Land and cooking utensils to Tirumudukunṟam-uḍaiyār for offerings in the evening by Irungōnār Nāraṇan Piritipatiyār. 51 of 1918.

Year 16, day 33—*Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—Land as *iṟaiyili* to Śrī-kurukṣētrattup-perumānaḍigaḷ for *tiruccennaḍai* after taking *pūrvācāram.* 34 of 1898 ; *SII.* vi. 317.

„ day 257—*Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—Land to the temple of Mahādēva in the neighbouring village of Tiṭṭāttūr for *tiruccennaḍai* by the Mahāsabhā of Uttaramērūr : '*Pūrvācāran-goṇḍu iṟaiyiliyāga vaitta bhūmiyāvadu*'. 4 of 1898 ; *SII.* vi. 286.

Year 20—*Kuttālam* (Tin.)—(*Vaṭṭeḻuttu*)—Cows and sheep for lamps. 444 of 1917.

„ *Tiruttangal* (Rd.)—(*Vaṭṭeḻuttu*)—31 cows for lamp to Tiruvēngaḍanilai-perumāṇaḍigaḷ at Tiruttangāḷ by a resident of Kāḍanūr in Malli-nāḍu. 557 of 1922. *

Year 21.—*Kuḍumiyāmalai* (Pd.)—Mentions Madurāntaka Irukkuvēḷār *alias* Āccan Vikramakēsariyār. 335 of 1904 ; Pd. 65.

„ *Kuḍumiyāmalai* (Pd.)—Gift of a village by Madurāntaka-Irukkuvēḷ *alias* Ādittan Vikramakēsari. 336 of 1904 ; Pd. 63.

„ *Kuttālam* (Tin.)—(*Vaṭṭeḻuttu*) 26 sheep for lamp to Kuttālattup-perumānaḍigaḷ by Dharmaseṭṭi *alias* Śaḍaiyangavaiyan of the Maṇikkirāmam of Tenvāra-nāḍu. 439 of 1917.

„ *Tiruvadi* (SA.)—90 sheep and lamp-stand by a native of Adhirāja-mangalyapuram. 363 of 1921.

* Parāntaka I ? *ARE.* 1923 II 25.

Year 22.—*Kuttālam* (Tin.)—(*Vaṭṭeḻuttu*)—Land for lamp by Kandan Iravi on the occasion of a solar eclipse. Kuttālam is said to be in Tenvāra-nāḍu. 441 of 1917.

„ *Tiruccenduṟai* (Tri.)—Land as *dēvadāna* by Madurāntaka Irukkuvēḷ *alias* Ādittan-pūdi to Tiruccenduṟaik-kaṟṟaḷip-paramēśvara. 318 of 1903.

„ *Tirukkaḷittaṭṭai* (Tj.)—Land for offerings by a member of the *āḷuṅgaṇattar* of Amaninārāyaṇa-catm. in Vaḍgarai. 295 of 1908. *

Year 23.—*Tiruccenduṟai* (Tri.)—Land by Viraśōḷa-Iḷangōvēḷ *alias* Ādittan † Tiruvoṟṟiyūr-aḍigaḷ on the occasion of his marriage, (*virāhadakṣiṇai*). 323 of 1903.

„ *Tillaisthānam* (Tj.)—Gift of 25 *kaḻañju* of gold for which the sabhā sells land for a lamp in the temple of Tiruneyttānam. Among the boundaries occurs the phrase: "*Varaguṇaperumāṉā* ‡ *viḷakkukku-vaitta kāṟ-cē.*" 277 of 1911; *SII.* iii. 127.

Year 24.—*Kuttālam* (Tin.)-(*Vaṭṭeḻuttu*)-Cows for lamp by Ariyam-poduviyār, wife of a ...raṇa Pallavaraiyan. 442 of 1917.

„ *Tiruvoṟṟiyūr* (Ch.)—Gold for lamp by Śembiyan Mūvēndavēḷān *alias* Śāttan Ulagan, chief of Vandāḷañ-jēri in Tirunaṟaiyūr-nāḍu (of the Śōḷa-nāḍu). The money was deposited on interest with Kuḷumaṇip-pākkam near Māngāḍu. Rate of interest 15 per cent. 176 of 1912.

Year 25.—*Aṇḍanallūr* (Tri.) - Land by a certain Araiyan Vīra-śōḷan. 360 of 1903. §

* Text gives year (23). Parāntaka I. *ARE.* 1909 II 37.

† Regnal year (2)3—first figure being doubtful.

‡ Wife of Parāntaka Iḷangōvēḷār who gave some land in year **13** of Rājakēsari (Gaṇḍarāditya). After Gaṇḍarāditya who ruled 18 years, there must have been at least four kings before A.D. 985 -Ariñjaya, Sundara-Cōḷa· Parāntaka II, Āditya II and Uttama, of whom the first probably and the third and fourth were Parakēsaris. This record may be one of Ariñjaya whose records are otherwise unknown, or better Uttama Cōḷa—II.K. Sastri.

§ cf. 359 of year 11.

Year 25.—*Kuttālam* (Tin.)—(*Vaṭṭeḻuttu*) - Nine *Īḻakkāśu* for lamp by the ūr of Tirukkāmañjūr in Kaḷakkuḍi-nāḍu.
443 of 1917.

Year 26.—*Tiruccengōḍu* (Sm.)—Gold for feeding Brahmans.
639 of 1905.

Year 27.—*Kuttālam* (Tin.)—(*Vaṭṭeḻuttu*) Lamp to Tirukkuṟṟālattu Mahādēva. 438 of 1917.

„ *Tiruccengōḍu* (Sm.)—Gold for feeding Brahmans.
631 of 1905.

Year 28.—*Kumbakōṇam* (Tj.)—Gold for lamp. 246 of 1911.

„ *Tiruccengōḍu* (Sm.)—Gold for feeding. 638 of 1905.

Year 31.—*Kanyākumāri* (Tv.) - (*Vaṭṭeḻuttu*) Fragment.
TAS. i. p. 237. *

Year 32.—*Kuḍumiyāmalai* (Pd.) - Gold for lamp by Mayilai Tiṇḍan *alias* Avandiyakōpa-Pallavaraiyar of Pudukkuḍi. 322 of 1904.

„ *Tiruccatturai* (Tj.)—Gold, 25 *kaḻañju*, for lamp by a native of the Pāṇḍya country.
57 of 1895 ; *SII.* v. 614.

Year 33. † —*Tiruppalātturai* (Tri.)—90 sheep for lamp.
252 of 1903.

Year 34.—*Śōmūr* (Tri.)—Gold for lamp by a native of Śiṟṟūr in Mīy-maḻa-nāḍu. 205 of 1917.

„ *Sucīndram* (Tv.)—(*Vaṭṭeḻuttu*)-50 sheep with Paraḍai-sabhaiyār for lamp, to Nānjināṭṭu Tiruc-civindiarattu-mādēva. 81 of 1896 ; ‡ *EI.* v. p. 42 ; *TAS.* i. p. 237.

Year 35.—*Kuttālam* (Tin.)—(*Vaṭṭeḻuttu*)-Six buffaloes for lamp by a native of Vallapuram in Maḻa-nāḍu. 447 of 1917.

Year 36.—*Śinnamanūr* (Md.)—(*Vaṭṭeḻuttu*) Lamp. The village is called Aḻanāṭṭup-piramadēyam Arukēsarinallūr.
443 of 1907 ; § *SII.* iii. 109.

* May be Parāntaka I. T. A. G. Rao. † Text has 23.

‡ Vijayālaya (Hultzsch) - Parāntaka I (T. A. G. Rao).

§ Parāntaka I *AKE.* 1908 II 51.

Year 37.—*Tirugōkarṇam* (Pd.)—Gold. 308 of 1904.

Year 40.—*Tiruvaṇḍarkōyil* (Pondicherry.)—90 sheep for lamp; mentions Tribhuvanamādēvi-catm., a *brahmadēya* on the northern bank of the Peṇṇār. 376 of 1917. *

The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following :—

Marandai (Tin.)—(*Vaṭṭeḻuttu*)-Land for offerings to the Viṣṇu temple at Māṟandāyanallūr, a *brahmadēya* in Kaḷakkuḍi-nāḍu. 313 of 1918.

Śembiyanmahādēvi (Tj.)-158 pon (*kaḻañju*) for feeding, with the interest thereon, some persons on the day of Kēṭṭai in the month of Cittirai, the natal star of Śembiyan-Mahādēviyār, the mother of Uttama Cōḷa. 489 of 1925.

Tirumālpuram (NA.)—120 sheep for a lamp by the Cōḷa queen Pañcavan-mahādēvi. 338 of 1906.

Tiruvirāmīśvaram (Tj.)—Money for lamp by a merchant of Vīraśōḻap-perunderu of Tañjāvūr. 128 of 1911.

Uttaramērūr (Ch.) — Gold for lamp to Jēṣṭaikōyilin kīḻaittaḷi-mahādēva on the bank of the tank at Kumaṇapāḍi in the town (*ivvūr*). The *samvatsara-vāriyap-perumakkaḷ* were made responsible for maintaining the lamp. 10 of 1898 ; *SII.* vi. 293.

* Parāntaka I *ARE.* 1918 II 22.

PARAKĒSARI VIJAYALAYA.

Tiruneḍungaḷam (Tri)—Tribhuvana-cakravartin Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān. A gift of land according to an earlier charter of Parakēsari *alias* Śri Vijayālaya Cōḷa-dēva.
675 of 1909.

See under Parakēsari :

Year 2. + 1.—*Tiruvīḻimiḻalai*	439 of 1908.
Year 4.—*Kāñcīpuram.*	*SII.* i. 85.
Year 6.—*Tiruvīḻimiḻalai.*	436 of 1908.
Year 16.—*Ukkal.*	28 of 1893.
Year 34.—*Sucīndram.*	81 of 1896.

under Vikrama Cōḷa :

Year 5—*Kīḻputtūr* 164 of 1915,
mentioning a gift in year 4 of Vijayālaya.

RAJAKĒSARI ĀDITYA I.

Tillaisthānam (Tj.)—*Toṇḍaināḍu-pāvina (paravina?) Śōḻan-palyānaikkōk-kandanāyina Rājakēsarivarma.* Gift of 100 sheep by Kaḍamba-mādēvi, wife of Vikki-Aṇṇan on whom was bestowed the hereditary title Śembiyan Tamiḻavēḷ with other marks of dignity by the Cōḻa king and by the Śēramān Sthāṇu Ravi.

286 of 1911 ; *SII.* iii. 89.

See under Rājakēsari :

Year 2.—*Tirumeyñānam.*	321 of 1910.
„ *Tirunāgēśvaram.*	222 of 1911.
Year 8.—*Tillaisthānam.*	38 of 1895.
Year 9.—*Śendalai.*	209 of 1926.
Year 14.—*Vēḍal.*	84 of 1908.
Year 18.—*Śendalai.*	13 of 1899.
Year 23.—*Tiruppaḻanam.*	161 of 1928.
„ *Ukkal.*	19 of 1893.
Year 24.—*Nerkuṇam.*	86 of 1908.
„ *Niyamam.*	16 of 1899.
„ *Śendalai.*	208 of 1926.
„ *Takkōlam.*	5 of 1897.
Year 27.—*Brahmadēśam.*	230 of 1915.
„ *Tirukkaḻukkunṟam.*	167 of 1894.

under Parāntaka I :

Year 34.—*Toṇḍamānāḍ.*	230 of 1903.

under Uttama Cōḻa :

Year 14, day 216.—*Tirumālpuram*	286 of 1906.

PARAKĒSARI PARĀNTAKA I.

See under Rājakēsari :

Year 3—*Kumbakōṇam.*—A *daṇḍam* of 3000 on the city in Parāntaka's 38th year. 255 of 1911.

Year 8—*Tillaisthānam*—Kaṇṇaradēvan a brother of Parāntaka. 38 of 1895.

Year 2—*Tiruccenduṟai* (Tri.)—(Parakēsari). Land by Pūdi Āditta Piḍāri * on the day of a solar eclipse. 310 of 1903.

" *Tiruccenduṟai* (Tri.)—(Parakēsari). Two gardens by Pūdi Ādicca Piḍāri, queen of Arikula-kēsari, as *viḷāppuṟam* to the deity of the stone temple built by her. 319 of 1903 ; *SII.* iii. 126.

Ś. 832 † —*Cendattūr* (NA.)—Death of Māvali-Vāṇarāyar *alias* Kudi-paṟi-taṇḍik-kāmanār, residing in Igalmaṟai-mangalam, in a cattle raid at Cendattūr. 168 of 1921.

Year 3—*Tiruccenduṟai* (Tri.)—(Parakēsari). Gold, 60 *kaḷañju*, by Pūdi Ādicca Piḍāriyār, daughter of Tennavan Iḷangōvēḷār ‡ and queen of Arikulakēsariyār, son of Śōḷa-Perumānaḍigaḷ, to the god of the stone temple of Candraśēkhara which she had built at Tiruccenduṟai, near Īśānamangalam (Brahmadēyam Īśānamangalattu Tiruccenduṟai). The gold was weighed by *viḍēlviḍu-gukal* and left in charge of Īśānamangalattu Paruḍai ; interest at the rate of *tūṇi* and *padakku* per *pū* yielding a total of 60 *kalam* per annum. 316 of 1903 ; § *SII.* iii. 96.

* May have been the daughter of Pūdi or Maṟavan Pūdiyār Hence, Parakēsari of this record must be Uttama or Āditya II. The eclipse points to A. D. 972 in Uttama Cōḷa's reign. H. K. Sastri.

† This shows that in A. D. 910 Parāntaka had not yet conquered the Bāṇas.

‡ Another name of Maṟavan Pūdiyār. H. K. Sastri.

§ The king of this record was Gaṇḍarāditya. A. D. 956-7 *ARE.* 1909 II 38, But see p. 150 n. *ante.*

Year 3.—*Tirukkōḍikāval* (Tj.)—Maduraikoṇḍa Parakēsari. Copy of an old Pāṇḍya inscription. 11 of 1931.

„ *Tiruppaḻanam*—Maduraikoṇḍa Parakēsari. Thirty *kaḻañju* gold for lamp. 157 of 1928.

„ *Tiruvāḍuturai* (Tj.)—(Parakēsari). Purchase of land in Śiṟṟānaiccūr by Kaṟṟaḷi-piccan of Tiruvāḍuturai ,* who allotted it among one Tiruppadiyam-hymner, those bringing water for the sacred bath, and the pipers of the temple. 139 of 1925.

Year 4, day 325.—*Tiruviḍaimarudūr* (Tj.)—Mentions the using up in building the central shrine of stones with inscriptions registering endowments for lamps in the temple. Copies of these records were accordingly made ; and one of them was in the reign of the Kāḍu-paṭṭigaḷ Nandipōttaraiyar who had endowed a lamp called Kumāramārtāṇḍa. The order to copy and re-engrave the records was issued by a meeting in the Nāṭakaśālā of the temple in which were present : *ittēvar śrikāryam tiruttakkuḍava Tiraimūr-sabhaiyārum Tiruviḍaimarudil Nagarattārum Tirukkōyil-uḍaiyārgaḷum* and two others, the accountant and manager of the temple. †

199 of 1907 ; *SII.* iii. 124.

Year 7.—*Madhurāntakam* (Ch.)—Parāntakadēva. Land by the Perunguṟi-Mahāsabhai of Śrī-Madhurāntaka-catm., as *tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam* to Ayōdhya Perumāḷ.

126 of 1896 ; ‡ *SII.* v. 991.

„ *Takkōlam* (NA.)—Gold, 10 *kaḻañju*, by a lady for a boat to be launched in the big tank. The sabhā of Parundūr undertake to supply as interest 150 *kāḍi* of paddy for its maintenance, to be collected with the *pañcavāra.* 252 of 1921.

* cf. 126 of 1925 of year 25.

† Probably the earliest record of the new temple. Either Parāntaka I or Vijayālaya. The earliest ascertainable inscriptions here are those of Parāntaka.

‡ Characters of a later time- *SII.* v. p. 377 n.

Year 9.—*Sholingur* (NA.)—The king granted the revenue from a field called Vamśavāri (Vamśavārijanitan-nṛpadēyam) for the maintenance of a tank called *Cōḷa-vāridhi* on the bank of which the inscription is engraved on a rock. The execution of the grant was entrusted to the Ganga Pṛthivīpati II Hastimalla who was made Bāṇādhirāja. Mentions battle of Vaḷḷāḷa in which Pṛthivīpati distinguished himself.
9 of 1896 ; *EI.* iv. p. 221.

Year 10.—*Karuttaṭṭāngudi* (Tj.)—(Parakēsari). 90 sheep by Madurāntakan-Gaṇḍarādittan to Karundiṭṭai-guḍi Mahādēva. 42 of 1897 ; *SII.* v. 1405.

„ * *Tiruvāmāttūr* (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa Parakēsari. Land. Mentions the king's other name, Śrī Parāntaka-dēva, and an officer of his named Śōḷaśikhā-maṇi Pallava-raiyan. A case of diversion of charitable endowment from one purpose to another closely allied : land set apart for the maintenance of a *mahāmātra* who took care of the elephant which carried the *śrībali* was now employed to sound a gong (*śeṇḍai koṭṭuvadāga*) as the old service had stopped. 423 of 1903.

„ *Tiruviḍaimarudūr* (Tj.)—Maduraikoṇḍa Parakesari. An endowment for the *uvaccar*. Mentions the agent of the Cōḷa king in Kongu. † 258 of 1907.

Year 11—*Pullamangai* (Tj.)—Maduraikoṇḍa. Land to temple by assembly. 558 of 1921.

„ *Tiruccāttuṟai* (Tj.)—Maduraikoṇḍa. Gold, paḷangāśu weighing 25 *kaḷañju* for lamp with Pati-pāda-mūlattār. 63 of 1895 ; *SII.* v. 620.

„ *Tiruccāttuṟai* (Tj.)—Maduraikoṇḍa. 30 *pon* by Cōḷa queen Tribhuvana-mahādēviyār on behalf of her mother Nanguṭṭiyār. 130 of 1931.

* Text reads : *padi(nālā)vadu.*

† *ARE.* gives the date (30) ; but the text gives 10.

Year 12—*Kīḻappaḻuvūr* (Tri.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Commander Nakkan Śāttan of Paradūr gave 90 sheep for lamp to Tiruvālanduṟai Mahādēva, to commemorate the victory of Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇḍan Amudāṇḍanār when the Pāṇḍya king helped by the Ceylonese army attacked the Cōḻa king at the battle of Veḷḷūr and died.
231 of 1926. *

„ *Takkōlam* (NA.)—Maduraikoṇḍa. Agreement of the assembly of Tiruvūṟal to measure out 1125 *marakkāl* of *pañcavāra* paddy due from the *dēvadāna* village Parundūr by the *marakkāl* which would hold 7 *nāḻi* and 1 *uṟi* by the Rājakēsari-nāḻi. 261 of 1921.

„ *Tiruppārkkaḍal* (NA.)—The Mahāsabhā including the members of the year of the *kuḍumbu,-tōṭṭa,-kaḻani,-* and *vaḍa-kaḻani-vāriyams*, the Bhaṭṭar and others order the acceptance by the *ēri-vāriyam* of an endowment of 120 *kaḻañju* of 9½ *māṟi* gold as the corpus from the interest on which were to be fed every day four Brahman *apūrvins* versed in the Vēda in the Śālai-maṇḍapa built by the donor. This was instituted for the merit of four warriors (*śēvakar*) who died in a frontal attack (*neṟṟi śenṟa*) led by the donor, Śennip-pēraraiyar, at Vēḷūr on the occasion when the Pāṇḍyan and Ceylonese kings came and fought a deadly battle (*asti-kaḍai śeyda ñānṟu*) with the Cōḻa king (*perumānaḍigaḷ*). 693 of 1904 ; *SII.* iii. 99.

„ *Tiruviḍaimarudūr* (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Lamp. Mentions Taipūśam. 248 of 1907.

„ *Uttaramērur* (Ch.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Rules for elections to the *vāriyam*. Title Parāntaka at end.
2 of 1898 ; *Studies* vi.

Year 13.—*Tirukkaḻukkunṟam* (Ch.)—(*Vaṭṭeḻuttu*) Madiraikoṇḍa. A private gift of a lamp by Āmūrkkōṭṭattu Kāraikkāṭṭūr Neḍumāṟccāttan Śennip-pēraraiyan and his

* This was the second war. Rājasimha was the name of the Pāṇḍya king and Veḷḷūr was apparently in the Pāṇḍya country. cf. Udayēndiram plates of Pṛthivīpati II, vv. 10-11 *ARE.* 1926 II 16.

mother Kōyinangai. The sabhaiyār to protect the charity. 168 of 1894 ; *EI.* iii. p. 281.

Year 14.—*Tillaisthānam* (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Sheep for lamp. Mentions village Parāntaka-puram in Kongu-nāḍu. * 290 of 1911.

„ *Tiruvaiyāṟu* (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Gold for lamp by queen Tribhuvana-mahādēviyār. 242 of 1894 ; *SII.* v. 541.

„ *Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Revision of rules regarding elections to the *vāriyam.* Titles of the king: Vīranārāyaṇa, Dēvēndra, Cakravartin, Paṇḍita-vatsalan, Kuñjara-mallan and Śūraśūḷāmaṇi. 1 of 1898 ; *Studies* vi.

„ *Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Gold, 12½ *kaḷañju*, for lamp to Tiruppulivanattu Mahādēva given to the sabhā by a member of the *yāḷungaṇam* of the village (*ivvūr*). 87 of 1898 ; *SII.* vi. 372.

Year 15.—*Erode* (Coi.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Agreement of the people of Eḷukarait-tiruvāyppāḍi-nāḍu to pay certain taxes for the worship of Veṇṇaikkūtta-nāyanār in the temple of Paḷḷikoṇḍāḷvār at Īrōḍu :—½ *paṇam* on each *kuḍi* ; ⅛ each from bridegroom and bride in marriages ; 1 *kuṇṟi* and 1 *mañjāḍi* of gold as Śuḍukāṭṭuppāṭṭam. 167 of 1910. †

„ *Kāñcīpuram* (Ch.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 270 sheep for three lamps for which three *uḻakku* of *ghī* had to be supplied every day by Caṇḍaparākrama Maṉṟāḍi and his descendants, on pain of a daily fine for default of 4¼ (?) at the *dhanmāsana.* There is also an undertaking to pay one *mañjāḍi* of gold every day to the ruling king (*anṟāḍu kōvukku*) if the charity fails (*muṭṭil*). *SII.* i. 82. ‡

* This must have extended partly into Mysore country. cf. 281 of 1911, (Year 18) ; 457 of 1911 (Year 29) - *AKE.* 1912 II 13.

† Characters of a later time. Perhaps copy of a genuine record. cf. 258 of 1907 (Yr. 10) and Parāntaka records from Tiruccengōḍu. *AKE.* 1911 II 20.

‡ *SII.* i 83 is similar-180 sheep.

Year 15.—*Kuḍumiyāmalai* (Pd.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Gold for lamp at each of two temples. Mentions a person with the surname Arikulānta-vāraṇa-Pēraraiyan. 345 of 1904.

„ *Kuḍumiyāmalai* (Pd.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Gifts of gold for lamps, one each, in the temples of Tirumūlattā-nattu-perumānaḍigaḷ and Tirumēṟṟaḷi-perumānaḍigaḷ by two persons, viz., one of the Piḷḷaiyār Kōdaṇḍar * maḍaippaḷḷip-peṇḍir (7½ *kaḻañju* for *nandāviḷakku*), and one woman engaged for making sandal (*śāndu*) to the same prince (3 *kaḻañju* for *pagalviḷakku*).
347 of 1904 ; *SII.* iii. 101.

„ *Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Land to temples of Tiruppulivanam and Tulāvārattaḷi. The ūr who sold the land and got its price, undertook themselves to perform the duties connected with the charity, though ordinarily the *samvatsara-vāriyam* did so.
8 of 1898 ; *SII.* vi. 291.

Year 15, day 55.—*Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Rules for testing gold (*pon samañjasan-gāṇbadarkku*) by a committee specially constituted by election for the purpose by order of the sabhā. 12 of 1898 ; *SII.* vi. 295.

Year 16.—*Brahmadēśam* (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. The assembly Añjaṣṭaśam fixes the remuneration to the tank accountant. The *koṟṟu* was four *nāḻi* of paddy every day, and seven *kaḻañju* of pure gold every year, and a pair of cloths (*ōraṇaik-kūṟai*). Each accountant had, while presenting the accounts every year, to undergo the ordeal of red-hot iron (*maḻu*) ; if he passed the ordeal successfully, he got *pādaśēṣa* (? quarter of the surplus) as bonus ; else he was fined 10 *kaḻañju* ; no corporal punishment was to be inflicted.
226 of 1915.

„ *Kuḍumiyāmalai* (Pd.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Gold for lamp by a native of Koḍungōḷūr in Malai-nāḍu. 351 of 1904.

„ *Tirunāmanallūr* (SA.)—400 sheep for 4 lamps by the king's son Kōdaṇḍarāma. 379 of 1902 ; *SII.* vii. 1009.

* Same as Kōdaṇḍarāma of 318 of 1904, n-d. *ARE.* 1905. II. 9. Kōdaṇḍarāma Rājāditya, the eldest son of Parāntaka. H. K. Sastri.

Year 16.—*Tiruppuṛambiyam* (Tj.)—Maduraiyum Īḻamumkoṇḍa * Seven cows for *ghī* by two persons. 331 of 1927.

Year 16, day 222—*Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Land bought from ryots by order of assembly for renewing and widening a road which, owing to a flood, had become unfit for use even by cattle. The garden committee executed the order of the assembly.
9 of 1898; *SII.* vi. 292.

Year 17.—*Brahmadēśam* (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 325 *kuḻi* of land for offerings by Nallulān-Ūraḍimagan Aṭṭamūtti.
224 of 1915.

„ *Pērangiyūr* (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Sale of land by sabhā of Pēringūr. 200 of 1906.

„ *Śrīrangam* (Tri.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Thirty *pon* by *śem-mai-paṇḍārak-kal* for lamp, forty for camphor, and one for cotton wick (*pañju-tiri*); and a silver lamp-stand (*nilai-viḷakku*). Tiruvaranga-sabhā took charge of the endowments. 72 of 1892; *SII.* iv. 519.

„ *Tiruccennambūṇḍi* (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 16 *kaḻañju* gold for lamp by Guṇavan Śūratongi, one of the retinue (*parivāram*) of Nambirāṭṭiyār Arumoḻi-nangai, the daughter of Paḻuvettaraiyar.
299 of 1901; *SII* vii. 520.

„ *Tiruppaḻanam* (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Gold by Kallan Āccapiḍāri of Koḍumbāḷūr. 140 of 1928.

„ *Tiruviḍaimarudūr* (Tj.) — Madiraikoṇḍa. Paddy by inhabitants of Tiruviḷai-nāḍu. 245 of 1907.

Year 18.—*Pullamangai* (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Royal gift as *kuḍi-nīkkiya-dēvadānam* of five and odd *vēli* of unalienated land yielding 500 *kalam* of paddy and 5 *kaḻañju* of gold to Tiruvālandurai-Mahādēva.
555 of 1921.

* Earliest mention of conquest of Ceylon so far known occurs only in year 37. Perhaps this title was assumed after Vēḷūr and fully justified only later. *ARE.* 1927 II 10.

Year 18.—*Tillaisthānam* (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Gold for lamp. Mentions Kongap-peruvaḷi. * 281 of 1911.

„ *Tiruviḍaimarudūr* (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Gold for a lamp by a merchant of Kumāra-māttāṇḍapuram in Tenkari-Tiraimūr-nāḍu. 262 of 1907.

Year 19.—*Kīḻappaluvūr* (Tri.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 90 sheep with sabhā of Śiṟupaḷuvūr. Lamp by Daṇḍi Aḍigaḷār of Umbaḷappāḍi. 236 of 1926.

„ *Pallikoṇḍa* (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. *Ardhamaṇḍapa* of Nāganāthēśvara temple built by Karuvili Muttaraiyar. 476 of 1925.

„ *Piḷḷaipākkam* (Ch.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Regulations for election of members to the assembly by the wards of Ninṟavūr in Palkunṟa-kōṭṭam. 176 of 1930.

„ *Takkōlam* (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 800 *kāḍi* of paddy left with Maṇayil-kōṭṭattu Tiruvūṟal-purattup-pondaip-pākkattu sabhā. Interest rate of 4 *nāḻi* per *kāḍi* per annum yielding in all 100 *kāḍi* ; the man who came to collect this interest was to be given two meals a day (*niśadam iraṇḍu śōṟu*). 8 of 1897 ; *SII.* v. 1371.

„ *Tiruviḍaimarudūr* (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Gold for lamp. Mentions Nambirāṭṭiyār Kōkkiḷān(aḍigaḷ). 261 of 1907.

„ *Vēḍal* (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Mentions Viṇṇagar Vayira-mēgan and a Kālāmukha Daśapurīyan † of the Hārita gōtra and Āpastamba sūtra. 85 of 1908.

Year 20.—*Tiruppalātturai* (Tri.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 20 *kaḻañju* gold for lamp by vaḷavan tamakkai-yuṟmaiyāḷāna Ariñjigai Ādittan. 255 of 1903 ; *SII.* viii. 648.

„ *Tiruviḍaimarudūr* (Tj.) — Madiraikoṇḍa. Gold for green-gram offering. Forty *kaḻañju* deposited in parts with the sabhā and ūr of Tiraimūr. 201 of 1907.

* cf. 290 of 1911 (Year 14)

† cf. 129 of 1907 from Koḍumbāḷūr (Vikramakēsari). Mēlpāḍi had a *maṭha* of Lakulīśa Pāśupatas, perhaps a branch of the Kālāmukhas, at the beginning of the 11th century A. D. *ARE.* 1909 II 37.

Year 20.—*Tiruvoṟṟiyūr* (Ch.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Mentions wife of Kēraḷa Ku(ṟu)mban *alias* Parakēsari Mūvēndavēḷār of Vaḷudi-vāḷ-mangalam. 173 of 1912. *

Year 21.—*Kaṇḍiyūr* (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Thirty *kaḷañju* gold by an inhabitant of Tañjāvūr, and fifteen *kaḷañju* by another for mid-day offerings, converted into land. The Tirukaṇḍiyūr sabhai was in charge of the endowment. 14 of 1895 ; *SII.* v. 569.

„ *Takkōlam* (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Paddy and gold with Kayattūr Ūrār of Tiruvūṟalpuram in Panmā-nāḍu of Maṇayil-kōṭṭam. 12 of 1897 ; *SII.* v. 1375.

Year 22.—*Kīḻappaḻuvūr* (Tri.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 90 sheep with sabhā for lamp by Nandin-kaḍatti, a *peṇḍāṭṭi* of the *vēḷam* of Gaṇḍarādittar † of Tañjāvūr. 241 of 1926.

„ *Siddhalingamaḍam* (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Sale by the villagers (Ūr) of Marudūr, to Iṟaiyānkuḍi-kiḻavan, of the right of taking water for irrigation to *balippaṭṭi* through the sluice of the tank in their village, for a specified sum of money. ‡ 376 of 1909.

„ *Tiruvaiyāṟu* (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 90 sheep for lamp by a queen's mother (Cōḷa-mādēviyār-tangaḷ-ācci) Perumāḷ Tiruvarangi. 225 of 1894 ; *SII.* v. 524.

Year 23.—*Grāmam* § (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 90 sheep for lamp by (people of) Tirumunaippāḍi. 744 of 1905.

„ *Oddantangal* (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Land as *ēripaṭṭi* for repairing breaches in the tank in Tūñāḍu. 206 of 1921.

* The records of this king at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr range from years 20 to 38 and are perhaps the earliest Cōḷa records in the Northern corner of the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, apparently not conquered by Āditya I (Rājak.) as no records of his are found there. *AKE.* 1913 II 18.

† Second son of Parāntaka I and author of a *Tiruvisaippā*; already a grown up prince. *AKE.* 1926 II 16.

‡ Text does not give the name of the person and the sale ; says simply '*urittākac-cēdukoḍuttōm*'.

§ Called Parāntaka-catm, in 193 of 1906.

Year 23 + 1.—*Takkōlam* (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 455 *kaḻañju* of gold for a *kolgai* to the Tiruvūṟal-Mahādēva temple. 251 of 1921.

Year 24.—*Jambai* (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Mentions the building of a *maṇḍapa* at the town of Vāḷaiyūr by Viranāraṇiyār, queen of prince Gaṇḍarādittar and daughter of Śōḻamādēviyār; also endowment by Nagarattār in whose name the *maṇḍapa* was built. 108 of 1906.

„ *Kuttālam* (Tin.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Gold for lamp by Pirāntakan Uttamaśīli. 446 of 1917. *

„ *Mēlappaḻuvūr* (Tri.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Three forehead plates made of gold collected from several sources (*paliśaippon* and *taṇḍappon*) by Kāmakkōḍanār. An undertaking by the temple servants to burn two perpetual lamps in the temple with 180 sheep purchased out of 20 *kaḻañju* realised from various sources in the 26th year of the king. 378 of 1924.

„ *Tillaisthānam* (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Forty Ceylon *kaḻañju* † of gold equal to twenty *pon* for a lamp given by Pirāntakan Arikulakēsari, the king's son. 25 of 1895; *SII*. v. 582.

„ *Tirukkoḍāvūr* (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Land for lamp by Nakkan Śandirādēvi of the Jayabhīmataḷi ‡ at Tañjāvūr. 38 of 1910; *SII*. iii. 102.

„ *Tiruviḍaimarudūr* (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 90 sheep for lamp by a native of Ānaimangalam in Paṭṭinakkūṟṟam. 259 of 1907.

* This and 448 of year (36) are the only two records of this king so far found in the Pāṇḍya country. 63 of 1905 from Ānaimalai of year 33 still left it doubtful if his conquest extended beyond the capital and its outskirts. The conquest of the whole Pāṇḍya country is mentioned in the Udayēndiram and Tiruvālangāḍu plates. Eight *Vaṭṭeḻuttu* records from Kuttālam (Tin.) are also naturally to be assigned to this king. *ARE*. 1918 II 22.

† Text has: *Īḻakka(ḻañ)ju*. Ceylonese *kaḻañju* was 10 *mañjāḍi*, while the Tanjore one was 20. See also 156 of 1895, *ARE*. 1895, paragraph 12.

‡ cf. *SII*. ii. 66 p. 292; *ARE*. 1910 II 16.

Year 24.—*Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 12½ *kaḻañju* of gold for lamp by the son of one of the *yāḻuṅgaṇattār*. The *ēri-vāriyam* of each year was to supervise the charity. 58 of 1898 ; *SII*. vi. 341.

" *Veppunganēri* (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. A grant of 1,000 *kuḻi* of land by the assembly of Kāvanūr as *ērippaṭṭi*. 166 of 1921.

Year 25.—*Brahmadēśam* (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Gold for lamp. Gaṇapperumakkaḷ to supervise. 222 of 1915.

" (Solar eclipse) *Brahmadēśam* (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Fifteen *kaḻañju* of gold for lamp by Kiḻinallūr Kiḻavan *alias* Śembiyan Kiḻārnāṭṭukkōn of Kiḻinallūr in Śōḻa-nāḍu. The sabhā and ūr of Vadiyūr agreed to supply the oil for the lamp. Mentions Vallavaraiyar. 235 of 1915.

" *Mēlappaḻuvūr* (Tri.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Undertaking by the assembly of Uttamadāni-catm. for the daily supply of *ghī* for one lamp as interest on gold (9 *kaḻañju-tīp-pōkku śembon)* received by them from the temple. 359 of 1924.

" *Siddhaliṅgamaḍam* (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Land for music thrice a day during worship. 387 of 1909.

" *Tillaisthānam* (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. An enquiry into temple affairs by royal writ; the Nagara-vāriyakkūṭṭam has part in the enquiry; fine of 12 *kaḻañju* is levied on some defaulters, and is used for making a *paṭṭam* and for festival. 31 of 1895 ; *SII*. v. 588.

" *Tiruppuṟambiyam* (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 90 sheep by the Nāṭṭu-maṉṟāḍigaḷ for lamp. 315 of 1927.

" *Tiruvāḍuturai* (Tj.)—Maduraikoṇḍa. 11 *mā* of land for maintenance of pipers in the temple by Tirukkaṟṟaḷi-piccan * who is stated to have built the Gōmuktīśvara

* 132 of 1925 (n-d.) is the name label of this person figured as worshipping a linga on the S. wall of the temple.

temple at Tiruvāḍuturai. On receiving 16½ *kaḻañju* of gold, the assembly of Śiṟṟānaiccūr made the land tax-free. 126 of 1925.

Year 26.—*Erumūr* (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 90 sheep for lamp by a lady. The sabhā agree to see that the lamp is regularly maintained. 381 of 1913.

„ *Kaṇḍiyūr* (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Land given in exchange for 10½ *kaḻañju* of gold endowed by Piḷḷaiyār Parāntakan Uttamaśili for a lamp (*pagalviḷakku*). The sabhā of Tirukkaṇḍiyūr made the exchange. 19 of 1895 ; *SII.* v. 575.

„ *Mēlappaḻuvūr* (Tri.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Gift of reclaimed land for lamp by Kāḍan Pūdi, a native of Nelvāyil (Nelvāyil-uḍaiyān) in Migōḷai Viḷā-nāḍu. 380 of 1924.

„ *Tiruccatturai* (Tj.)—Sheep for lamp by Nangūri-nangai of Mayilāṟpil on behalf of her daughter Śōḷa-śikhāmaṇiyār, the queen of the Cōḷa king. 158 of 1931.

„ *Tiruvoṟṟiyūr* (Ch.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 90 sheep for lamp and one Ceylonese (*Īḻa*) lamp-stand by a native of Śōḷa-nāḍu. 184 of 1912.

„ *Tiruvoṟṟiyūr* (Ch.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. A part (of Tiruvoṟṟi-yūr ?) called Śūra-śūḷāmaṇip * -perunderu. 187 of 1912.

„ *Udayēndiram* (NA.) — Madiraikoṇḍa. Resolution of sabhās of Kāñjivāyil *alias* Igal-marai-mangalam and Udayacandra-mangalam to live together as one village thereafter. *SII.* ii. p. 370 ; *EI.* iii. p. 147.

Year 27.—*Ādiguḍi* (Tri.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Land for lamp by a native of Anbil, a *brahmadēya* in Kiḻ-kūṟṟu, a sub-division of Kiḻār-kūṟṟu, to the temple of Tiruvādiguḍi. 106 of 1920.

* Surname of Parāntaka I *ARE.* 1913 II 18.

Year 27.—*Tillaisthānam* (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Lamp by a merchant of the Maṇigrāmam of Ādittapura in Tiruneyttānam. The gold given for the purpose was taken charge of by Paradāya-nakkan Śrīkandan. *
33 of 1895; *SII.* v. 590.

„ *Tiruccengōḍu* (Sm.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Money for a lamp entrusted to the sabhā of Tiruccengōḍu, while the people of the eighteen districts (*nāṭṭār*) were to protect the grant. 640 of 1905.

„ *Tiruviḍaimarudūr* (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Land to maintain a drummer (*uḍukkai-vāśippān*) who had to play on the *uḍukkai* thrice a day (*mūnṛu śandiyum*). The land was given by an officer auditing temple affairs (*śrīkāryam ārāykinṛa*), the sabhā of Tiraimūr, the nagarattār of Tiruviḍaimarudil, the tirukkōyil-uḍaiyār and the pati-pādamūlattar, assembled in the theatre (*nāṭaka-śālai*). 157 of 1895; *SII.* v. 721.

„ *Tiruviśalūr* (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Provision for the supply of bathing water from the Kāvēri to the deity. The village is called Avani-nārāyaṇa-catm. *alias* Vēmbaṛṛūr, a *dēvadāna* and *brahmadēya* on the northern bank. 35 of 1907.

„ *Tiruvoṛṛiyūr* (Ch.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 90 sheep for lamp by Dēvan Kēsari *alias* Kuñjaramalla † Pallavaraiyan.
167 of 1912.

Year 28.—*Erumūr* (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. The *śrīvimāna* was built of stone and the *gōpura* with *aṣṭaparivāra* erected by Irungōḷan Kuṇavan Aparājitan; 3¼ *vēli* of land given by the same person with the permission of the king, Śōḷapperumāḷ Parāntaka-dēva, to the temple of Śiṛutirukkōyil-bhaṭāra at Uṛumūr, for *tiruccennal*, *arcanābhōga* and the maintenance of the drummers for *śrībali*. 384 of 1913. ‡

* cf. 31 of 1895 of year 25.

† A surname of the king, *AKE.* 1913 II 18.

‡ 379, 381 and 382 with earlier regnal years in the same temple. Either the construction was finished earlier than year 28 or the earlier grants got engraved in that year after the completion of the work. *AKE.* 1914 II 15.

Year 28.—*Kīḻūr* (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 100 sheep for lamp to Tirukkōvalūr Tiruvīraṭṭānattup-perumāḷ by the queen Rājadēviyār Tēśaḍakki-perumāṉār, daughter of Milāḍuḍaiyār Kayirūr Perumāṉār.
279 of 1902 ; *EI.* vii. p. 141.

" *Periya Varikkam* (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 500 *kuḻi* of land by assembly to the wife and children of Sāmināyakkan, a hero who fell in a cattle raid in Varikkiyam *alias* Candirāditya-maṅgalam.
180 of 1921.

" *Tirunāmanallūr* (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 90 sheep and an *Īḻaviḷakku* by Citrakōmaḷam, a female servant (*parivārattāḷ*) of the queen Kōkkiḻānaḍigaḷ, mother of Rājādittadēva, who * ordered the construction of the stone temple of Tiruttoṇḍīśvara (Bhaktajanēśvara) at Tirunāvalūr in Tirumunaippāḍi.
335 of 1902 ; *EI.* vii. p. 133.

" *Tiruppaḻanam* (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 90 sheep for lamp, Mentions the queen of Śōḻapperumāṉaḍigaḷ, Śeyabhuvana Cintāmaṇiyār of Kāvirippūmpaṭṭinam. †
137 of 1928.

" *Vēdāraṇyam* (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 90 sheep for a lamp by Aruṇiḍi-Kaliyan of Marudūr, an officer of Śrī-Parakēsari. 445 of 1904.

Year 29.—*Bairakūr* (Mys.)—(Kanarese) Madiregoṇḍa. A memorial stone for a person who recovered the cows, slew and died. 457 of 1911 ; *EC.* x. Mb. 203. ‡

" *Brahmadēśam* (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Gold diadem to god in charge of the *gaṇapperumakkaḷ* doing *śrīkāryam* of Śrī Pondaibhaṭṭārakar. 202 of 1915.

* It is not clear if the mother or the son built the temple. See Venkayya *ASI.* 1905-6 p. 180 *nn.* 7 and 8.

† cf. 46 of 1923 (Yr. 34.)

‡ Rice (p. xxiv) says that this is an isolated instance of such an early Kan. Cōḷa inscription and suspects a later date. But 290 and 281 of 1911 (years 14 and 18) furnish evidence of Parāntaka's sway in Kongu-*ARE.* 1912 II 13. And there is nothing against the genuineness of this record. H. K. Sastri. *EI.* x. Additions etc.

Year 29.—*Grāmam* (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Gift of sheep for a lamp by Veḷḷangumaran, a native of Nandikarai-puttūr in Malai-nāḍu and general of prince Rājāditya, * to Śrī-mūlasthānattu-mahādēva of the Śrī-Āṟṟuttaḷi at Tirumuḍiyūr. 739 of 1905 ; *ASI.* 1905-6. p. 180.

„ *Grāmam* (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Lamp by some servants (*kōyiṟpiḷḷaigaḷ*) of prince Rājāditya to the temple of Śrī-Āṟṟuttaḷi Mahādēva. 745 of 1905.

„ *Grāmam* (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Lamp by a servant of prince Rājāditya. 182 of 1906.

„ *Kīḻ-muttugūr* (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Records death of Vadu-navāran Varadan Tāṇḍan in a cattle raid—(*perumānaḍikaḷān Mukkuṭṭūr toṟu koḷḷa mīṭṭup-paṭṭān*). † 1 of 1896 ; *EI.* iv. pp. 178-9.

„ *Tiruccānūr* (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Lamp apparently by a native of Koḍungōḷūr in Malai-nāḍu (Cranganore in Cochin ?). Tiruccānūr is called Tiruccōkunūr twice, and its sabhā mentioned. 260 of 1904.

„ *Tirunāmanallūr* (SA.)—Maduraikoṇḍa. 100 sheep for a lamp to the shrine of Agastyēśvara by a physician of Piḷḷaiyār Rājāditya. 325 of 1902 ; *SII.* vii. 954.

„ *Tirunāmanallūr* (SA.)—Maduraikoṇḍa. Two lamps to Rājāditya Īśvara and Agastyēśvara by a servant of Rājādityadēva. Also twenty sheep for offerings at ardhayāma. 347 of 1902 ; *SII.* vii. 977.

„ *Tiruvoṟṟiyūr* (Ch.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Thirty *kaḷañju* of *ūrkaṟcemmai-pon* for lamp to Mahādēva by Iravi Nīli, daughter of Vijayarāga-dēva, ‡ the Kēraḷarāja. The amount was apparently invested on a field in Tiru-

* cf. 735 of year 36.

† Portrait of warrior. Palaeogr. same as Tirukkaḻukkuṉṟam inscription (168 of 1894) of year 13. The raid was by the W. Ganga king. (*ARE.* 1896 paragraph 6)

‡ Perhaps the son or brother and successor of Sthāṇu Ravi, if at all he was an actual ruler of the Cēra country. H. K. Sastri.

voṟṟiyūr which yielded an annual interest of 4½ *kaḻañju* at the rate of 3 *mañjāḍi* per *kaḻañju*.
169 of 1912 ; *SII.* iii. 103.

Year 29—*Tiruvoṟṟiyūr* (Ch.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Gold, *ūrkaṟccemmai* 40 *kaḻañju*, for feeding a learned Brahman by a native of Eṭṭiyākuricci in Pāṇḍi-nāḍu who had accepted service in the temple (*karmiyāy-vandu*).
182 of 1912.

Year 30—*Kumaramangalam* (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Death of Manukulan Śingaperumān in a cattle raid (*erumait-toṟu*) after recovery of the cattle. 186 of 1921.

" *Tiruppaḻanam* (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Gold by Kāri-Āccan of Āyirattaḷi in Kiḻār-kūṟṟam and the merchants of the village for burning lamps in the temple.
164 of 1928.

" *Tiruvoṟṟiyūr* (Ch.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Sixty *kaḻañju* gold for two lamps by Kōdaṇḍarāman, eldest son * of the Cōḷa king Parakēsari. Part of it, thirty *kaḻañju*, was perhaps borrowed on interest in the 35th year of the king by the ūr of Veḷḷivāyil at the rate of 3 *mañjāḍi* per *kaḻañju* per annum (15%) with the undertaking to provide two meals a day for the person who went to collect the interest. 164 of 1912 ; *SII.* iii. 105.

" *Tiruvoṟṟiyūr* (Ch.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Gold for lamp by Arindigai Perumānār, son of Cōḷa-perumānaḍigaḷ, to god Śiva at Ādhigrāma. Thirty *kaḻañju*, † called *niṣka* in the Sanskrit part, formed the amount of the endowment. 170 of 1912 ; *SII.* iii. 104.

Year 31—*Grāmam* (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Gift of vessels by men who belonged to the (army) of prince Rājāditya-dēva.
187 of 1906.

" *Kattamacci* (C.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Sale of land by villagers, (ūr). 61 of 1907.

* i. e. Rājāditya of the Leyden grant. cf. 230 of 1903 (Yr. 34) and 318 of 1904 (n-d.) *ARE.* 1913 II 18.

† Invariably about 80 grains—H. K. Sastri.

Year 31.—*Takkōlam* (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Gold by queen of Gōvinda Vallavaraiyar and the daughter of the Cōḻa king Parāntaka-dēvar for lamp in the Tiruvūṟal-Mahādēva temple at Takkōlam, which the residents of Śembuḻalai undertook to maintain.

245 of 1921.

" *Takkōlam* (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Similar gift by queen Vīramādēvi, * the residents of Ūrāḍagam agreeing to maintain the lamp. 246 of 1921.

" *Takkōlam* (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 90 sheep for lamp by a native of Tēnūr on the banks of the Vaigai in the Pāṇḍi-nāḍu. 248 of 1921.

" *Tirukkolambiyūr* (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Sale of land made tax-free by the assembly of Dūvēdimangalam, a *brahmadēya* in the same *nāḍu* as the temple, viz., Pērāvūr. The standard for the gold was *ūrkaṟccem-mai.* † 50 of 1925.

" *Tirumālpuram* (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Lamp by the Cōḻa queen Amudan Peṟṟāl *alias* Pallavan Mādēviyār of Kānattūr in Umbaḷa-nāḍu. 303 of 1906.

" *Tirumālpuram* (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Lamp by the queen Amani-mādēviyār who came from Pāṇḍi-nāḍu.

314 of 1906.

" *Tirunāmanallūr* (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 100 sheep for lamp by a servant (*ānai-āḷ*) of Rājāditya-dēva.

330 of 1902 ; *SII.* vii. 959.

" *Tiruppaḻanam* (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Land by the nurse (*tādi*) of the Cōḻa king Parāntaka. Mentions Karikāla-karai among the boundaries.

129 of 1895 ; *SII.* v. 693.

" *Tiruppaḻanam* (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 96 sheep for lamp by Poriyaḻuman, brother-in-law of Iṟumukkaraiyar.

134 of 1928.

* Same as the queen mentioned in 245 of 1921.

† We have also : *paḻangāsinoḍum oppadu.* cf. *SII.* iii p. 229, *ARE.* 1925 II 10.

Year 31.—*Tiruvaiyāṛu* (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Five *vēli* of land for feeding Śivayōgins, given to Niyāmadhanaśvāmigaḷ śiṣya-praśiṣya-vargattār by Irumaḍiśōḻap-pallavaraiyan *alias* Namban Aiyāṛaḍigaḷ. 241 of 1894 ; *SII.* v. 540.

„ *Tiruvaiyāṛu* (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Silver lamp and land by the queen of the Cōḻa king, Vaḷavan-Mādēviyār, the daughter of Niṟanāyp-pāḍiyār.
248 of 1894 ; *SII.* v. 547.

Year 32.—*Kīḻ-muttugūr* (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Marks the spot where a tiger was killed by Kumāranandi Puḷalappan of Vaḍagarai-Mukkuṭṭūr.
2 of 1896 ; *EI.* iv. p. 179. *

„ *Tirunāmanallūr* (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 100 sheep for a lamp to Tiruttōṇṛiśvara *alias* Rājāditya Īśvara by a servant of prince Rājāditya-dēva.
326 of 1902 ; † *SII.* vii. 955.

„ *Tiruttaṇi* (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Land to Subrahmaṇya temple apparently by one Parakēsari Muttaraiyan.
439 of 1905. ‡

„ *Tiruvīḻimiḻalai* (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Sheep for lamp.
440 of 1908. §

„ *Ūttukkāḍu* (Ch.) — Madiraikoṇḍa. Construction of a tank. 347 of 1906.

Year 33—*Ānaimalai* (Md.)—(*Vaṭṭeḻuttu*). Madiraikoṇḍa. Records the digging of a tank called Kaliyanēri after the donor Marudūruḍaiyān Aruṇidi-Kaliyan, an *adigāri* of the Cōḻa king. Mentions the temple of Narasinga-perumānaḍigaḷ on the Tiruvānaimalai.
63 of 1905 ; *SII.* iii. 106.

* Palaeographically same as No. 1 of year 29. There is a bas-relief of a man fighting a tiger with his sword.

† 328, 336, 348 are similar gifts of servants of R. in the same place.

‡ Said to be 'apparently later than Rājarāja I,' but not explained how. *ARE.* 1906 II 21.

§ On a pillar—cf. 436 of 1908 of Parak. Year 6. *ARE.* 1909 II 35.

Year 33.—*Brahmadēśam* (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Twelve *kaḻañju* of gold for a lamp by Aḻagaśarma-kramavittan, son of Kūḍal Kiḻār Maṇiśivabhaṭṭa Sarvakratukkaḷ, one of the *āḷunganam* of Rājamalla-catm. 218 of 1915.

„ *Kāvanūr* (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 400 *Kuḻi* of land for lamp to Śrī Karapurattu Perumāḷ by a member of the *āḷunganam*. 161 of 1921. *

„ *Kiḻūr* (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 100 sheep for a lamp to Tirukkōvalūr Tiruvīraṭṭānattu Mahādēva, by a Malaiyāṇa-oṟṟaiccēvagan of the army of Piḷḷaiyār Arikulakēsari. 280 of 1902 ; † *EI.* vii. p. 141.

„ *Tirunāmanallūr* (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 100 sheep for lamp by a servant of Rājāditya's Malaiyāṇaparivāra. 343 of 1902 ; *SII.* vii 973.

„ *Uḍaiyārguḍi* (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Three *vēli* of land by Nandiśiṟuppirān *alias* Ananta-Vikramappēraraiyan, a *mahāmātra*, for feeding twenty-five Brahmans ; also gold for two perpetual lamps in the temple at Tiru-anantīśvaram. 539 of 1920.

Year 34.—*Kōviladi*—(Tj.) Gold, 10 *kaḻañju*, for lamp to Tiruccaḍaimuḍi Mahādēva, by wife of Vimalāṅkuśan Eḍarnikki, an inhabitant of Śāḷakkirāmam in the Pāṇḍya country. 287 of 1301. *SII.* vii. 507.

„ *Puḷallūr* (Ch.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Ten *kaḻañju* of gold by the queen Śeyyabhuvana-cintāmaṇiyār for lamp at the shrine of Śrī-Rāghava in the temple of Tiruvayōddhi at Puḷvēḷūr in Eyiṟkōṭṭam 16 of 1923.

„ *Sōmūr* (Tri.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. *Kēraḷa paḷḷi (mum)ma(ḍi)kkirani(rā)mi iḍuvitta paḍai.* 68 of 1890 ; *SII.* iv. 392.

„ *Tillaisthānam* (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 90 sheep for lamp by queen Mallīśvarattu Nambirāṭṭiyār Tennavanmahādēviyār *alias* Nārāyaṇa Naṅgūri Naṅgaiyār,

* Pillar bearing the inscription apparently brought from the neighbouring Perumāḷ temple.

† Engraved in continuation of 279 of Year 28.

called here Śōḷa-perumānaḍigaḷ Mahādēviyār.
44 of 1895 ; *SII.* v. 601.

Year 34.—*Tiruttaṇi* (NA.) — Madiraikoṇḍa. Land by the assembly. 449 of 1905.

„ *Tiruvaiyāṟu* (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Lamp by queen Cōḷaśikhāmaṇi, who was Mayilāppi. . . . . Nanguri Nangaiyār magaḷār. * 226 of 1894 ; *SII.* v. 525.

„ *Tiruvoṟṟiyūr* (Ch.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 96 sheep (*navati* in Sans. part) for lamp by Māṟan Paramēśvaran *alias* Śembiyan Śōḷiya-varaiyan of Śiṟukuḷattūr, 'who captured Śīṭpuḷi, † destroyed Nellūr, and on returning from there, made a grant to the temple of Mahādēva at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr.' (*Śīṭpuḷiyai-yeṟindu Nellūraḻittu mīṇḍu pōduginṟān*). The donor is called Vīrakīrti in the Sanskrit verse at the beginning.
160 of 1912 ; *SII.* iii. 108.

„ *Toṇḍamānād* (C.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Gold for feeding 1,000 Brahmans on certain festival days. Mentions temple of Kōdaṇḍarāmēśvara *alias* Ādityēśvara ‡ and a certain Paḷḷippaḍaiyuḍaiya Vāgīśvara-paṇḍita-bhaṭṭāra. 230 of 1903.

„ *Uyyakkoṇḍān Tirumalai* (Tri.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 90 sheep for lamp to Tirukkaṟkuḍi-Paramēśvara of Nandi-pannamangalam, a *brahmadēya* on the southern bank, by Pirāntakan Mādēvaḍigaḷār, the wife of Pirāntakan Gaṇḍarādittadēvar § and the daughter of Maḻaperumāḷ.
96 of 1892 ; *SII.* ii. 75 ; iv. 543.

* cf. 44 of 1895 above (same year).

† He must have been the E. Cāḷukya Bhīma II or one of his subordinates. *ARE.* 1913, II 18. Perhaps a later member of the Niṣāda dynasty to which Pṛthivī Vyāghra, the enemy of Udayacandra, belonged. H. K. Sastri. cf. 236 of 1912 n-d.

‡ Venkayya thought that this name was connected with Rājāditya (or Gaṇḍarāditya). 164 of 1912 (Yr. 30) makes it clear that Rājāditya had the title Kōdaṇḍarāma. But Āditya died at Toṇḍamānāṟṟūr and the temple may have taken its name from him. He might have had the surname Kōdaṇḍarāma. H. K. Sastri *SII.* iii. 105 *i.e* 164 of 1912.

§ The author of the *Tiruviśaippā*-Hultzsch, *SII.* ii. p. 374, *contra* Venkayya on 222 of 1903 of Rājak. Yr. 4.

Year 35.—*Emappērūr* (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Land by a Brahman for a flower-garden to supply daily a garland six spans long to the deity. 527 of 1921. *

" *Takkōlam* (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Sale of land, house sites and certain privileges by the headman of Pāśāli in Pāśāli-nāḍu to residents of Aṇaikaraipudūr in consideration of their maintaining a sacred lamp in the temple of Tiruvūṟal Mahādēva. 254 of 1921.

" *Tirunāmanallūr* (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 100 sheep for lamp by a servant of prince Rājāditya.
329 of 1902; *SII.* vii. 958.

" *Tiruvāḍutuṟai* (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Remission of taxes on land purchased for the temple by Kandan Śāttan of Neṟkuppai in Tañjāvūr-kūṟṟam, by the assembly of Siṟṟūnaiccūr for money received from the donor at the rate of 1½ *kaḻañju* per *mā*. This and another piece of land got from the same assembly by Tirukkaṟṟaḷi-piccan (122 of Year 38) were for the maintenance of servants who blew the conch and horn, held the parasol (*vitānam*) and looked after the flower-garden.
125 of 1925.

" *Tiruvāḍutuṟai* (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Fourteen *vēli* of land bought from the Tiraimūr sabhā and the Tiruviḍaimarudil nagarattār. Mentions Paḻangāviri among boundaries. 149 of 1895; *SII.* v. 713.

" *Tiruvoṟṟiyūr* (Ch.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Fifty *kaḻañju* of gold for feeding two Mahāvratis every day, by Ilāḍaip-pēraraiyan *alias* Śōḻaśikhāmaṇi † -Pallavaraiyan.
168 of 1912.

Year 35 + 1.—*Tillaisthānam* (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 25 *kaḻañju* gold for lamp deposited with the Pati-pādamūlattār. Another gift of 15 *pon* for *tiruvamidu* to Kalangāc-cuḍar-nitta-bhujaga. 43 of 1895; *SII.* v. 600.

* Text gives date 34.

† Surname of Parāntaka. *ARE.* 1913 II 18.

Year 36—*Grāmam* (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Records that Veḷḷangumaran, the Kērala general of prince Rājāditya, son of Madhurāntaka, built of stone a Śiva temple (Āṟṟuttaḷi-Mahādēva) at Mauḷigrāma, *i.e.*, Muḍiyūr on the Peṇṇai river. The record is dated Kali 4044 and Kali day 1,47(70)37 corresponding to 14th January, Saturday, 943 A. D.

735 of 1905; *ASI.* 1905-6 pp. 182-3, *EI.* viii. p. 261.

" *Kīḻappaḻuvūr* (Tri.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Agreement by three servants of the temple to put up two picotahs (*ēttam*) for water for bathing the god and for the flower-garden for money received. 218 of 1926.

" *Kuttālam* (Tin.)—(*Vaṭṭeḻuttu*). Madiraikoṇḍa. Two lamps by the headman of Kiḷinallūr.

448 of 1917.

" *Tiruvāḍuduṟai* (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Land, after purchase (tax-free) from the assemblies of Śiṟu-puliyūr and Śiṟṟānaiccūr, for the maintenance of two hymners, two gardeners, and two maid-servants for gathering flowers for garlands, for offerings in the temple, and for feeding, under the supervision of the donor's descendants, the Śivayōgins and the Māhēśvaras on the seven festival days beginning with the asterism Mūla. Mentions Maḍapati often. 111 of 1925.

" *Tiruveṟumbūr* (Tri.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Sale of land by the Perunguṟi-mahāsabhā of the *brahmadēya* Śrīkaṇṭha-catm., for "*tippōkkuc-cembon kaḻañjil pērttu uraiyum tuḷaiyum vaḻuvādadu ivvūr-āḍu kallāṟ-koṇḍa pon padinaingaḻañju*" and another 15 *kaḻañju* for *iṟaikāval-dravyam* on the same land.

100 of 1892; *SII.* iv. 547.

Year 37.—*Brahmadēśam* (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 14½ *kaḻañju* gold for lamp by one of the *āḷunganattar* of Rājamalla-catm. in Tiruvēgambapuram. 217 of 1915.

Year 37.—*Lālguḍi* (Tri.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Land for two Brahmans * chanting the *Tiruppadiyam* thrice every day in the temple of Tiruttavatturai Mahādēva. 99 of 1929.

„ *Kāñcīpuram* (Ch.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Sale of lands in Kaṇṇamangalam to the temple of Anantanārāyaṇa-Paramasvāmin of Kaccippēḍu who was pleased to lie on his serpent couch in the Tiruvehkā (the Vēgavatī river) (*Tiruvehkā-aṇai-kiḍandaruḷina*) by some private persons of the same village for 367 *kalañju* gold. 21 of 1921. †

„ *Kīḻappaḻuvūr* (Tri.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 90 sheep for lamp by Maṇarkuḍi, a *gaṇattān* of Munpālai in the Miḻalaik-kūṟṟam in Pāṇḍi-nāḍu. 230 of 1926.

„ *Śrīnivāsanallūr* (Tri.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Gold for a lamp, a copper water pot, a lamp stand and a silver tray. 589 of 1904.

„ *Tiruccengōḍu* (Sm.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Lamp. 632 of 1905. ‡

„ *Tiruvellaṟai* (Tri.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Gold for feeding a Brahman versed in the Vēda. 86 of 1910.

„ *Tiruviḍaimarudūr* (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Land for lamp by a merchant of Mayilāppil in Puliyūr-kōṭṭam. 147 of 1895 ; *SII*. v. 711.

„ *Tiruviḍaimarudūr* (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Mentions a certain Kavarāmoḻi-Mādēvan *alias* Toṇḍaraḍippoḍi. 207 of 1907.

„ *Uḍaiyārguḍi* (SA.)—Maduraiyum Īḻamum-koṇḍa. Money (90 *kāśu*) by a woman-servant of the temple kitchen for feeding three persons every day. 553 of 1920.

* *contra* Sudra ōduvārs doing this now. *ARE*. 1929 II 25. 104 of 1929 (Rājak. Yr. 3.) is a gift supplementing this endowment.

† Palaeography two centuries later. Perhaps copy of an old record. Recalls story of Viṣṇu saving a sacrifice by stopping Sarasvati who took the shape of a stream. *ARE*. 1921 II 25. *Tiruccandaviruttam* 63, 64.

‡ Proof of Kongu conquest *ARE*. 1906 II 21.

Year 37.—*Udaiyārguḍi* (SA.) — Maduraikoṇḍa. 96 sheep for lamp. Mentions Kaṛpagaśadirac-cēri and *vāriganuḷḷiṭṭa manṛāḍikkalanaiyōm.* 597 of 1920.

„ *Ukkal* (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Gift of village of Śodiyambākkam, to the north of Ukkal, as a *dēvabhōga* by the assembly of Ukkal for various items of expenses detailed, with the remission of *veṭṭi*, *vediḷai* and *vālakkāṇam*, the right to punish the crimes and sins of the villagers being also vested in the temple : '*ivvūrk-kuḍigaḷaik-kuṛṛandōṣa-manṛupāḍu dēvarēy daṇḍit-tukkoḷvar-āgavum.*' *

30 of 1893 ; *SII.* iii. 12.

Year 38.—*Ālambākkam* (Tri.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. † Land. Dantivarma-mangalam a *brahmadēya* on the north bank (of the Kāvēri). 714 of 1909.

„ *Ānandamangalam* (Ch.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Five *kaḷañju* of gold for feeding one devotee (*aḍiyār*) in the Jinagirippaḷḷi by Vardhamānap-periyaḍigaḷ, a disciple of Vinaiyābha-śūra-Kuravaḍigaḷ. 430 of 1922. ‡

Year 38. §—*Kumbakōṇam* (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 250 of 1911.

„ *Paṇḍāravāḍai* (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 270 of 1923.

„ *Piḷḷaippākkam* (Ch.)—Maduraiyum Īḷamum-koṇḍa. Lamp. 170 of 1930.

„ *Śrīnivāsanallūr* (Tri.) — Maduraiyum Īḷamum-koṇḍa. ¶ Sale of land for lamp by Mūlaparuḍai. 605 of 1904.

* In *add. and corr.* to *SII.* iii. *kuṛṛadōṣam* is explained as 'fine imposed on persons for defaults', and *manṛupāḍu* as 'a similar fine imposed by the village assembly'. The translation of Hultzsch is as given above.

† No reference to taking of Ceylon in year 37. *ARE.* 1910 II 16.

‡ Engraved on a boulder with three groups of Jaina figures carved in a line—*ARE.* 1923 II. 113.

§ From here all dated inscriptions are noted with the titles of the king.

¶ Not in the text, which only gives the title Parakēsari.

Year 38.—*Śrīrangam* (Tri.) — Madiraikoṇḍa. One hundred *kaḻañju* gold for Sahasradhārā to Ranganātha.
71 of 1892 ; *SII.* iv. 518.

" *Tirukkōḍikāval* (Tj.)—Maduraikoṇḍa. Land and gold for offerings in the temple. 15 of 1931.

" *Tirunāmanallūr* (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 90 sheep for lamp by a merchant. 342 of 1902 ; *SII.* vii. 972.

" *Tiruvadi* (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Lamp. 362 of 1921.

" *Tiruvāḍuturai* (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Sale of land to temple by assembly of Śiṟṟānaiccūr for money paid on account of the temple by Tirukkaṟṟaḷi-piccan.
122 of 1925.

" *Tiruvāḍuturai* (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Remission of taxes on the lands of the temple by the assembly of Śiṟṟā-naiccūr for money received by them from Tirukkaṟṟaḷi-piccan. 142 of 1925.

" *Tiruvāḍuturai* (Tj.) — Madiraikoṇḍa. Five hundred *kaḻañju* of gold by Parāntaka-dēvar for constructing the temple with stone from *kuḍappaḍai* upwards.
143 of 1925.

" *Tiruviḍaimarudūr* (Tj.) — Madiraikoṇḍa. Mentions Immaḍi Śōḻa Pallavaraiyan and the Paḷangāviri-nīrōḍukāl. 195 of 1907.

" *Tiruviḍaimarudūr* (Tj.) — Madiraikoṇḍa. Lamp for merit of Ariñjiyaippirāṭṭiyār. 252 of 1907.

" *Tiruvīḻimiḻalai* (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 441 of 1908.

" *Uḍaiyārguḍi* (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Gold for lamp by Nīli, daughter of Kēśava Bhaṭṭa and wife of Ravidāsa Kramavittan of Śrī Kāmukac-cēri Pāpanac-cēri, a hamlet of Vīranārāyaṇa-catm. Ten *kaḻañju* with Vaḍakkilśēri-Śankarappāḍi. 547 of 1920.

" *Uḍaiyārguḍi* (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Gold for lamp by a native of Maḷa-nāḍu. 596 of 1920.

Year 38.—*Uḍaiyārguḍi* (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Three *vēli* of land for feeding 25 Brahmans in temple. The king remitted the taxes on this land. Tennavan Viḻuppēraraiyan, called 'nammaganār' by the king, had built a hall in which the assembly met. 604 of 1920.

" *Viḷāppākkam* (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. The sinking of a well, by a female disciple of Ariṣṭanēmi-piḍāran of Tiruppānmalai. * The 'twenty-four' of the ūr to protect the charity, a *peṇpaḷḷi*.
53 of 1900; *SII.* vii. 56.

Year 39.—*Grāmam* (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 192 of 1906.

" *Tirukkaḷāvūr* (Tj.)—Maduraikoṇḍa Parakēsari who also took Īḻam. Land by a servant (*peṇḍāṭṭi*) of queen Villavan Mādēviyār. The *paraḍai* of Karugāvūr near Tirukkuḍamūkkil, a *dēvadāna* in Vaḍagarai Pāmbūr-nāḍu, get the money, take charge of the land and make it tax-free; also agree to pay a fine of 100 *kaḻañju* for default as a body and 50 as individuals. Cultivation rights mentioned.
37 of 1910; *SII.* iii. 110.

" *Tirumālpuram* (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 96 sheep for a lamp. 302 of 1906.

" *Tirumālpuram* (NA.)—Madiraiyum Īḻamum-koṇḍa. Sale of land. 341 of 1906.

" *Tirunāmanallūr* (SA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Lamp by a servant of prince Rājāditya.
351 of 1902; *SII.* vii. 981.

" *Tirunāmanallūr* (SA.)—Maduraiyum Īḻamum-koṇḍa. One hundred sheep for lamp by Mahādēvaḍigaḷ, a queen of prince Rājāditya-dēva and daughter of Iḷāḍarāyar, for the merit of her elder brother Araiyar Rājādittan Pugaḻippar-gaṇḍan.
363 of 1902; *EI.* vii. p. 134. †

* Another name for Pañcapāṇḍavamalai, a Jaina centre from the Pallava period to that of Rājarāja I. *ARE.* 1900, paragraph 16.

† Hultzsch says that Iḷāḍarāyar was a title borne by a line of local chiefs which included Vīra Cōḍa, son of Pugaḻvippavargaṇḍa, perhaps the same as the elder brother Rājādittan of this record. See also *EI.* iv. p. 139.

Year 39.—*Tirunāmanallūr* (SA.) — Maduraiyum Īlamum-koṇḍa. Lamp. 367 of 1902 ; *SII.* vii 997.

" *Tiruvāḍuturai* (Tj.)—Maduraiyum Īlamum-koṇḍa. Provision by Kaṟṟaḷi Piccan and the *dēvakanmis* of the temple for expenses on sankrānti days and special bath on the two ayanasankrāntis, by purchase of 3 *mā* of land for 8 *kaḻañju* received from Kaṇṇipuliyūr Nakkan of Taḷikkaḍambūr in Kār-nāḍu, on the north bank. 140 of 1925.

" *Tiruvaiyāṟu* (Tj.)—Maduraiyum Īlamum-koṇḍa. Lamp. 233 of 1894 ; *SII.* v. 532.

" *Tiruvaiyāṟu* (Tj.)—Maduraikoṇḍa. 143 of 1918.

" *Tiruveḷḷaṟai* (Tri.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Gold for feeding two Brahmans versed in the Vēda. 513 of 1905.

Year 40.—*Allūr* (Tri.)—Maduraiyum Īlamum-koṇḍa. Land. 384 of 1903.

" *Brahmadēśam* (NA.)—Maduraiyum Īlamum-koṇḍa. 225 of 1915.

" *Kumbakōṇam* (Tj) — Maduraiyum (Īlamum)koṇḍa. Sheep for lamp. 235 of 1911.

" *Kumbakōṇam* (Tj.)—Maduraiyum (Īlamum)koṇḍa. Two lamps to Sūryadēvar and other gifts. 253 of 1911.

" *Kūram* (Ch.)—Madiraikoṇḍ-Īlam-pugunda. Astronomical data corresponding to Saturday, 25th July 946 A.D. (Kielhorn). Sabhā of Kūram met at night and made a *vyavasthā*.
34 of 1900 ; *SII.* vii. 35 ; *EI.* vii. p. 1.

" *Mēlappaḻuvūr* (Tri)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Reclaimed land, by purchase, for lamps. 386 of 1924.

" *Paḻuvūr* (Tri.)—Maduraiyum Īlamum-koṇḍa. Gold, 30 *kaḻañju*, for lamp to Paramēśvara by queen Ādittan Kaṟṟaḷi Pirāṭṭi *. Mentions *viḍēlviḍugukal.*
353 of 1918.

* Till now unknown. *ARE.* 1919 II 9.

Year 40.—*Śrīrangam* (Tri.)—Maduraiyum Īḻamum-koṇḍa.
345 of 1918.

„ *Sucīndram* (Tv.)—(*Vaṭṭeḻuttu*)—Maduraiyum Īḻamum-koṇḍa. 100 sheep to Paraḍaiccavaiyār for two lamps in two shrines in the Tiruccivindiram temple by a merchant of Karavandapuram in Kaḷakkuḍi-nāḍu.
82 of 1896 ; *EI.* v. p. 43.

„ *Tirumālpuram* (NA.)—Maduraiyum Īḻamum-koṇḍa. Land, for lamp. 310 of 1906.

„ *Tiruvaiyāṟu* (Tj.)—Maduraiyum Īḻamum-koṇḍa.
232 of 1894 ; *SII.* v. 531.

„ *Tiruvaiyāṟu* (Tj.)—Maduraikoṇḍa. Land for feeding a Brahman sumptuously every day in the Tiruvaiyāṟ-uḍaiyār temple by queen Ariñjigai, daughter of Iḷāḍarāyar. 144 of 1918.

„ *Tiruveḷḷaṟai* (Tri.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 520 of 1905.

Year 41—*Allūr* (Tri.)—Maduraiyum Īḻamum-koṇḍa. Provision for singing *Tiruppadiyam* hymns every day.
373 of 1903.

„ *Grāmam* (SA.)—Maduraiyum Īḻamum-koṇḍa. Lamp.
184 of 1906.

„ *Kilvidi* (NA.)—Maduraiyum Īḻamum-koṇḍa. Land by purchase for upkeep of tank at Kiḷai-vaḷi in Valla-nāḍu, a sub-division of Dāmar-kōṭṭam.
149 of 1916.

„ *Lālguḍi* (Tri.)—Maduraiyum Īḻamum-koṇḍa. Land for offerings. 88 of 1892 ; *SII.* iv. 535.

„ *Lālguḍi* (Tri.)—Maduraikoṇḍa. Land for lamp.
108 of 1929.

„ *Tirumālpuram* (NA.)—Madiraiyum Īḻamum-koṇḍa. Sheep for lamp by Pūvan Māṟan of Neḍiyataḷi in Koḍungōḷūr in Malai-nāḍu. 313 of 1906.

„ *Tiruvāmāttūr* (SA.)—Maduraiyum Īḻamum-koṇḍa. Gold for lamp. 419 of 1903.

Year 41.—*Tiruviśalūr* (Tj.)—Maduraiyum Īḻamum-koṇḍa. Gold for lamp. 23 of 1907.

„ *Tiruviśalūr* (Tj.)—Maduraiyum Īḻamum-koṇḍa. 328 of 1907.

Year 8 + 37—*Tiruveṇkāḍu* (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Land for offerings to Tiruveṇkāṭṭu-perumāḷ by a native of Koḍuṅgōḷūr in Malai-nāḍu. Mentions *gōśālai*. 465 of 1918.

Year 4(6) *—*Kaṇḍiyūr* (Tj.)—Maduraiyum Īḻamum-koṇḍa. Land. 15 of 1895 ; *SII.* v. 570.

„ *Tiruccattuṟai* (Tj.)—Lamp. Mentions Trailōkya Mahādēviyār. 135 of 1931.

The regnal year is lost or uncertain in the following :—

Allūr (Tri.)—Maduraiyum Īḻamum-koṇḍa. Waste land, never known to have been under the plough, reclaimed and given to *ārādhikkum yōgiyār*. 385 of 1903.

Brahmadēśam (N.A.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Twenty *kaḻañju* of gold for lamp by Śōḻaśikhāmaṇi Pallavaraiyan of Nelvēli in Īṅga-nāḍu. The *ēri-vāriyap-perumakkaḷ* were in charge of this gift. 213 of 1915.

Grāmam (S.A.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Gold, 10 *kaḻañju*, for lamp, by a native of Kōṭṭāṟu. Sabhā of Tirumuḍiyūr in charge. 740 of 1905.

Kaḻañjūr (N.A.)—Year 4. Maduraiyum Īḻamum-koṇḍa. Land for daily offerings by the assembly of Kaḻañjūr. 189 of 1921.

Kāñcīpuram (Ch.)—(Floor of the Rājasimhēśvara temple). Madiraikoṇḍa. Mentions Tirukkaṟṟali-uṇṇāḻigai. *SII.* i. 145.

Kuḍumiyāmalai (Pd.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. The king is also called Śōḻa-perumānaḍigaḷ and Śrī Pirāntakar. Gold for a lamp by his son Śrī (Kō)daṇḍarāman. † 318 of 1904.

* The figure is clear on the stone *SII.* v p. 226 *n.*

† 230 of 1903 of year 34. *ARE.* 1905, II. 9.

Kumbakōṇam (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Sale of land by assembly, Mūlaparuḍaip-perumakkaḷ, for feeding two persons in a temple. Mentions Āyirattaḷi in Kiḻār-kūṟṟam, a sub-division of Ten(karai)-nāḍu and *abhiṣēkadakṣiṇai.* 249 of 1911.

Nangavaram (Tri.)—Madirai-koṇḍa. Mentions Ariñjigai-catm. and a Piḍāri temple called Kāḷabhaṭāri *alias* Śāttanūr-nangai. 345 of 1903.

Śendalai (Tj.)—Maduraiyum Īḻamum-koṇḍa. Land for offerings under protection of the sabhā and the pan-māhēśvarar. 14 of 1899 ; *SII.* vi. 450.

Takkōlam (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 90 sheep for a lamp by a servant of Madhurāntaka Pallavaraiyar. 253 of 1921.

Tirumālpuram (NA.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. Gold for lamp by prince Parāntakan Uttamaśili. * 301 of 1906.

Tiruviḍaimarudūr (Tj.)—Parakēsari. Purchase of land with gold granted for a lamp by Piḷḷaiyār Uttama-śiliyār. Mentions Mahēndra-mangalam and nāṭṭu-vāykkāl. 196 of 1907.

Tiruviśalūr (Tj.)—Madiraikoṇḍa. 90 sheep for lamp by . . . .nāṭṭuk-kāman-Iyakkanār †-parivārattu Iśakka-nayya Nangai. 29 of 1907 ‡ ; *SII.* iii. 107.

* Was Uttamaśīli-catm. in Pāṇḍyakulāśani-vaḷa-nāḍu (*SII.* ii p. 229) the same as Uttamaśīli in the Trichi Taluq and called after this prince? *ARE.* 1907 II 31.

† Apparently a member of the royal family, not mentioned elsewhere. H. K. Sastri.

‡ Treated as of year 3 and as the earliest reference to the conquest of Madura in *ARE.* 1907 II 32. But the date of this record is doubtful. The year may have been two figures of which the first is built in, and might be 1, 2, or 3. *SII.* iii p. 242, *n.* 2.

Ś. 868—*Bāgaḷi* (Bel.)—Katyēra of the Cāḷukya family was governing the Kogaḷi 500 and the Mā-sīyavāḍi 140.
75 of 1904.

Ś. 871—*Śōḷapuram* (NA.)—Year two, perhaps of Rājāditya, *acc.* A. D. 948 (Hultzsch), in which Cakravarti-Kannaradēva overthrew Rājāditya and entered the Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam. * Construction of a pond called Kaḷḷinangai-kuḷam, so called after a woman who died at Arungunṟam. She was the daughter of Attimallan *alias* Kannaradēva-pirithivi-gangaraiyar.
428 of 1902; *EI.* vii. p. 194.

The following inscriptions contain the description *Kacciyum-Tañjaiyum-koṇḍa* Kannaradēva :—

Year 5.—*Siddhalingamaḍam* (SA.)—Land for offerings by sabhā of *brahmadēyam* Śiṟṟingūr. 375 of 1909. †

Year 15.—*Kūram* (Ch.)—Gift by a Kūrattu Āśiriyan.
36 of 1900; *SII.* vii. 37.

Year 16.—*Ukkal* (NA.)—The sabhā met in the *mukha-maṇḍapa* Bhuvanamāṇikka-Viṣṇugṛha, apparently to effect the sale, on conditions, of a part of the common lands of the village to some persons. A curious clause forbids any one to set up a prior claim to this land by the production of title-deeds or other evidence.
SII. iii. 7.

Year 17.—*Tirukkaḷukkunṟam* (Ch.)—Lamp by Kāraiyuḍaiyān Baladēvan *alias* Parāntakap-pēraraiyan.
169 of 1894; *EI.* iii. p. 284.

Year 18.—*Tiruvoṟṟiyūr* (Ch.)—Opens with a Sanskrit verse mentioning Caturānana's place in the *maṭha* getting the

* The Ātakūr inscription dates this event in Ś. 872 current, A. D. 949-50, *EI.* vi. p. 51.

† Spurious - p. 158, *ante*.

gift. Thirty *kalañju* of *ūrkaṟc-cemmai-pon* for lamp by the son of a merchant of Mānyakhēṭa, in the camp (*kaṭaka*) of the Vallabha king, deposited with the residents of Śeṟṟuppēḍu (Chetput). 177 of 1912. *

Year 18.—*Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—12½ *kalañju* gold for lamp with the ūr, the *samvatsara-vāriyam* being responsible for its proper maintenance. 89 of 1898 ; *SII.* vi. 374.

Year 19.—*Tirukkalukkunṟam* (Ch.)—A person constructs an *ambalam*, buys some land from one Īśāna Śiva *alias* Nakkaḍi-bhaṭṭan which he endowed as *ambalappuṟam* for supply of water and fire (*taṇṇīr-aṭṭuvadaṟkum akkini-yiḍuvadaṟkum*). The sabhā made this land tax-free after collecting a lump sum (*iṟai-dravyam*) from him. 170 of 1894 ; *EI.* iii. p. 285.

" *Tirumalai* (NA.)—Lamp to the yakṣa on the Tirumalai at Vaigāvūr by a servant of Gangamādēvi, queen of Kannaradēva-pṛtigangaraiyar. 65 of 1907.

" *Tirunāmanallūr* (SA.)—90 Sheep for lamp. 354 of 1902 ; *SII.* vii. 981.

" *Tirunāmanallūr* (SA.)—90 sheep for lamp. 366 of 1902 ; *SII.* vii. 996.

Year 20.—*Tiruvoṟṟiyūr* (Ch.)—One hundred *niṣkas* of pure gold by Caturānana Paṇḍita, pupil of Nirañjana-guru, for *bali* in temple. An account of the career of the Paṇḍita given in the grantha part. Favourite of the Vallabha king. 181 of 1912.

Year 22.—*Tiruvoṟṟiyūr* (Ch.)—Gold, *ūrkaṟc-cemmai* 30 *kalañju*, for lamp by the mother of the Vallabha king Kannaradēva. Perpetual interest 15%. 179 of 1912.

Year 23, day 296.—*Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—Mahāsabhā records that all the revenues which were due from Uḷḷiyūr to the ūr were made over to Īśvara-bhaṭṭāra of Tiruvuḷḷiyūr for providing music thrice a day for *śribali*. The Uḷḷiyūr people were granted sole right of managing

* cf. *EI.* iv. p. 281.

the temple without interference from any external authority (*eppērppaṭṭa-kōvum pugappeṟādadāgavum*).
41 of 1898 ; *SII.* vi. 324.

Year 25.—*Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—A resolution of the village assembly relating to the levy and proper collection of fines. 77 of 1898 ; *SII.* vi. 362.

Year 27.—*Takkōlam* (NA.)—Sheep for lamp.
2 of 1897 ; *SII.* v. 1365.

„ *Tiruvōttūr* (NA.)—50 Sheep by Kōdaṇḍa-maṉṟāḍi for a *pagal-viḷakku.* 101 of 1900 ; *SII.* vii. 111.

Year 28.—*Kāvanūr* (NA.)—A *vyavasthai* by assembly of Kāvanūr that seller and purchaser, and mortgagor and mortgagee of lands must be of the same community in case of lands being gifts to gods, physicians and ājīvakas. 159 of 1921.

(n-d.)—*Doḍḍaśivara* (Mys.) (Kan.). King's encampment at Mēlpāḍi after defeating and killing the Cōḷa king.
112 of 1899.

„ *Kiḷūr* (SA.)—Gift of Vaidumba Mahārāja Śrī Vikramāditya ruling Malāḍu, Vāṇakōppāḍi, Śingapura-nāḍu and Venkuṉṟa-kōṭṭam. 16 of 1905.

The following inscriptions mention only Kannaradēva without any title :—

Year 16.—*Tiruvaḍi* (NA.)—96 sheep for lamp to Gōvindaviṇṇagar in Adhirāja-mangalyapura, by Kaliyan Maṉṟādi Aiyan *alias* Rājāditta Pallavaraiyar who had the *kāṇi* of Śembūṟk-kōṭṭam. 28 of 1903 ; *SII.* viii. 300.

Year 17.—*Tirunāmanallūr* (SA.)—10 *kaḻañju* of gold for a lamp by Narasimhavarman of the Malayakula. The sabhā and ūr of Śevalai in Veṇṇainallūr-nāḍu undertake to supply every year 100 *nāḻi* of *ghī* by *mahādēvi* measure. The expression *Śevalai-sabhai-ūrōm* is also used. 362 of 1902 ; *EI.* vii. pp. 135-6.

Year 18—*Siddhalingamaḍam* (SA.)—Land in Kōḍiyūr by assembly of Śiṟṟingūr to a dancing woman (Tiruppulippagavar nirutta-viṭanki) and her descendants for dancing before god during procession. 370 of 1909.

Year 19—*Kiḻūr* (SA.)—Fragment. Mentions sabhā of Nittavinōdacatm. on the north bank of the Peṇṇai in Vāṇakōppāḍi. 269 of 1902 ; *SII.* vii. 898.

Year 20—*Kiḻūr* (SA.)—Gold, 15 *kaḻañju*, with nagaram of Tirukkōvalūr for a lamp. 232 of 1902 ; *SII* vii. 859.

Year 21—*Kiḻūr* (SA.)—Land purchased from sabhā of Tirukkōvalūr and given to Tiruvīraṭṭānamuḍaiya Perumānaḍigaḷ by Vaidumba Mahārājan Śandayan Tiruvaiyan. * 268 of 1902 ; *EI.* vii. pp. 142-3.

Year 22—Bāhūr (Pondicherry.)—Sale of land by sabhā for *bhaṭṭavṛtti.* 175 of 1902 ; *SII.* vii. 802.

" *Bāhūr* (Pondicherry.)—Lamp. 176 of 1902 ; *SII.* vii. 803.

" *Bāhūr* (Pondicherry.)—Sheep by *manṟāḍis* of Vākūrnāḍu at the rate of one sheep while 'ascending the *kaṭṭil.*' 177 of 1902 ; *SII.* vii. 804.

Year 23—*Kiḻūr* (SA.)—90 sheep. 266 of 1902 ; *SII.* vii. 894.

Year 24—*Kiḻūr* (SA.)—2,304 sheep for 24 lamps by Vaidumba Mahārājar Tiruvayanār to Tiruvīraṭṭānattāḻvār. 267 of 1902 ; *EI.* vii. p. 144.

" *Siddhalingamaḍam* (SA.)—Gold for a gong and three trumpets to temple. 385 of 1909.

Year 25—*Grāmam* (SA.)—Gift by Vaidumba Mahārāja Tiruvaiyan Śrī Kaṇṭha. 743 of 1905.

Year 26—*Bāhūr* (Pondicherry.)—Placing of four stones in the wall. 172 of 1902 ; *SII.* vii. 799.

" *Jambai* (SA.)—96 sheep for lamp and gold for offerings to Sūryadēva in temple of Tiruttāntōnṟi-āḻvār at Vāḻaiyūr. 112 of 1906.

* cf. 236-A of 1902 (*SII.* vii. 864) of Rājarāja 27, which quotes this gift.

Year 26.—*Kiḻūr* (SA.) — 100 sheep for lamp by Kōmaḷam, daughter of Vānavan Mūvēndavēḷān.
270 of 1902 ; *SII.* vii. 899.

" *Vēlūr* (NA.)—Land to Pannappēśvara built by Pannappai on the Sūdāḍu-pāṟai-malai ('the hill of the gambling rock,' now called Bāvāji hill) by Nuḷumba Tribhuvanadhīra.
10 of 1897 * *SII.* i. 51 ; *EI.* iv. pp. 81 ff.

Year 27—*Bāhūr* (Pondicherry.)—Land for feeding two persons (183); and maintaining in the temple a Brahman versed in Vēda for worship and a man to supply water for the sacred bath (184).
183, 184 of 1902 ; *SII.* vii. 810, 811.

Year 28—*Tirunāmanallūr* (SA.)—Half-lamp.
364 of 1902 ; *SII.* vii. 994.

The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following :—

Kiḻūr (SA.) — Gold, twenty *kaḻañju*, for *snapana* (bathing) to the god on every sankrānti, by Vīraṭṭan Vīranāraṇiyār, the senior queen (*mūtta-dēviyār*) of Vaidumba Mahārāja Tiruvaiyanār. One *kalam* of cleaned paddy was the interest which the sabhā of Nenmali *alias* Milāḍa-māṇikkam agreed to measure out in the temple (*tūyavākki kūlipparambaṭṭu tiru-muṟṟattuk-koḍu śenṟaḷandu kuḍuppōmānōm*) ; they were also to feed each of the persons who came to collect this paddy (*innel taṇḍuvārkku meykaṇḍu*). Mentions that 60 *kalam* by *pēriḷamai* was equal to 75 *kalam* by *eṇṇāḷik-kāl.* 235 of 1902 ; *EI.* vii. p. 143.

Tiruvaṇṇāmalai (NA.)—20 cows.
475 of 1902 ; *SII.* viii. 63.

* Palaeographically same as that of *Kacciyum Tañjaiyum-koṇḍa* Kannaradēva. Hultzsch *EI.* iv. p. 82.

RĀJAKĒSARI GAṆḌARĀDITYA.

See under Rājakēsari :—

Year 8—*Tiruppalātturai.* 570 of 1908.

„ *Tiruppalātturai.* 574 of 1908.

Year 9—*Tirunāgēśvaram.* 215 of 1911.

PARAKĒSARI ARIÑJAYA.

See under Parakēsari :—

Year 2—*Tiruppaḷanam.* 162, 172 of 1928.

under Sundara Cōḷa :—

Year 12—*Uḍaiyārguḍi.* 572, 587 of 1920.

under Rājakēsari :—

Year 9—*Tirunāgēśvaram.* 215 of 1911.

under Rājarāja I :—

Year 29—*Mēlpāḍi*—Tiruvāriñjiśvaram built by Rājarāja as Āṟṟūr-tuñjina-dēvaṟkku-paḷḷippaḍai.

86 of 1889 ; *SII.* iii. 17.

Year 5.—*Karikkal* (NA.)—A piḍāri-kōyil erected by the wife of a Viravaḷañjiyan of Maṟiyāḍi in Pulivala-nāḍu.
12 of 1896; *EI.* iv. p. 331. *

" *Tiruvoṟṟiyūr* (Ch.)—Gift of sheep by one of the Kaleśi-Perundaram who had accompanied Uḍaiyār Uttamaśōḷa-dēva † to the temple of Tiruvoṟṟiyūr-mahādēva. 246 of 1912; *SII.* iii. 115.

" *Vēḷaccēri* (Ch.)—Sheep by one of the *yāḷunganattar* of the village. 315 of 1911; *SII.* iii. 114. ‡

Year 7.—*Vēḷaccēri* (Ch.)—Sale of land for the maintenance of a lamp in a Gaṇapati temple, newly built. "*Veḷiccēri Mahāsabhaiyōm emmūr brahmasthānattē kūṭṭak-kuṟaivaṟak-kūḍi-yirundu viṟkinṟa nilam.*"
306 of 1911; *SII.* iii. 116.

Year 12, day 130.—*Madhurāntakam* (Ch.)—Gift of land, purchased from the unappropriated common land of the village and made tax-free, to the temple of Tiruveṇ-kāṭṭil-Paramēśvara for the long life and victory of the king. 396 of 1922.

Year 14.—*Tiruppuṟambiyam* (Tj.)—Lamp.
75 of 1897; *SII.* vi. 24.

Year 17.—*Allūr* (Tri.)—Gold. 377 of 1903.

" *Tirumalavāḍi* (Tri.)—Lamp. 2 of 1920.

" *Tirumālpuram* (NA.)—Lamp.
307 of 1906; *SII.* iii. 118.

" *Tirumālpuram* (NA.)—Lamp.
308 of 1906; *SII.* iii. 117.

* Palaeographically resembles the Tamil inscriptions of Kṛṣṇa III Rāṣṭrakūṭa. Hultzsch.

† Son of Gaṇḍarāditya Madirai. Rājak.? Royal titles due to an early choice for succession. *ARE.* 1913 II 19.

‡ King identified with Gaṇḍarāditya. Got title from Parāntaka I, father; succeeded him immediately as Rājāditya had died.—H. K. Sastri.

RĀJAKĒSARI SUNDARA CŌLA.

See under Rājakēsari :—

Year 6.—*Kāvērippākkam.* 382 of 1905.

under Uttama Cōḷa :—

Year 14, day 216.—*Tirumālpuram.* 286 of 1906.
for Ponmāḷigai.

under Rājarāja I :—

Year 16.—*Tirumalai.* A Cēra queen of Parāntaka II. 61 of 1899.

„ *Tiruviḍaimarudūr* „ 159 of 1895.

Year 21.—*Dūdāpuram.*—(daughter Kundavai). 8 of 1919.

Year 2.—*Tiruviśalūr* (Tj.)—Rājakēsari. Land for feeding a Vēdabrāhmaṇa by Pirāntakan Irungōḷar *alias* Śiṟiya-vēḷār of Koḍumbāḷūr. * Gift in charge of Mahāsabhā of Avani-nārāyaṇa-catm. 317 of 1907 ; *SII.* iii. 119.

Year 4.—*Tiruviśalūr* (Tj.)—Rājak. Land purchased for (1)30 *Īḻakkāśu* from the *Perunguṟip-perumakkaḷ* of Amani-nārāyaṇa-catm. by Pirāntakan Irungōḷār *alias* Śiṟiya-vēḷār. 320 of 1907 ; *SII.* iii. 120.

Year 5.—*Tiruviśalūr* (Tj.)—Sundara Cōḷa. Gift of some taxes (*gatānaka?*) for whitewashing (?) the temple, and of a lamp by Śiṟuvēḷa described as Irungāḷakula-pradīpa and Pirāntakasyātmaja-vargavarya.
40 of 1907 ; *SII.* iii. 121.

Year 7.—*Tirukkaḷittaṭṭai* (Tj.) — Pāṇḍiyanaic-curam-iṟakkina Perumāḷ Śrī Sundara Cōḷa-dēva. Land purchased and made *iṟaiyili* for 156 *kaḻañju* of red gold (*śembon*) given to God Śrīkuḍittiṭṭai-uḍaiyār of Vaḍagarai-Vēmbaṟṟūr by Pirāntakan-śiṟiyavēḷān *alias* Tirukkaṟṟaḷi-piccan, who was serving as general of the king's forces. 291 of 1908 ; *EI.* xii. pp. 121–6.

* See Rājarāja I. Year 27—116 of 1896; *MV.* Ch. 54 vv. 12 *ff.*

Year 12.—*Uḍaiyārguḍi* (SA.)—Rājakēsari. Land by purchase by Uḍaiyapirāṭṭiyār Vīman Kundavaiyār, the *ācciyār* (mother ?) of Ariñjiya-Pirāntaka-dēvar, * for bathing god with 1,000 pots of water on the sankrānti day of every month. 572 of 1920.

„ *Uḍaiyārguḍi* (SA.)—Rājakēsari. Land by purchase by Ādittan Kōdaipirāṭṭiyār, queen of Ariñjigaivarman who died at Āṟṟūr, for bathing god during Citrai-Viṣu with 108 potfuls of water; another gift by Uḍaiya-pirāṭṭiyār Vīman Kundavaiyār for 1000 potfuls of water for same purpose. 587 of 1920. †

Year 14.—*Tirukkaḷittaṭṭai* (Tj.)—Rājakēsari. Two lamps, twenty-five *īḻakkāsu* for each, by Rājādicci and Kuñjaramalli the wife and daughter of Śiṟiyavēḷār. 299 of 1908 ‡; *SII.* iii. 122.

„ *Uḍaiyārguḍi* (SA.)—Rājakēsari. Contents same as in 572-Yr. 12. 589 of 1920.

The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following :—

Koḍumbāḷūr (Pd.)—Madhurāntaka Sundara Cōḷa. Mentions Pūḍi Paṭṭālagan. 139 of 1907 ; Pd. 82.

Tirukkaḷittaṭṭai (Tj.)—(Perumāḷ) Sundara Cōḷa 'who drove the Pāṇḍya into the forest'. Mentions Pirāntakan Śiṟiyavēḷār, a general, and Ponmāḷigai. 302 of 1908.

* *i. e.*, Parāntaka, son of Ariñjaya. cf. 589 of year 14. Vīman Kundava, perhaps an E. Cāḷukya princess, daughter of Cāḷukya-Bhīma II (A. D. 934-45). This marriage is much earlier than Cōḷa Kundavā's with Vimalāditya. *ARE.* 1921 II 26.

† cf. *SII.* iii. 17 (86 of 1889) of year 29 of Rājarāja I. Pūdi Ādittan Piḍāri was another queen of Ariñjiga. Sundara does not seem to have been the son of this dowager queen as he refers to her by name. Identity of Āṟṟūr doubtful. *ARE.* 1921 II 26,

‡ Wrongly assigned to Āditya II Karikāla, son and successor of Parāntaka II Sundara, in *ARE.* 1909 II 40.

Year 2.—*Kumbakōṇam* (Tj.)—Parakēsari. Sale of land by assembly for a private endowment of a lamp in the temple. 224 of 1911. *

" *Tirumāḷam* (Tj.)—Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa. Mentions Kāri Puḷiyan *alias* Śōḷamārāyan, a certain Nirañjana Paṇḍita and servants of the temple of Ambar Śrī-Mahākāḷam. 117 of 1910. †

" *Uḍaiyārguḍi* (SA.)—Vīra Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa. Three *kāśu* by Araiyan Gēyaviṭankan of the Śingaḷāntakatteriñja Kaikkōḷar for cloths to the Kūttar of the stone temple of Tiru-anantīśvaram. 557 of 1920.

" *Uyyakkoṇḍān-Tirumalai* (Tri.)—Vīra Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa. 90 sheep for a lamp to Tirukkarkuḍi ‡ Paramēśvara by Irungōḷakkōn *alias* Pugaḷvip-piragaṇḍan Avanivallān. The *dēvakanmis* had to supply every day ¼ measure of *ghī* by the *śūlavuḷakku*. 472 of 1908 ; *SII.* iii. 199.

Year 3.—*Kāvanūr* (NA.)—Vīra Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa. Four hundred *kuḻi* of waste land by the assembly of Kāvanūr for daily night offerings to Puli-pagava-dēva. Measuring rod called *kaḍigai-kaḷattuk-kōl.* A further gift of 800 *kuḻi*, also to be reclaimed, for lamps at the three services of the deity and for keeping watch of the temple by residing near it with a guard. 160 of 1921.

" *Kumbakōṇam* (Tj.)—Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa. Sale of land by the assembly of Śrī Kuḍandai to Kōyil-mayilai *alias* Parāntaka Mūvēnda-vēḷān § of Śirringan in Īngā-nāḍu, for feeding twenty *apūrvis* versed in the Vēda and

* This is indirectly mentioned in 225 of 1911 of year 5. *ARE.* 1912 II 20.

† Text gives year 3.

‡ The name of the place in the *Dēvāram*.

§ Adhikāri in charge of *śri-kāryam* in the temple of Tiruviḍaimarudūr (154 of 1895, 214, 255-6 of 1907). Continued in same capacity under Uttama Cōḷa, and was called Madhurāntaka Mūvēnda-vēlān. 'His was evidently one of the offices which were solely in charge of public charities and financed by the state.' *ARE.* 1912 II 19.

five *śivayōgins* in the Śrī-kōyil of Tirukkiḻ-kōṭṭattu-perumāḷ. Land called *śālābhōga*. 230 of 1911.

Year 3.—*Kumbakōṇam* (Tj.) — Pāṇḍiyan - talai - koṇḍa. Sale of land to Śiṟṟinganuḍaiyān Kōyil-mayilai *alias* Parāntaka Mūvēnda-vēḷān by the *mūla-paruḍaip-perumakkaḷ* of Tirukkuḍamūkkil, which he presented as a *bhaṭṭavṛtti* to those who expounded the *Prābhākaram*.
233 of 1911 ; *SII.* iii. 200.

„ *Tāyanūr* (SA.)—Vīra Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa. 90 sheep for a lamp. 359 of 1909. *

„ *Tiruvaṇṇāmalai* (NA.)—Vīra Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa. 90 sheep for a lamp. 471 of 1902 ; *SII.* viii. 59.

„ *Uḍaiyārguḍi* (SA.)—Vīra Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa. Gold for two lamps by headman *(kiḻān)* of Vaḷamārvu.
588 of 1920.

„ *Uḍaiyārguḍi* (SA.)—Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa. Sale of land to temple. 616 of 1920.

Year 3 + 1.—*Tiruviḍaimarudūr* (Tj.)—' Vīrapāṇḍiyanai eṟindu talai-koṇḍa '. 256 of 1907.

Year 4.—*Kaṇḍiyūr* (Tj.)—Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa. Mentions *brahmadēyam* Periya-vānavan-mahādevi - caturvēdi-mangalattu *yāḷunganattār*. 18 of 1895 ; *SII.* v. 574.

„ *Kumbakōṇam* (Tj.)—Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa. Gift of 90 sheep, distributed equally between two *manṟāḍis*, for a lamp by *peṇḍāṭṭi* Dēvayan Puḷalakkan *alias* Avani-śikhāmaṇi of Kiḻai-Vēḷam at Tañjāvūr, called after Uḍaiyapirāṭṭiyār Kiḻānaḍigaḷ, the mother (*ācci*) of Ānaimēṟṟuñjinār. 226 of 1911 ; *SII.* iii. 201.

„ *Paṇḍāravāḍai* (Tj.) — Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa. Land for lamp by Āśūri Āditta-piḍāran Kramavittan, a member of the *āḷunganam* of the village Rājakēsari-catm.
236 of 1923.

* Three records of Pārthivēndravarman also come from this place. There is no clue as to the contemporaneity of the two kings or their relation to each other. *ARE.* 1910 II 17.

Year 4.—*Paṇḍāravāḍai* (Tj.)—Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-koṇḍa. Twenty *kāśu*, equal to ten *kaḻañju*, for a lamp in the temple of Tiruccēlūr-mahādēva by Nilan Tyāgi, wife of a merchant of the Tribhuvana-mādēvi Pērangāḍi at Tañjāvūr. 241 of 1923. *

" *Śiyamangalam* (NA.) — Vīra Pāṇḍiyan - talai - koṇḍa. Mentions Śri Gangaraiyan . . . Ganga-cūḷāmaṇi etc. † 70 of 1900 ; *SII.* vii. 74.

" *Tāyanūr* (SA.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa. 80 sheep for lamp by a native of Maṇḍaikuḷattūr. 360 of 1909.

" *Tāyanūr* (SA.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa. 90 sheep for lamp. Mentions Tirumunaippāḍi. 361 of 1909.

" *Tiruppuṟambiyam* (Tj.) — Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa. Land as *Nandavanappuṟam* to Ivvūr-tiru-nandāvanam-maṇḍalan-gāppān. 69 of 1897 ; *SII.* vi. 18.

" *Tiruviḍaimarudūr* (Tj.)—Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa. Śiṟṟingan-uḍaiyān Kōyil-mayilai, the *adigārigaḷ* in charge of (*ārāykinṟa*) *śrīkāryam*, the sabhā of Tiraimūr, the Nagarattār of Tiruviḍaimarudil and the *dēvakanmis* met in the theatre (*nāṭakaśālai*) and arranged for *āriyakkūttu* ‡ before the god of Tiruviḍaimarudil by setting apart one *vēli* of land for Kittimaṟaikkāḍan *alias* Tiruveḷ-aṟaiccākkai, who had to dance on 7 occasions (specified) in a year and receive as *koṟṟu* fourteen *kalam* of paddy from the treasury of the temple. 154 of 1895 ; *SII.* iii. 202.

" *Uḍaiyārguḍi* (SA.) — Pāṇḍiyan - talai - koṇḍa. Dining utensils and money (gold) for feeding one person sumptuously every day. *Śrīkāryam-ārāyum-gaṇpperumakkaḷ* in charge. 610 of 1920.

" *Uḍaiyārguḍi* (SA.)—Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa. Gold for lamp by a resident of Vira-śrimukhac-cēri. Mentions Maṉṟāḍikkalanai. 620 of 1920.

* 246 of 1923 quite similar gift by wife of another merchant.

† cf. 69 of Parak. Yr. 3.

‡ *Śilappadikāram* iii. 12-25 and notes thereon.

Year 4.—*Ukkal* (NA.)—Vīra Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa. An endowment by a Veḷala Śenai for the supply of water for six months and *agniṣṭai* (fire pans) for six months in the Brahmasthāna of the village. The charity was to be supervised by the members in charge of village affairs for each year (*avvava-samvatsarangaḷil grāma-kāryam tiruttum perumakkaḷ*).

32 of 1893 ; *SII.* iii. 14.

Year 4, day 170.—*Tiruviḍaimarudūr* (Tj.)—Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa. Mentions Tiruviḍaimarudil Āḻvār *śrikāryam-ārāykinṟa adigārigaḷ* Śiṟṟingaṉ-uḍaiyān Kōyil-mayilai Parāntaka Mūvēnda-vēḷān. Tiraimūr was by the *śādanam* a *kuḍinikkidēvadāna* which had to give as *pañcavāram* 256 *kalam* of paddy. But the *paḍimāṟṟu* (scale of expenses in the temple) showed only 160 *kalam*. It was denied that the *dēvadāna* was *kuḍinikki*. Then the *adigārigal* called for the original document making Tiraimūr a *dēvadāna* and found that it was *kuḍinikki* and accordingly raised the scale of expenses. 214 of 1907 ; *SII.* iii. 203.

Year 5.—*Bāhūr* (Pondicherry)—Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa. Lamp.

173 of 1902 ; *SII.* vii. 800.

„ *Kumbakōṇam* (Tj.)—Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa. Sale of land by the Mūlaparuḍaip-perumakkaḷ of Tirukkuḍamūkkil, a *dēvadāna* in Vaḍagarai-Pāmbūr-nāḍu, to the *peṇḍāṭṭi* Perayan Tribhuvanasundari of the Paḷaiya-vēḷam at Tañjāvūr for 85 *kaḻañju* of gold which she had deposited as an endowment for feeding a Śivayōgin. The land mentioned in 224 of 1911 was one of the boundaries of this land. 225 of 1911 ; *SII.* iii. 204.

„ *Paṇḍāravāḍai* (Tj)—Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa. Money by a resident of Monōramac-cēri for offerings to the image of Gaṇapati Bhaṭṭāraka in the temple on the day of Ārdrā in Mārgaḻi. Mentions the coin *akkam*.

275 of 1923.

„ *Toṇḍūr* (SA.)—Vīra Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa. Ten sheep for lamp to Kiḍanda Perumāḷ by Śūramittirap-peru-

manṟāḍi, son of Irugaṇṇan residing at Kiḻvaḷi-Toṇḍūr in Śingapura-nāḍu. 282 of 1916.

The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following :—

Tiruvaiyāṟu (Tj) — Vīra Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa. 96 sheep for a lamp by a man of the Tribhuvana-mādēvi-yār-vēḷam ; also a lamp-stand, *tarā-nilai-viḷakku.* 240 of 1894 ; *SII.* v. 539.

Tiruvaṇṇāmalai (NA.)—Vīra Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa. 96 sheep for lamp. 469 of 1902 * ; *SII.* viii. 57.

Tiruviḍaimarudūr (Tj)—Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa. Land for maintaining the *campaka* flower-garden laid out by Tiruvēngaḍattu-piccan. 249 of 1907.

See under Rājakēsari :—

Year 2—*Uḍaiyarguḍi.*— 577 of 1920.

* Text gives year 4.

PARTHIVĒNDRAVARMAN

Ś. 892—*Kaḷambūr* (NA.) — No name of king. Lamps to Kalikēsari * Viṇṇagar-dēvar by the assembly of Kaḷamūr. 246 of 1909.

Year 2.—*Brahmadēśam* (NA.)—Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa. All temple lands owned to date made tax-free by the assembly of Aiñjaśṭaśam in lieu of the amount of gold, 86¾ *kaḻañju*, which it owed to the temple. Also sabhā to manage temple affairs by its *vāriyam*, a *gaṇam* being forbidden. 195 of 1915.

" *Brahmadēśam* (NA.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyan-talai - koṇḍa - Kō-Mahārāja. † Fifteen *kaḻañju* gold with *gaṇapperumakkaḷ* for a lamp by a merchant of Tiruvēkambaccēri. 223 of 1915.

" *Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—Vīra Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa-partmamahārājar. Land made tax-free by the sabhā ; the ūr were not to collect any dues. 88 of 1898 ; *SII.* iii. 152.

Year 3.—*Takkōlam* (NA.)—Mentions a couch (*tiruppaḷḷik-kaṭṭil*) given to the Tiruvūṟal-āḻvār by Arumoḻi-nangai, the queen of the king (Uḍaiyār). 7 of 1897 ; *SII.* iii. 166.

" *Tirumālpuram* (NA.)—Records the building of the temple and the enclosing verandah by the Virāṭa king Anayaman *alias* Paramaṇḍalāditya. 267 of 1906.

" *Tirumālpuram* (NA.)—Gold for lamp by Nārāyaṇa Kramavittan *alias* Vaidumbar-āditta-brahmādhi-rājan. 304 of 1906 ; *SII.* iii. 165.

* Was Kalikēsari a title of P. ? cf. 676 of 1904-Yr. 5. *ARE.* 1910 II 59.

† This supports the identification of this king with Rājamārāyar. *ARE.* 1916, II. 78.

Year 3.—*Tiruppārkkaḍal* (NA.)—Mentions a meeting in the *abhiṣēkamaṇḍapa* of the big temple of the locality (*ivvūr-periya-taḷi*) at which were present the Mahāsabhā of Kāvirippākkam *alias* Amaniırārāyaṇa-catm., including the members for the year of the *samvatsara-*, *tōṭṭa-*, *ēri-*, *kaḷani-*, *pañcavāra-*, *kaṇakku-*, *kalingu-*, and *taḍi-vaḷi-vāryiams*, the *śrī-vaṭavi-nāraṇap-perumakkaḷ*, Pallavan Pirammādarāyan who was ruling the town (*ūr-āḷkinṛa*), and the superintendent (*kaṇkāṇi*) Arumbākkiḷān. The trustees of the temple made a submission to the meeting that a garden and field of the *arcanābhōga* of Tirukkarapurattu Perumān were silted owing to breaches in the river and lying waste; the *kaḷani-vāriyam* were then directed by the assembly to give 1400 *kuḷi* of land from the village *mañjikkam.* * 692 of 1904 ; *SII.* iii. 156.

„ *Uttaramērūr* (Ch.) — Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa Pārthivēndrādhipati-varman. The Perunguṛi-sabhā gave land to Śrī-bṛndāvanattu-perumānaḍigaḷ for *tiruccennaḍai*, *nandāviḷakku* and *arcanābhōgam.*
73 of 1898 ; *SII.* iii. 153.

„ *Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—Vīra Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa-Pārthivēndra Ādittaparumarkku. † Land by sabhā after taking *pūrvācāram* to Tiruvāyppāḍip-perumānaḍigaḷ for *tiruccennaḍai*, lamp, *śrībali* and *arcanābhōga.*
38 of 1898 ; *SII.* iii. 158.

„ *Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-koṇḍa. *Iṛaiyili* land by Perunguṛi-sabhā after taking *pūrvācāram* to Aiyan-mahāśāsta, in the south of the city.
15 of 1898 ; *SII.* iii. 167.

„ *Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-koṇḍa. *Iṛaiyili* land by Perunguṛi-sabhā after taking *pūrvācāram* to Kurukṣētra-dēva. 16 of 1898 ; *SII.* iii. 160.

* This corresponds to modern '*poromboke*' and the assemblies had the disposal of it—H. K. Sastri.

† This 'undoubtedly refers to Pārthivēndravarman' and 'may establish the king's possible connection with the Cōḷa Ādityavarman' (Āditya II). H. K. Sastri.

Year 3.—*Uttaramērūr* (Ch.) — Vīra Pāṇḍiyanai - talai - koṇḍa. Land by Perunguṛi-sabhā to temple after taking *pūrvācāram*. This land was part of the land escheated to the village owing to default in payment of dues, (*iṛaiyiṛādu ūrnōkki viḻunda pūmi*).
17 of 1898 ; *SII.* iii. 162.

" *Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—Vīra Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-koṇḍa. Land by Perunguṛi-sabhā as *vyākhyāvṛtti* to a person teaching the Vyākaraṇa-śāstra in the town.
18 of 1898 ; *SII.* iii. 161.

" *Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—Vīra Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-koṇḍa. Land by sabhā to Tiruppulivanam-uḍaiyār.
19 of 1898 ; *SII.* iii. 154.

" *Uttaramērūr* (Ch.) — Vira Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-koṇḍa. The Perunguṛi-sabhā make a list of lands belonging to Tirumāliruñjōlaip-perumāṇaḍigaḷ of the town, (*nammūr*). 21 of 1898 ; *SII.* iii. 163.

" *Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—Vīra Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-koṇḍa. The sabhā declare tax-free some lands of Durgā-bhaṭṭāraki, after accepting as *pūrvācāram* the gold due as interest (*poli-ponnēy*) on account of the documents (*kaiyeḻuttu*) of this Bhaṭṭāraki and of the sabhā of Dāmōdarac-cērī.
22 of 1898 ; *SII.* iii. 159.

" *Uttaramērur* (Ch.)—Vīra Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-koṇḍa. The Perunguṛi-sabhā gave land as *iṛaiyili* after taking *pūrvācāram* to Jyēṣṭhā at Kumaṇpāḍi.
23 of 1898 ; *SII.* iii. 169.

" *Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—Vīra Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-koṇḍa. Land by sabhā likewise to Kumaṇpāḍi Kiḻai-śri-kōyil.
25 of 1898 ; *SII.* iii. 168.

" *Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-koṇḍa. The Perunguṛi-sabhā gave *iṛaiyili* land for *amudu*, lamp and *arcanā* to Mahāviṣṇukkaḷ.
26 of 1898 ; *SII.* iii. 164.

Year 3, day 119.—*Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—Pāṇḍiyan - talai - koṇḍa Pārthivēndrādhipati-varman. The Perunguṛi-sabhā

made *iṟaiyili* some land of Śrī-Gōvardhanattu-perumānaḍigaḷ. 13 of 1898 ; *SII.* iii. 157.

Year 3, day 173—*Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—Pāṇḍiyan - talai - koṇḍa. Land made *iṟaiyili* by the Perunguṟi-sabhā which got *pūrvācāram* from some person.
60 of 1898 ; *SII.* iii. 155.

Year 4.—*Takkōlam* (NA.)—96 sheep for lamp to image of Durgā in the temple of Tiruvūṟal-āḻvār by a native of Mahārājapāḍi (E. of Kōlār, including parts of Cuddapah and Chittoor). 14 of 1897 ; *SII.* iii. 173.

" *Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-koṇḍa Pārthivēndrādhipati-varman. Tax-free land purchased from the Perunguṟi -sabhā and given as *śrī-bali-bhōga* to Subrahmaṇya-bhaṭāra of the town.
55 of 1898 ; *SII.* iii. 171.

" *Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-koṇḍa Pārthivēndrādhipati-varman. Land given by Perunguṟi-sabhā as *iṟaiyili arcanābhōga* to a certain bhaṭṭa after taking *pūrvācāram* from a merchant of Kāñcīpuram
24 of 1898 ; *SII.* iii. 170.

" *Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—Pāṇḍiyanait-talai-koṇḍa. 180 *kuḻi* of land given to Gaṇapati in the temple of Kōnērinangai at Kumaṇpāḍi and recorded by Mahāsabhā.
27 of 1898 ; *SII.* iii. 172.

Year 5.—*Tāyanūr* (SA.)—Land at solar eclipse for five persons providing music for *śrībali* in the temple of Taṇakkamalai Mahādēva at the request of the residents of Tāyanūr made to Nīlagangaraiyan Aṇṇāvan Nāṭṭaḍigaḷ.
362 of 1909 ; *SII.* iii. 178.

" *Tāyanūr* (SA.)—A declaration that a certain document (*ōlai*) was lost, that two persons had received their full dues on a loan of 30 *kaḻañju* which, apparently, with interest, had become 45 *pon* and that if they recovered the lost document at some future date, they should treat it as invalid (dead).
364 of 1909 ; *SII.* iii. 175.

Year 5.—*Tirumullaivāyil* (Ch.)—Mentions sabhā of Kalikēsari-catm. (name of Tirumullaivāyil ?) a *tan-kūṟṟu-dēvadānam* in Pulaṟ-kōṭṭam.
676 of 1904 ; *SII*. iii. 174. *

" *Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyanait-talai-koṇḍa. Record by Perunguṟi-sabhā. *Iṟaiyili* land set apart as *viṣaharabhōga* to be enjoyed by persons appointed to the place by the sabhā. 36 of 1898 ; *SII*. iii. 177.

" *Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—Pāṇḍiyanai - talai - koṇḍa. *Iṟaiyili* land to temple by sabhā after taking *pūrvācāram*.
28 of 1898 ; *SII*. iii. 179.

Year 6.—*Brahmadēśam* (NA.)—Land for feeding one Brahman versed in the Vēda. The great men of the assembly of Aiñjaṣṭaśam of Tiruvēkambapuram in Rājamalla-catm. made the land tax-free and placed the charity in the charge of the members of the *gaṇavāriyam*.
208 of 1915.

" *Pāḍi* (Ch.)—Sale of land from the *sabhā-mañjikkam* to temple by sabhā of Kuṟaṭṭūr *alias* Parāntaka-catm. in Ambattūr-ērik-kīḻ-nāḍu of the Pulāl-kōṭṭam.
225 of 1910 ; *SII*. iii. 181.

" *Podavūr* (Ch.)—Land for lamp by Tennavan Mādēviyār.
69 of 1923.

" *Tiruvaḍandai* (Ch.) — Parakēsari Vēndrādivarman. Twelve *kaḻañju* for lamp by a native of Taiyūr or Talaśayanapuram. 269 of 1910 ; *SII*. iii. 180.

" *Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—Pāṇḍiyanai-talai-koṇḍa Pārthivēndrādhipati-varman. Land set apart, after purchase as *śrī-bali-bhōga* to Tiruvunnaūrp-perumānaḍigaḷ.
20 of 1898 ; *SII*. iii. 182.

" *Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—Land as *iṟaiyili* for *tiruccennaḍai* to Kurukṣētra-dēva of the town, by the Perunguṟi-sabhā. 37 of 1898 ; *SII*. vi. 320.

* Perhaps the king of this record is different and earlier in time, as the record is very archaic—H. K. Sastri.

Year 7.—*Takkōlam* (NA.)—96 sheep for lamp to Tiru-vūṟal-āḻvār. The phrase '*neyyeṇṇai*' occurs in this record (as in some others). 4 of 1897 ; *SII.* iii. 184.

„ *Uttaramērūr* (Ch.) — Pāṇḍiyanait-talai - koṇḍa. The Perunguṟi-sabhā declare some land of the Kurukṣētrattu-perumāṉaḍigaḷ to be tax-free, after getting *pūrvācāram* from a person.
79 of 1898 ; *SII.* iii. 183.

Year 8.—*Tiruvaḍandai* (Ch.)—Vira Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa Kō-vi-Rājamārāyar. A record of the sabhā and ūr of Tiruvaḍavandai. Gift of an image of Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ to temple of Varāhasvāmin by two Brahman residents of Talaśayanapuram *alias* Taiyūr ; and also of gold for offerings. 264 of 1910 ; *SII.* iii. 186.

Year 9.—*Aṇaikkaṭṭāttūr* (NA.)—The ūr of Aṇai Akkaraippūdūr give to Āditta-dēva, belonging to emmūr vaikhānasan Kalinīkki-bhaṭṭan, some land and a house to the south of the temple as *arcanābhōga*. The land given is described thus : "*emmūr viḷaivu-paṭṭiyil dēva kuṭṭaiyum uṇangaṟ-piḍiyum.*"
288 of 1895 ; *SII.* iii. 187.

„ *Kāṭṭūr* (Ch.)—Pārthivēndrādi-Adhipati-varman. Sale of land as *taṇṇīrppaṭṭi* by ūr to Paṭṭaiyanār, the *mēnāyakam* (superintendent) of the Perundaram, who built the *ambalam* of this village.
252 of 1912 ; *SII.* iii. 188.

„ *Madurāmangalam* (Ch.)—Sheep for lamp by Olōka-Mahārāyar to temple of Olōkamahārāyar-Tirucciṟṟambalattāḻvār at Maḻalai-mangalam in Maṇayiṟ-kōṭṭam.
320 of 1909 ; *SII.* iii. 189.

„ *Podavūr* (Ch)—Sale of land, free of taxes, by *ūravar* to Patti, brother of Tennavan-mādēviyār, who had the proprietory right over the village (*ivvūr jīvitam*) of Mēṟpiḍavūr in Puriśai-nāḍu. 68 of 1923.

Year 10.—*Takkōlam* (NA.)—Kō - Pārthivēndrādhipati - varman. The sabhā of Rājamāttāṇḍa-catm. (*Maṇayiṟ-kōṭṭattu*

Tiruvūṟalpurattu taṉ-kūṟṟu) accepted from Kumaradinangai, the daughter of Nandinangai, herself the daughter of Tiruvūṟal-dēvanār, gold weighing 92 *kaḻañju* (by *dharmakkaṭṭaḷai-eḍai ?*) to be used for offerings to Kaḷigai-viṭanka, set up by Kumaradinangai in the Iraṇa-śinga-vīrar-paḷḷilk-kaṭṭil-maṇḍapam in the temple of Tiruvūṟal-dēvar. Mentions 92 *kāḍi* of paddy by *marakkāl Kavāramoḻi.*

13 of 1897 ; *SII.* iii. 190.

Year 10.—*Tirumālpuram* (NA.)—Vīra Pāṇḍiyan - talai-koṇḍa Pārthivēndrādi-varman. 96 sheep for a lamp to Gōvindapāḍi-dēva by Vāṇarāja Aḷagamaiyan.

327 of 1906 ; *SII.* iii. 192.

„ *Vēḷacceri* (Ch.)—Land for offerings to the temple of the Seven Mothers by a native of Maḻa-nāḍu, a sub-division of Sōḻa-nāḍu. 316 of 1911 ; *SII.* iii. 191.

Year 11.—*Kaḍalūr* (SA.)—Lamp by Nagarattār. 281 of 1915.

„ *Kūram* (Ch.)—Sale of land tax-free by the *āḻum-sabhai* to a person for building a rest-house (*ambalam*) and for the supply of water in it during summer.

105 of 1923.

Year 11, day 324.—*Uttaramērūr* (Ch.) — Pārthivēndrādhipati-varman. Land given by the queen (Uḍaiyār-dēviyār) Villavan-mahādēviyār to the image set up by her and to the temple for *śrībali* and *arcanābhōga*, 2920 *kuḻi* ; the mahāsabhā take *pūrvācāram* and make the land tax-free ; the *śraddhāmantas* were to enforce the proper maintenance of the charities ; they had power to levy a fine up to 25 *kaḻañju* for default.

32 of 1898 ; *SII.* iii. 193.

Year 12.—*Kāñcīpuram* (Ch.)—Fifty *kaḻañju* of gold by Danmaponnār *alias* Trailōkya Mādēviyār, the queen of Perumānaḍigal ; and 200 *kāḍi* of paddy to be supplied as interest on this amount at 4 per *kaḻañju*. Money deposited with the ūr of Tiraiya-mangalam.

17 of 1921.

Year 12.—*Tirumālpuram* (NA.)—Anaiyaman Paramaṇḍalādittan, called Virāṭarāja, built a *maṇḍapa* in the temple.
323 of 1906 ; *ARE.* 1907 II. 65.

„ *Tirumālpuram* (NA.)—Gift by Virāṭa king (Anaiyaman's son ?) for feeding fifteen Brahmans daily.
324 of 1906.

„ *Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—Pārthivēndrādhipati-varman. Land.
69 of 1898.

Year 12, day 184—*Brahmadēśam* (NA.)—Land by Viśuddhamatipaṇḍitar for *abhiṣēka* to god. The *gaṇapperumakkaḷ* of the *kōyil-vāriyam* had to supervise this.
241 of 1915.

„ day 326—*Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—Pārthivēndrādhipati-varman. Land, after purchase from the farmers of the town, given to god of the Śrī-Veḷi-viṣṇugṛha built at Uttaramērūr by Kongaraiyar, for music at *śrībali* (*śrībali - koṭṭuvadarkku*) by queen (*Tambirāṭṭiyār*) Tribhuvana-mahādēviyār. The sabhā took *pūrvācāram* from the same queen and made the land *iṟaiyili*. The *śraddhāmantas* had power to fine defaulting persons 25 *kaḻañju* each.
49 of 1898 ; *SII.* iii. 194.

Year 13.—*Brahmadēśam* (NA.)—Thirty *kaḻañju* gold for maintaining the abhiṣēka-brāhmaṇa by a daily wage and two cloths in every six months ; endowment by Mūvāyiravan Trairājya Ghaṭikā Madhyasthan. *Kaḻañju* is equated with *niṣka*. The *gaṇapperumakkaḷ* for each year in charge. 197 of 1915.

„ *Kāñcipuram* (Ch.)—Fifty *kaḻañju* of gold by queen Danmaponnār *alias* Trailōkya-mādēviyār. Residents, ūr, of Pannaippuram, were required to supply 100 *kāḍi* of paddy as interest to the temple, 18 of 1921.

„ *Kāñcipuram* (Ch.)—Thirty *kaḻañju* by same queen to residents (ūr) of Pondūr for one lamp. Measure : *ūragattu-ninṟār-kādak-kīḻ-nāḻi*. 19 of 1921.

Year 13.—*Kāvanūr* (NA.)—Vīra Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa Pārthivēndrādhipati-varman. Sale of 1000 *kuḻi* of land by assembly of Kāvanūr to a person who gave it for the maintenance of a tank. Measuring rod: *kaḍigai-kaḷattuk-kōl*. 156 of 1921.

„ *Kiḷiyanūr* (SA.)—Twenty-five sheep for lamp by a certain daṇḍanāyaka. 157 of 1919.

„ *Tirumālpuram* (NA.)—Vīra Pāṇḍiyan-talai-koṇḍa Pārthivēndrādi-varman. Twenty-five *kaḻañju* of gold for two lamps left with sabhā of Pattālam *alias* Eḷunūṟṟuvacatm. by Vajjavai-mahādēviyār, daughter of Nandivarma Kāḍupaṭṭigaḷ; (perhaps the queen of P.)
266 of 1906; *SII*. iii. 197.

„ *Tirumālpuram* (NA.)—Land, 2000 *kuḻi*, by purchase, for feeding a Brahman in a *maṭha* at Śiṟṟiyāṟṟūr. The donor was Perumāḷ-piṟakēṟum-ānaiyāḷ Mannan Kannan *alias* Vāraṇappēraraiyan.
328 of 1906; *SII*. iii. 198.

„ *Tirumullaivāyil* (Ch.)—Pārthivēndrādhipati-varman. Viḷattūr-kiḻavan Śingaḷa Vira-nāraṇan, a native of the Cōḷa country, gave ninety sheep for a perpetual lamp to the Mahādēva of the village, a *dēvadāna* in Puḻar-kōṭṭattu Veḷḷaiyūr-nāḍu.
683 of 1904; *SII*. iii. 196.

„ *Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—Pārthivēndrādhipati-varman. Queen (Perumānaḍigaḷ nambirāṭṭiyār) Tribhuvana Mahādēvi gave 192 sheep, for two lamps, to the Perumānaḍigaḷ of the Kongaraiyar Śrīkōyil, distributed equally between the Veḷḷāḷar of Panmaic-cēri and the merchants (*viyāpārigaḷ*) of Naḍuvilangāḍi. Stops rather abruptly with the clause: "*Ivviṭṭa āḍu kaḍaik-kāṇā-viḍil anṟāḷ-kōvukku dēvaraḍiyārē niśada-mañjāḍip-pon da......*" 52 of 1898; *SII*. iii. 195.

„ *Vengaḷattūr* (NA.)—Land to temple. 94 of 1921.

Year 13, day 120.—*Brahmadēśam* (NA.)—Thirty *kaḻañju* of gold by Caturan Mūvāyiravan Trairājya Ghaṭikā-Madhyas-

than. It was placed under the charge of *Gaṇavāri-yap-perumakkaḷ* of Rājamalla-catm. subject in case of default, to a fine to be levied by the *Śraddhāmantar*. Mentions *dhanmakkaṭṭaḷai-tuḷai-niṟai*.

194 of 1915.

Year 15.—*Parandūr* (Ch.)—Tax-free gift of land for maintenance of seven musicians for service during *śrībali*.

75 of 1923. *

* cf. pp. 180-181 *ante*.

PARAKĒSARI UTTAMA CŌLA.

Year 2.—*Kuhūr* (Tj.)—Land by purchase for offerings and worship to Āditta Īśvaram Uḍaiyār. 287 of 1917.

„ *Tiruviḷakkuḍi* (Tj.)—Remission of taxes on temple land by the asembly of Viḍēlviḍugu-catm. for 50 *kāśu* received from some Karikāla-śōḻat-teriñja-kaikkōḷar. 136 of 1926. *

Year 3.—*Mīnjūr* (Ch.)—(Verse) Madhurāntaka. Temple of Śōḻa-kulasundara-Viṇṇagar constructed in this year by one Kēśavan Karukkaikkōn for god Āḻivalak-kēśava. 134 of 1916.

Year 4.—*Kumbakōṇam* (Tj.)—Parakēsarivarman. Sale of land by the Mūlaparuḍai of Tirukkuḍamūkkil for a lamp in a temple in the name of Kāri Koḻamban, a Kaikkōḷan. 245 of 1911 ; † *SII*. iii. 129.

„ *Tiruviḷakkuḍi* (Tj.)—Parakēsarivarman. A silver vessel of 400 *kaḻañju* for holding offerings to god, presented by Ayyan Māraśingan ‡ *alias* Virasēkhara Mūvēnda-vēḷān. 114 of 1926.

„ *Tiruviḷakkuḍi* (Tj.)—Parakēsarivarman. Two *kāśu* to the temple by Panaiyan Kōdaṇḍan, one of the Iḷaiya-vāḷ-peṟṟa-kaikkōḷar. 125 of 1926.

Year 5.—*Viḷanagar* (Tj.)—Land, by purchase, for offerings at *ardhayāma* service to Tirunāḷarkōyil Mahādēva at Viḷainagar, a *brahmadēya* on the south bank, by Oraṭṭaṉan Śōrabbaiyār, the chief queen (*agramahādēvi-yār*) of king Uttama Cōḷa. Mentions the stream Neṟiyuḍaiccōḻap-pērāṟu. 165 of 1925.

Year 6.—*Kōnērirājapuram* (Tj.)—Land for lamp to Ādit-yēśvaram § -uḍaiya Mahādēva at Tirunallam. 638 of 1909 ; *SII*. iii. 130.

* Date may be April 12, A. D. 969. *ARE*. 1926 App. E and II 17.

† 22nd April, A. D. 975. *ARE*. 1912 II 20.

‡ Perhaps so called after Ganga Mārasimha *ARE*. 1926 II 18.

§ After Gaṇḍarāditya I ?

Year 6.—*Paḻankōyil* (NA.)—Parakēsarivarman. Village Ōḍiyamballam given as a tax-free *dēvadāna* to Mahādēva at Tiruppaḻan-gōḷūr by Kampaṇan Irāman *alias* Uttama-śōḷa Piridi-gangaraiyan, chief of Pangaḷa-nāḍu * in Palkunṟa-kōṭṭam, with the consent of the king got while he was at Kāñcīpuram. Mentions a Mīnavanōm Mūvēndavēḷān as the *vāśal-kēḻvi.* 352 of 1925.

Tiruvaḍandai (Ch.) — Parakēsarivarman. Lamp to Maṇavāḷa Perumāḷ * to be maintained with ½ measure of oil every day as interest on 30 *kaḻañju* of gold accepted by the ūr of Tiruvaḍavandai; who undertook never to remit the interest in cash (*pon*) on pain of a *daṇḍam* at the *dhanmāsana* of 4½ *kāṇam* and a *manṟupāḍu* of 1 *mañjāḍi pon* to the ruling king (*anṟāḻkōvukku*) for every day of default. The oil was to be given regularly to the Tiruvuṇṇāḻigai-vāriyar. 268 of 1910 ; *SII.* iii. 125.

Year 8. ‡—*Kumbakōṇam* (Tj.)—Parakēsarivarman. Sheep for lamp by one perhaps of Uḍaiyār-Gaṇḍarādittat-teriñja-kaikkōḷar. 229 of 1911 ; *SII.* iii. 131.

„ *Kumbakōṇam* (Tj.)—Parakēsarivarman. Sheep. Mentions Śrī-Uttamaśōḷa-nambirāṭṭiyār. 234 of 1911.

„ *Tiruveṇkāḍu* (Tj.)—Parakēsarivarman. Land for lamp by a queen of Uttama Cōḷa. 486 of 1918.

Year 9.—*Kaṇḍiyūr.*—(Tj.)—Lamp and offerings on the birthdays of the donor, Puduvūruḍaiyān Māyan Kāñjanan *alias* Villavan Mūvēndavēḷān, to Tirukkaṇḍiyūr Vīraṭṭānattu Mahādēva. 13 of 1895 ; *SII.* iii. 134.

Year 10.—*Nallūr* (Tj.)—An enquiry into the affairs of the temple of Mahādēva at Nallūr by Mānakkuṟai-Vīranārāyaṇa-

* In the Bāṇa country. The chief was perhaps the son and successor of Pṛthivīpati II. *ARE.* 1925 II 11.

† This image was presented to the temple of Varāhadēva by Rājamārāyar. 264, 266 of 1910 *ARE.* 1911 II 19.

‡ 30 Jan; A. D. 579. *ARE.* 1912 II 20.

nār under orders of the king, *Śrīkāryam ārācciyil uḍaiyār tirumugam koḍuvandu.*
41 of 1911 ; *SII.* iii. 136.

Year 10.—*Uḍaiyārguḍi* (SA.)—(Grantha). Building of the sabhā by Nambiyenbān and land for feeding 100 Brahmans in that hall. 578 of 1920.

Year 11.—*Tirukkōḍikāval* (Tj.) — Parakēsarivarman. Construction by Śembiyan-mahādēviyār, with stone, of *Śrī-vimāna* of the temple, an old brick structure, and re-engraving of old inscriptions that lay scattered on the walls of the temple. One of them is a Māṟañja-ḍaiyan record (4 + 9 yr.) containing a gift of Varaguṇa-mahārāja. 36 of 1931.

Year 12.—*Gōvindaputtūr* (Tri.)—Land, made tax-free, by Śekkiḻān Araiyan Sankaranārāyaṇan *alias* Śōḻa-muttaraiyan of Kāvannūr to the temple of Śrī Kailāyattu Paramasvāmi at Periya-vānavan-mahādēvi-catm.
158 of 1929.

„ *Gōvindaputtūr* (Tri.)—Parakēsari. Ambalavan Paḻuvūr-nakkan *alias* Vikramaśōḻa-mārāyan, * the *perundaram* of Uttama Cōḻa-dēva, built of stone the *Śrī-vimāna* of the temple at Vijayamangalam in Periyavānavan-mahādēvi-catm., a *brahmadēya* on the north bank.
165 of 1929.

„ *Gōvindaputtūr* (Tri.)—Parakēsari. Sheep for lamp by Aparāyitan Seyyavāymaṇi, wife of Ambalavan Paḻuvūr-nakkan *alias* Vikramaśōḻa-mārāyan of Kuvaḷālam, who erected the stone temple. 166 of 1929.

„ *Gōvindaputtūr* (Tri.)—Parakēsari. Sheep for lamp by Kāñci-Akkan, wife of Vikramaśōḻa Mārāyar (See 166).
167 of 1929.

„ *Mēlappaḻuvūr* (Tri.)—96 sheep for lamp in the northern shrine of the Mahādēva temple at Avani-Kandarpa-īśvara-gṛham, a *dēvadāna* in Mannup-perumbaḻuvūr in Kunṟa-kūṟṟam. 379 of 1924.

* Figures also in 168, 163 and 160 of years 3, 7 and 7 respectively of Rājarāja I. See also 164 of year 14 Uttama Cōḻa.

Year 12.—*Śembiyanmahādēvi* (Tj.)—Parakēsari. Money to be deposited with the *caturvēdi-bhaṭṭattānap-perumakkaḷ*, for offerings on birthday of Śembiyan-mahādēviyār, by five queens of Uttama Cōḷa, Paṭṭan Dānatongi, Maḻapāḍi Tennavan - mādēviyār, and Vānavan - mahādēviyār, daughter of a certain Irungōḷar, and the daughters of Viḻupparaiyar and Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar. 494 of 1925.

Year 12. * —*Tiruviḷakkuḍi* (Tj.)—Parakēsari. Remission of taxes by assembly of Viḍēlviḍugu-catm. on lands purchased by Ayyan Mārasingan *alias* Vīraśēkhara Mūvēndavēḷān for lamp and for water from the Kāvēri.
112 of 1926.

„ *Uḍaiyārguḍi* (SA.)—Parakēsari. Land for feeding five Brahmans every day and a perpetual lamp in the temple by Aḍigaḷ Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar Gaṇḍan Sundara-śōḷan for the merit of his younger brother Gaṇḍan Śatrubhayan-karanār. 592 of 1920. †

Year 13. ‡ —*Kumbakōṇam* (Tj.)—Parakēsari. Gift of land by Vīranārāyaṇiyār, daughter of........ and Nambirāṭṭiyār of Śrī Uttamaśōḷar, for providing garlands of flowers to the Tirukkiḻ-kōṭṭattup-perumāḷ temple. The land was sold to the donor by the mūlaparuḍai of ....
240 of 1911 ; *SII.* iii. 137.

Year 13. § and Kali 4083— *Tiruviḍaimarudūr* (Tj.)—Mentions Perungurip ...... of Kañjanūr *alias* Simhaviṣṇu-catm., a *brahmadēya* in Vaḍagarai-nallāṟṟūr-nāḍu.
265 of 1907 ; *SII.* iii. 138.

* February 16, A. D. 980 (?) *ARE.* 1926 App. E. and II 17.

† Uttama Cōḷa was the only Parak. in this period who ruled over ten years ; hence all Parak. records from this place with years 10 to 16 may be his. The name of the feudatory given here, perhaps taken from Parāntaka II, also leads us to give this Parak. a place among his successors. *ARE.* 1921 II 29. See also Vṛddhācalam under Parak. 12.

‡ 9th June, A. D. 982 *ARE.* 1912 II 20.

§ A. D. 981-2 *ARE.* 1908 II 53.

Year 14.—*Aṇḍanallūr* (Tri.) — Parakēsari. Gift of land by Śembiyan Irukkuvēḷ *alias* Pūdi Parāntakan, * who built the stone temple (Vaṭatīrthanātha) at Anduvanallūr Tiruvālanduṟai. Gift of *dēvadāna* on the day of *Jalasamprōkṣaṇa.* Contains the phrase: *Tiruppadiyam pā.* .... 358 of 1903 ; *SII.* iii. 139.

„ *Gōvindaputtūr* (Tri.)—Parakēsari. Ambalavan Paḻuvūr-nakkan *alias* Vikramaśōḻa-mārāyan, the *perundaram* of Uttamaśōḻa, built of stone the *Śrī-vimāna* of the temple of Vijayamangalattu-mahādēva, and made a gift to it of the village of Neḍuvāyil. 164 of 1929. †

„ *Tirumullaivāyil* (Ch.)—(modern Characters). Gift of land, purchased tax-free for 80 *pon* from the sabhā of Ambattūr, by Taṉṟiratta-mahādēviyār Śembiyan Mahādēviyar, queen of Gaṇḍarāditta-perumāḷ and daughter of Maḻavaraiyar.
669 of 1904 ; *SII.* iii. 141 ; *MCC. Mag.* ix. p. 109.

„ *Tiruvadi* (SA.)—96 sheep for lamp in the *nāṭakaśālai-maṇḍapa* in the temple erected by Attāman Ayyāṟan *alias* Kaṇḍatōḷ Gaṇḍappayyan of Pūnguṉṟam.
398 of 1921.

„ *Tiruviḷakkuḍi* (Tj.) — Parakēsari. Silver vessel, weighing thirty *Īḻakkāśu*, for water offering (*taṇṇīr-amudu*) to deity during the worship. Gift by Ayyan Mārasingan. (See 112 of year 12). 113 of 1926.

Year 14, day 216.—*Tirumālpuram* (NA.).—Kō-nōn-inmaikoṇḍān. Gift of a village. Śiṟṟiyāṟṟūr in Maṇaiyil-nāḍu, a subdivision of Maṇaiyil-kōṭṭam had been granted as a *dēvadāna* and *brahmadēya* in the 21st year of Toṇḍa-mānāṟṟūr-tuñjina Uḍaiyār, to the sabhā of Puduppākkam, a *brahmadēya* of Puriśai-nāḍu in the same *kōṭṭam.* Though a *śāsana* was drawn up in the next

* Son of Vikramakēsari of Koḍumbāḷūr (Venkayya) *ARE.* 1908 II 88, 91, quoted also by H. K. Sastri.

† The Sanskrit part of the record says that he got the title Vikramaśōḻa-mahārāya from the king, proof that Vikrama Cōḻa was a title of Uttama Cōḻa. *ARE.* 1929 II 29.

year, the village was not entered in the accounts as a *dēvadāna* and *brahmadēya*. This mistake ' was rectified in the fourth year of Parakēsarivarman who took Madurai and Īḻam,' and the sabhā of Puduppākkam were remitting the produce and gold due from them to the Mahādēva temple at Tirumālpēṟu. In the 36th year of the king last mentioned, the dues from Puduppākkam were increased as the result of a fresh grant; the village assembly did not remit the new items properly, and the temple authorities lodged a complaint to the king when he was in the ground-floor (*ādi-bhūmi*) of the *pon-māḷigai* within his palace (*nam-viṭṭin-uḷḷāl*) at Kāñcipuram. The king after due enquiry fined the village assembly and restored the grant to the temple. Interesting details of administrative procedure given. 286 of 1906; *SII.* iii. 142.*

Year 15.—*Kāñcipuram* (Ch.)—Mentions Tirumayāna-purattuk-kaḍavuḷ-sabhai who accept an endowment of gold for a lamp. 2 of 1906.

" *Śembiyanmahādēvi* (Tj.)—Parakēsari. Gift of lands for offerings and worship in the temple of Kailāsam-uḍaiya-mahādēva built by Uḍaiyapirāṭṭiyār Madhurāntakan Mādēvaḍigaḷār *alias* Śembiyan-mādēviyār, mother of Gaṇḍan Madhurāntaka-dēvar *alias* Uttama Cōḷa-dēva, by Uraṭṭayan Śōrabbaiyār *alias* Tribhuvana-mādēviyār, queen of Uttama Cōḷa, who purchased, for the purpose, some land to supplement her own. 485 of 1925.

" *Śembiyanmahādēvi* (Tj.)—Parakēsari. List of articles required for worship etc., on *sankrānti* days for which provision was made by Uraṭṭayan Śōrabbaiyār, the *mūtta-nambirāṭṭiyār* of Uttama Cōḷa. 488 of 1925.

" *Śembiyanmahādēvi* (Tj.) — Parakēsari. Gold forehead plate for the image of the deity by Paṭṭan Dānatongiyār, queen of Uttama Cōḷa. The village with the

* See Introduction to this record by H. K. Sastri for the reasons for assigning it to Uttama Cōḷa.

temple of Kailāsamuḍaiyār was founded by Śembiyan Mahādēvi, as a *brahmadēya* in Aḷa-nāḍu on the south bank. * 490 of 1925.

Year 15.—*Śembiyanmahādēvi* (Tj.)—Parakēsari. Fly-whisk with a gold handle by Pañcavan Mahādēviyar, queen of Parak. Uttama Cōḷa. 491 of 1925.

„ *Śembiyanmahādēvi* (Tj.) — Parakēsari. 507½ *kaḻañju* by a lady (queen?), Kaṇṇapparaśiyār *alias* Sonna-mahādēviyār, for offerings on the day of Kēṭṭai in Cittirai, the birthday of Śembiyan Mahādēviyār, the founder of the temple and the village. The money was to be in the charge of *Caturvēdi-bhaṭṭattānap-perumakkaḷ.* 492 of 1925.

„ *Tiruvoṟṟiyūr* (Ch.)—An image of Śrībali-dēva, eight bugles (*kāḷam*) and 24 fly whisks with gold handles made by order of Uttama Cōḷa, (*dēvarāyamey-koṇḍu ponnāl śeyvittuk-koḍukka*). Mentions an officer Śen-niyeṟipaḍaic-cōḻan-Uttamaśōḻan.
166 of 1912 ; *SII.* iii. 143.

Year 16.—*Āḍuturai* (Tj.)—Temple of Āpatsahāyēśvara built by the mother of Śri-Madhurāntaka-dēva *alias* Śrī Uttama Cōḷa. Mentions the name Tirukkurangāḍuturai for the place ; and the re-engraving on the new structure of worn-out inscriptions mentioning endowments to the shrine. 357 of 1907 ; *SII.* iii. 144.

„ *Mēlappaḻuvūr* (Tri.)—Provision for lamp in temple by Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇḍan Maṟavanār. 395 of 1924.

„ *Śembiyanmahādēvi* (Tj.)—Parakēsari. 590 *kaḻañju* of gold by Ārūran Ambalattāḍigaḷ, a queen of Uttama Cōḷa, and another gift of 145 *kaḻañju* (in both cases weight by *ūrkkal*) by Uraṭṭayan Śōrabbai *alias* Tribhu-vana-mahādēviyār, for offerings on birthdays of Śembiyan Mahādēvi. The committee called *Śāsana-baddha-caturvēdi-bhaṭṭattānap-perumakkaḷ,* to whom the gifts were entrusted, is said to have been the creation of Śembiyan-mādēvi herself. 496 of 1925.

* This statement is repeated verbatim in 491 and 492.

Year 16.—*Tirukkolambiyūr* (Tj.)—Parakēsari. Land as *tiruccennaḍaip-puṟam* to Madhurāntakan Umā-bhaṭṭārakiyār in the Tirukkolamba-dēvar temple by Āruran Ponnambalattāḍigaḷ, the queen of Uttama Cōḷa, after purchasing it from a lady Kāḍan Śingam, through her son Mahāmātran Gautaman Kēśavan Śrikaṇṭhan of Śāttanūr. Taxes remitted by assembly of Pērāvūr in return for a lump payment. *Īḷakkarungāśu* mentioned.
47 of 1925.

„ *Tiruppugalūr* (Tj.)—Parakēsari. Land as *iṟaiyili* by Uttamaśōḷa-mādēviyār *alias* Gōpan-śākappu......, after purchase from the sabhā and *tanippuruṣar*, to Kailāsamuḍaiya Mahādēva at Tripura .... mangalam a *brahmadēya* in Kuṟumba-nāḍ. 66 of 1928.

„ *Tiruvoṟṟiyūr* (Ch.)—888 *kalañju* of *tuḷai-niṟai-pon* from the revenues of the temple (*dēvarāyamey-kūṭṭi*) for a salver (*kuḷittaṭṭu*), and 40 *kalañju* for offerings by Nandīśaran *alias* Parakēsari Viḷupparaiyan of Eḷinūr, (*Eḷinūr-kiḷavan*), who was the officer managing the temple affairs (*śrī-kāryam-arāyginṟa*) at the time.
245 of 1912 ; *SII.* iii. 145.

Ś. 901 and Kali 40(8)0—*Uyyakkoṇḍān - Tirumalai* (Tri.)—Uttama Cōḷa Parakēsari. Land, for offerings.
456 of 1908 * ; *SII.* iii. 135.

The regnal year is lost or uncertain in the following :—

Kāñcipuram (Ch.)—Mentions queen Vīranārāyaṇiyār.
3 of 1906.

Kōnērirājapuram (Tj.)—Temple of Tirunallamuḍaiyār † was built of stone by Mādēvaḍigaḷār, queen of Gaṇḍarāditta-dēva and mother of the king.
450 of 1908 ; *SII.* iii. 146.

* Though very seriously damaged, this record is invaluable for its date.

† Called elsewhere Ādityēśvara from Gaṇḍarāditya who is figured in stone in this temple. *SII.* iii pl. xi.

Talaiccangāḍu (Tj.)—Silver vessel (*śambaram*), weighing 151 *kaḻañju*, to the big temple of Mahādēva by Pirāntakan Mādēvigaḷ *alias* Śembiyan Mahādēvi, mother of Uttama Cōḷa. 204 of 1925.

Tirunaṟaiyūr (Tj.)—Land for offerings to the temple of Siddhēśvaram-uḍaiya-mahādēva by queen Pirāntakan Mādēvaḍigaḷār *alias* Śembiyan Mādēviyār who gave birth to Uttama Cōḷa. 159 of 1908 ; *SII.* iii. 149.

Tiruppālattuṟai (Tri.)—Mentions construction by some one (king ?) of Dayāparap-pērambalam and the grant of some land as *ambalappuṟam*, made *iṟaiyili* by the assembly which received a lump payment. *Iṟaiyili-yāga paṇiccu......nilamudalum pottagattum iṟaivāṭṭi Tiruppālttuṟai śrī vimānattē śīlālēkhai śeydu........ iṟaikāttuk-koḍuppōmānōm perunguṟi-sabhaiyōm.* *
569 of 1908 ; *SII.* iii. 150.

* H. K. Sastri translates: " Caused the deduction of the taxes (to be entered) in the land register (*nilamudal* ?), the tax register (*pottagam*) " etc.

RĀJAKĒSARI RĀJARĀJA I

(Acc. 25th June—25th July A.D. 985)

Year 2.—*Tirunaraiyūr* (Tj.)—Rājak. Silver vessels and a *chauri* of gold to the temple by Uḍaiya-pirāṭṭiyār Śembiyan Mahādēviyār *alias* Pirāntakan Mādēvaḍigaḷār. *
156 of 1908.

„ *Tiruvārūr* (Tj.)—Rājak. Silver vessels by Śembiyan Mahādēviyār for (merit of) Śri Uttama Cōḷa-dēva.
570 of 1904.

Year 3.—*Gōvindaputtūr* (Tri.)—Rājak. Sabhā of Periya Vānavan Mahādēvi-catm. got 200 *kalañju* from a perundaram of Mummuḍi-Cōḷa-dēva, Ambalavan Paḻuvūrnakkan *alias* Vikrama-śōḷa-Mahārāyan, for the *iṟaikāval* on 1¼ *vēli* of land. 168 of 1929.

„ *Kīḻappaḻuvūr* (Tri.)—Rājak. Two silver vessels by the wife (dēviyār nambirāṭṭigaḷār) of Vikrama-śōḷa-Iḷangōvēḷār, daughter of Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar, when Kauśikan Nakkan Māṟan was looking after temple affairs (*śrī-kāryam-ārāyāniṟka*) under orders from Aḍigaḷ Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇḍan Maṟavan.
110 of 1895 ; *SII.* v. 671.

„ *Kīḻappaḻuvūr* (Tri.)—Rājak. Two gold ornaments by Aḍigaḷ Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇḍan Maṟavan.
111 of 1895 ; *SII.* v. 672.

„ *Śembiyanmahādēvi* (Tj.)—Rājak. List of articles such as golden pot, *paṭṭam*, gold flowers, with their weights noted, as presented to the temple of Śri Kailāsamuḍaiyār by the mother of Uttama Cōḷa in the month Mīna in that year. 497, 498 of 1925.

* The presence of this lady's name is the reason for assigning this and similar records to this king. (*ARE*. 1909 II 41).

Year 3.—*Tiruccengāṭṭangudi* (Tj.)—Rājak. Rājarāja-dēva. Land for two lamps to shrine of Śirāḷa-dēva by Veḷḷāḷan Ulagan Śiṛṛiyan *alias* Tappillā Mūvēndavēḷān. 56 of 1913.

„ *Tirukkaḷittaṭṭai* (Tj.)—Rājarājak. Land for offerings and for supply of 108 pots of bathing water at monthly Sankrāntis to the temple of Mahādēva at Amaninārāyaṇa-catm. by Kiḷānadigaḷ, the daughter of Viḷupparaiyar and queen of Uttama Cōḷa-dēva, son of Gaṇḍarāditta-dēva. 298 of 1908.

„ *Tirukkāravāśal* (Tj.)—Rājak. Mummuḍi Cōḷa-dēva.* Land, by purchase, for lamp. 453 of 1908.

„ *Tirumālpuram* (NA.)—Lamp. Gold with ūrār of Śerukūr by Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarādittan. 285 of 1906; 292-A of 1906.

„ *Tirumālpuram* (NA.)—Sale of land for upkeep of a lamp. Mentions Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarādittan and Śōla-mādēviyār *alias* Pañcavan-mādēviyār, (queen of Mummudi Cōḷa), † the latter being donor. 294 of 1906.

„ *Tirumālpuram* (NA.)—Gold by Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarādittan. 295 of 1906.

„ *Tirumālpuram* (NA.)—(Gr. and Tam.) Gold for feeding Brahmans by Madhurāntakan Āccapiḍāran (Āditya in the grantha portion), son of Vīra-śōḷa-Iḷangōvēḷār of Koḍumbāḷūr in Kō-nāḍu. 306 of 1906.‡

„ *Tiruppuṟambiyam* (Tj.)—Rājarājak. Silver pot by Uḍaiya Pirāṭṭiyār, mother of Śrī-kaṇḍan Madhurāntakan *alias* Uttama Cōḷa, on behalf of her son to god at Tiruppuṟambiyam. A weighing scale called *inguturaiyāk-kaḷi*. 338 of 1927.

„ *Tiruvaiyāṟu* (Tj.)—A *chauri* to temple by Pañcavan Mādēviyār, queen of Mummuḍi Cōḷa. 147 of 1918.

* Title assumed in this year? - *ARE.* 1909 II 42. † *i. e.*, Rājarāja I.

‡ Rājarāja I. Sanskrit part gives name Rājarāja.

Year 3.—*Tiruvorriyūr* (Ch.)—Rājak. Mummuḍi Cōḷa-dēva. Gold necklace (*paḷḷittongal*) called Rājarājan, an *ōṭṭuvaṭṭil* of gold called Mummuḍi-śōḻan, and a gold door for the Mēvāśi called Rājarājan, by a certain Vaḷikkēytuṇai Guṇaśilan of Muḷḷak-kurumbu in the Cōḷa country, for the merit of Aḍigaḷ Nirāḍi, chief of Ūrrukkāḍu, a village in Āvūr-kōṭṭam of Śō-ṇāḍu, who was in charge of *śrī-kāryam* of Tiruvorriyūr-āḻvār. The jewels were made from accumulated savings of 810 *kaḻañju* from the temple income. 235 of 1912.

Year 4.—*Kīḻappaḻuvūr* (Tri.)—Rājak. Mummuḍi. Gold for lamp by Aḍigaḷ Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇḍan Maravanār-perundirattu Araiyan Sundara-śōḻan who gave 12 *kaḻañju* to the Tiruvālandurai-śrīkōyil-uḍaiyār.

115 of 1895 ; *SII.* v. 676.

„ *Śembiyanmahādēvi* (Tj.)—Remission by assembly of taxes on some temple lands. 493 of 1925.

„ *Tirumālpuram* (NA.)—Rājak. Mummuḍi Cōḷa. An enquiry into the affairs of the temple of Agniśvara at Tirumālpēru by Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarādittar with a committee of five members. Proof obtained of neglect and misappropriation of endowments.

283 of 1906.*

„ *Tiruveṇkāḍu* (Tj.)—96 sheep for a lamp by Uḍaiya-piraṭṭiyār Tambirānaḍigaḷ Vānavan-mādēviyār *alias* Tribhuvana-mādēviyār, the mother (*ācci*) of Śrī-Rājēndra Cōḷa-dēvar and the queen of Śrī Rājarāja-dēva.

117-A of 1896 † ; *SII.* v. 982.

Year 4, day 24.—*Madhurāntakam* (Ch.)—Kāndaḷūr-śālaik-kalam-arutta Rājak. The mahāsabhā of the place agreed to conduct a festival to god Tiruveṇkāṭṭu-Paramēśvara with the twenty-five *pon*, collected from a merchant of Vīra-śōḷappērangāḍi ; and the tax *kālaḷavu-kōl-kūli*. The *madhyastha* was also a signatory.

395 of 1922.

* 282 of Year 12. † 448 of 1918 is same but fuller.

Year 4, day 154.—*Madhurāntakam* (Ch.)—Kāndaḷūr-śālaik-kalam-aṟutta. An assignment of land by the mahāsabhā of Madhurāntaka-catm., for opening round the temple a street which was named Tiruveṇkāṭṭup-perun-deruvu; restrictions placed, and privileges granted to the Śivabrāhmaṇas, uvaccar, tapasvins and the dēvaraḍiyār who were allowed to settle in it. 397 of 1922.

Year 5.—*Dārāsuram* (Tj.)—Land for sacred bath and *śrībali* to āḻvār of Tirusōmiśvaram at Tirukkuḍamūkku. 3 of 1915.

" *Kiḻappaḻuvūr* (Tri.)—Rājak. Land sold by sabhā of Śiṟupaḻuvūr to Aḍigaḷ Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar Maṟavan Kaṇḍan. 118 of 1895 ; *SII.* v. 679.

" *Śembiyanmahādēvi* (Tj.)—An order of the assembly to the *ūr-vāriyam* (Frag.) 495 of 1925.

" *Tiruccengōḍu* (Coi.)—(Copper-plate) Rājakēsari. Lands to Paramēśvara of sacred Mūlasthāna at Tūśiyūr by Kollimaḻavan Oṟṟiyūran Piridigaṇḍavarman. *SII.* iii. 213. *

" *Tiruvaṇḍarkōvil* (Pondicherry)—Rājak. The silver vessels and gold of Tiruvāṟai-nakkan-kōyil Paramasvāmin having been utilised in former years by the sabhā, certain lands were given in exchange to the temple in the 28th year of the reign of king Kannaradēva. † Mention is made also of a gift of land in the 14th year of Madiraikoṇḍa Parakēsari. 359 of 1917.

" *Tiruvēdikkuḍi* (Tj.)—Rājak. Thirty iron torch-lights (*iruppup - piḍi - viḷakku*) by Rājarāja-dēva, fifteen servants being retailed for holding the lights. ‡ 68 of 1895 ; *SII.* v. 625.

* In this record the word '*kannāḍu*' about which Krishna Sastri makes curious surmises seems really to mean 'boundary stone' and is by no means, either a reference to the 'hero-stones' of Tamil literature or an engraver's mistake for '*kaṇṇāṟṟu*.' The word is very clearly engraved and occurs in three places in the same plate.

† *i. e.*, 967-8 A.D., also the initial date of Uttama Cōḷa - *ARE.* 1918 II 23.

‡ Each man held two lights. *cf.* 53 of 1895 of Yr. 6.

Year 5 *—*Tiruviśalūr* (Tj.)—Gold by a queen of Rājarāja-dēva by name Vaṭṭan Kāḍan Tongiyār for feeding five Brahmans. One hundred *Īḻakkāśu* yielding 15 *kāśu* as *dharmappaliśai*. 19 of 1907.

Year 6.—Ś. 913.—*Jōḍi - kempanapura* (Mys.) — Cōḷa-nārāyaṇa. Land. *MAR.* 1917 p. 42.

„ *Takkōlam* (NA.)—Undertaking by the residents of Puriśai to pay interest in the form of paddy on 20 *kaḻañju* of gold received from the temple of Tiruvūṟal. 244 of 1921.

„ *Tiruccattuṟai* (Tj.)—Rājak. Fifty iron lights (*iruppu-viḷakku*) by Rājarāja-dēva for the *śrībali* at night ; oil 2 measures ; the following were to hold these torches : eight sweepers (*tirumeḻukkiḍuvār*), four buglers (*kāḷamūdigaḷ*), one cook of the śālai (*aḍuvān*), three tenants (*kuḍigaḷ*) of the flower-garden (*nandavanam*), and eight others, resident in houses belonging to the temple, who are not *dēvar-nivandakkārar* and are used to hold the lights every day.
53 of 1895; *SII.* v. 610.

„ *Tirukkōṣṭhiyūr* (Tj.)—(*Vaṭṭeḻuttu*). Kāndaḷūr - śālaik-kalam-aṟutta. Land for two lamps to Tirumayāna-dēva by Nāṟpatteṇṇāyiravan Poṟkōyil-nambi *alias* Pālāśiriyan. 332 of 1923.

„ *Tirumaṇañjēri* (Tj.)—At the command of Uḍaiya-piräṭ-ṭiyār, mother of Uttama Cōḷa, Ārūran Kamban *alias* Tirukkaṟṟaḷi-piccan of the village gave 16 *kaḻañju* of gold for sandal paste etc., to Mahādēva at Tirumaṇañ-jēri, which is stated to be near Kaḍalanguḍi. Mentions *piḍiligaivāri*. 9 of 1914.

„ *Tiruveṇkāḍu* (Tj.)—Rājak. Mentions images made and jewels and vessels presented by Parāntakan Mādēviyār *alias* Śembiyan Mādēviyār, daughter of Maḻavaraiyar, mother of Uttama Cōḷa and queen of Gaṇḍarāditya, in the fourth and sixth years of Uttama Cōḷa, in the fourth

* Sunday 1st December A.D. 989. *EI.* ix p. 207 (Kielhorn).

year of Rājakēsari, in the 3rd and 10th years of Parakēsari and in the second year of Gaṇḍarāditya-dēva *alias* Mummuḍi-cōḷa-dēva. * 444 of 1918.

Year 6.—*Tiruviśalūr* (Tj.)—Mentions a person belonging to the Uḍaiyār Kōdaṇḍarāma-taniccēvagam. 342 of 1907.

Year 7.—*Aḷagādriputtūr* (Tj.)—Land by sabhā of Pāradāyakuḍi, a *brahmadēya*, to temple for offerings. Mentions the construction of the central shrine with stone by Pullāli Śāttan Kārivēḷār Kaṇḍarādittan *alias* Mummuḍi-Śōḷiyavaraiyar. 283 of 1908.

„ *Elvānāsūr* (SA.)—Mentions the 15th year of Śrī-Uttama Cōḷa-dēva, the son of Śembiyan Mādēviyār and two Milāḍu chiefs. 176 of 1906.

„ *Gōvindaputtūr* (Tri.)—Ambalavan Paḷuvūr-nakkan *alias* Rājarāja Pallavaraiyan of Kuvaḷālam, a perundaram of the king, appointed Śeṭṭapōśan Veṇṇayakramavittan as manager of the temple of Viśaiyamangala-dēvar; and the sabhā entrusted the manager with certain powers. 160 of 1929.

„ *Kuhūr* (Tj.)—90 sheep for lamp by Rājarāja Pallavaraiyan of Kuvaḷālam, one of the perundaram of the king. 291 of 1917.

„ *Śembiyanmahādēvi* (Tj.)—Gift by Uṟaṭṭayan Śorabbaiyār *alias* Tribhuvana-mādēvaḍigaḷ, the senior queen of Uttama Cōḷa, of 100 *kāśu*, deposited with the *Śāsanabaddha - caturvēdi - bhaṭṭattāna-perumakkaḷ* of Śrī-kailāsam. From the interest, offerings were to be made in the temple on the Cittirai-tirukkēṭṭai day, the asterism of her mother-in-law, Śembiyan Mahādēviyār, who founded the village. 480 of 1925.

„ *Tiruccattuṟai* (Tj.)—Land by royal order to *śrīkāryam śeykinṟa* Mīnavan Viḷattūr-nāṭṭuk-kōn for an endowment for offerings (as detailed) in temple.
55 of 1895; *SII.* v. 612.

* This surname of Gaṇḍarāditya and the fact of his rule are new. Rājarāja is the first Rājak. after Uttama Cōḷa. Palaeography is in support of this. The order of reigns mentioned in the inscription is not chronological. *ARE.* 1919 II 14.

Year 7.—*Tiruvallam* (NA.)—A Brahman set up an image of Umā-bhaṭāraki and granted a lamp. He also purchased 1700 *kuḻi* of land tax-free, after paying '*vilaidravyamum iṟaidravyamum*' to the sabhā of Mandiram *alias* Jayamēru *-śrīkaraṇa-mangalam, and made it over to the Śivabrāhmaṇas who had to feed the lamp and supply the offerings.

8 of 1890; *SII.* iii. 50.

,, † *Tiruvallam* (NA.)—A visit to Tīkkāli Āḻvār temple by Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarādittanār ‡ who caused 1000 jars of water to be poured over the god. He also held the Śivabrāhmaṇas of the temple and the sabhā of Tirukkālivallam to account for the income and expenditure of the temple scheduled in the *tiruvāṇai* and the *tiruvōlai*; (rest of the inscription is built in).

10 of 1890; *SII.* iii. 49.

,, *Tiruvallam* (NA.) — Details of expenditure for 74 *kaḻañju* of gold, realised as fine from the Śivabrahmaṇas for misappropriation of temple lands, and 7 *kaḻañju* and 4 *mañjāḍi* which Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarādittanār who scrutinised the temple accounts had added to make up the deficit. The four *vāriyar* of Tīkkālivallam, the two *vāriyar* of Mandiram, and two *kaṇgāṇis* were to look after the expenditure in future. Paddy quoted at forty *kāḍi* per *kaḻañju*. Rate of interest 12%. 218 of 1921. §

,, *Tiruvārūr* (Tj.)—Mentions the building of a stone shrine in the temple of Tiruvaraneṟi-āḻvār by Śembiyan Mahādēviyār, and the setting up of two images in it by the same lady, and records that she presented 234 *kāśu*, invested with the sabhā of Aḍiyappi-catm., for daily requirements, additions to the temple and repairs. 571 of 1904.

* A title of Bāṇa Vikramāditya I.

† 26th September 991 A.D. *EI.* iv p. 66, Kielhorn.

‡ Perhaps an otherwise unknown son of Madhurāntaka the immediate predecessor of Rājarāja I - Hultzsch. cf. 283 of 1906 of Yr. 4.

§ This settlement is quoted in 227 of 1921 of Yr. 4, day 114 of Rājēndra I.

Year 7.—*Tiruveṟumbūr* (Tri.)—Money for feeding six Brahmans versed in the Vēda by Ilāḍarāyar Pugaḷvippavar-gaṇḍan Vira śōḻan. * 116 of 1914.

„ *Uyyakkoṇḍān Tirumalai* (Tri.)—2,432 *kaḻañju* of gold to Uyyakkoṇḍa-nāyanār † temple for festivals by sabhā of Rājāśraya-catm. 457 of 1908.

„ *Vṛddhācalam* (SA.)—90 sheep for lamp, and a lamp-stand, by Malaiyavvai-dēviyār, daughter of Pottappic-cōḻar Śattiyaraiyar and queen of Irungōḷa Prithipati Amanimallar. Also 2 *mā* of land for flower-garden.
49 of 1918.

Year 8.—*Īlambākkam* (Tri.)—Lamp to Śrī Kṛṣṇa Perumāḷ at Tiruvāypāḍi by a resident of Dantivarma-mangalam.
708 of 1909.

„ *Darśanakkōppu* (Tv.)—(*Vaṭṭeḷuttu*). Kāndaḷūr-śālaik-kalam-aṟutta. Mentions a meeting in the *dēvadāna* Tiruvarankōppu of the Karaṇattār for looking into the Taḷikkaṇakku and Śavaikkaṇakku. (Frag.)
TAS. i. p. 238.

„ *Kīlappaluvūr* (Tri.)—Paḷai Iḷaiya Iraṇamukha-rāman killed Kaikkōḷa Baladēvan Vayiri in a duel (*uruvik-kutti*); Aḍigaḷ Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇḍan Maṟavanār adjudged the case and as a result 90 sheep were given by the culprit for a lamp.
109 of 1895; *SII*. v. 670.

„ *Marudāḍu* (NA.)—Land for a lamp by residents (*nāṭṭōm*) of Marudāḍu to the Perundirukkōyil-āḻvār temple for the merit of Kalipperumān of Mākaṇūr Pūttuṟai who fell that Marudāḍu may not be destroyed. ‡
411 of 1912.

„ *Puñcapāṇḍavamalai* (NA.)—Remission by Uḍaiyār Vīra-śōḻar, son of Uḍaiyār Ilāḍarājar Pugaḷvippavar-gaṇḍan,

* *EI*. iv pp. 136 ff.

† Called Tirukkaṟkuḍi-Viḻumiya-dēvar in other 10th century records. *ARE*. 1909 II 42.

‡ Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, pp. 186 ff.

of karpūra-vilai and anniyāyavāva-daṇḍavirai in the village of Kūraganpāḍi, an *iraiyilip-paḷḷiccandam*, on a representation from his wife Ilāḍa-mādēviyār that the collection of these dues by previous (*kīḻppagal-āṇḍa*) Ilāḍarājar affected this charity (Tiruppānmalai) adversely. 19 of 1890 ; *EI.* iv. p. 139.

Year 8.—*Reḍḍipāḷem* (Nel.)—Lamp by Mummuḍi Vaitumba Mahārājan *alias* Viṣṇu-dēvan *alias* Durai Araśan. *NI.* G. 88.

" *Tiruvaḍandai* (Ch.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla*. Īḻam, but not Raṭṭapāḍi. Sabhā and ūr agree to maintain a lamp to Śrī Bhaṭṭāraki of Sri Varāha-dēva, the goddess set up by a merchant of Mylapore, who gave also 15 *kaḻañju* of gold towards the lamp. 261 of 1910.

" *Tiruvirāmīśvaram* (Tj.)—Land for lamp and offerings by Kuḍiraikkāra Śōbhanayyan. 146 of 1911.

Year 9.—*Āḍuturai* (Tj.)—Some temple land reclaimed by Śembiyan Mādēviyār, mother of Uttama Cōḷa-dēva, and called Śembiyan Mahādēvi. 362 of 1907.

" *Kiḻūr* (SA.)—Gold for lamp by Kundaṇan Amirtavalli, the mother of queen Ulōka-mahādēviyār ; it was deposited with the Tiruvuṇṇāḻigai sabhai. Also *Īḻa-viḷakku* worth two *kāśu*. 239 of 1902 ; *EI.* vii. p. 144.

" *Kuhūr* (Tj.)—Sale of land to temple by some persons called Kōliyakkuḍaiyār, who were unable to raise the money for paying som fines imposed on them. Mentions the harassing of royal officials in collecting the fine. 277 of 1917.

" *Mēlappaḻuvūr* (Tri)—Rājakēsari. Money for lamp given to the temple servants by an inhabitant of Avanikandarpapuram. Mentions Aḍigaḷ Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇḍan Maṛavan. * 382 of 1924.

* cf. 395 of year 16 Uttama Cōḷa. Hence this Rājak. is Rājarāja I - who has no attributes up to year 9, becomes Kāndaḷūr-śālaik-kalam-aṟutta in years 10-12, and has later on the *Tirumagaḷ* introduction. *ARE*, 1924 II 10. Kāndaḷūr expedition placed in the middle of 995 A.D. because some records of year 10 (234, 248 of 1926) mention it while others (193 of 1926) do not *ARE*. 1926 II 23.

Year 9.—*Mēlpāḍi* (C.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Īḻam and Raṭṭapāḍi included. 96 sheep for lamp ; liquid measure Rājakēsari.
97 of 1921. *

„ *Paṇḍāravāḍai* (Tj)—Silver plate and bronze stand to temple by Śembiyan Mahādēvi. 262 of 1923.

„ *Tirugōkarṇam* (Pd.)—Land for up-keep of a tank by a Brahman from the Cōḷa country. 307 of 1904.

„ *Tiruneḍungaḷam* (Tri.)—Land for (feeding) Śivayōgins.
687 of 1909.

„ *Tiruppuṛambiyam* (Tj.)—Some gold ornaments and a silver vessel were made out of the savings of the temple treasury between the second and ninth years of the reign. 78 of 1897 ; *SII.* vi. 28.

„ *Tiruvāḍuturai* (Tj.)—Land as *nṛtya-bhōga*, on behalf of the temple, by the assembly of Śāttanūr met in the hall (*catuśśālai*) to Kumaran Śrī-kaṇḍan who had the *śākkai-kāṇi* of the village, for acting the seven *ankas* of the *Āriyakkūttu* on festival days in Purattāśi in the temple of Tiruvāḍuturai-āḻvār. Provision is made for the supply of rice flour, betel leaves and areca nuts, *ghī* for mixing collyrium and turmeric.
120 of 1925.

„ *Tiruviḍaimarudūr* (Tj.)—Gift of ornaments to Umābhaṭṭāraki by a servant of Nambirāṭṭiyār Śrī Pañcavan-Mahādēviyār of Kōdaṇḍarāma-vēḷam of Tañjāvūr.
278 of 1907.

Year 9, day 158.—*Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—Decision of the Mahāsabhā about the payment of fines imposed on several castes and communities of the place either in the king's courts or otherwise †. Mentions the *mukha-maṇḍapa* of the Tulābhāra Śrī-kōyil ‡ where the assembly held its sittings. 197 of 1923.

* Year doubtful (9). † *contra AKF.* 1923 II 28.

‡ Probably the Sundara Varada temple whence the inscription comes. Perhaps the king performed a Tulābhāra here. *ibid.*

Year 10.—*Darśanakkōppu* (Tv.)—(*Vaṭṭeḻuttu*). Kāndaḷūrc-cālaik-kalam-aṟutta. One lamp by the sabhā for the merit of Pullanārāyaṇan. *TAS.* i. p. 239.

„ *Kaṇḍamangalam* (SA.)—Kāndaḷūr-śalai. Land to temple Śētāngi-viṇṇagar Paramasvāmin by the assembly met in Tirukkāvaṇam in front of Vīranārāyaṇa Viṇṇagar at Tribhuvanamādēvi-catm. Another fragment related to a gift of land by Gaṇḍarādittan Madhurāntakan. 356 of 1917.

„ *Kīḻappaḻuvūr* (Tri.)—Kāndaḷūr-śalai. Land by Araiyan Sundaraśōḻan of the *perundiṟam* of Paḻuvēttaraiyar Kaṇḍan Maṟavanār for the supply every day of a garland made of two *nāḻi* of tumbai flowers: '*irunāḻit-tumbai-paḷḷittāmam.*' 106 of 1895 ; *SII.* v. 667.

„ *Kuhūr* (Tj.)—Kāndaḷūr-śālai. Land and house-site to Āditya Īśvara temple for the Śittirait-tiruviḻā in the shrine of Nambi Arūran, by the ūr and kāṇiyuḍaiya Kōliyakkuḍaiyārgaḷ. 299 of 1917.

„ *Kūram* (Ch.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* A *sabhā-śrīmukham* of the sabhā of Kūram providing for repairs etc., of a *maṭha.* 33-A of 1900 ; *SII.* vii. 34.

„ * *Sucīndram* (Tv.)—(*Vaṭṭeḻuttu*). Fifty sheep with the Mūlaparaḍai-sabhai for lamp to Tiruc-civindirattu-mahādēva by Īḻanāṭṭu Maḷavaraiyan Śenni Kaṇḍan. 71 of 1896 ; *EI.* v. p. 44 ; *TAS.* i. p. 238-9.

„ *Tiṇḍivanam* (SA.)—Śālaik-kalam-aṟutta. Land, 2910 *kuḻi*, reclaimed for a musician who was to play on the lute (*vīṇai*) and a vocalist to accompany the lute in the Tiṇḍīśvara temple at Kiḍangil. 141 of 1900 ; *SII.* vii. 154.

„ *Tiruccengōḍu* (Coi.)—(Copper-plate). Rājakēsari. (*A*) An order of Maḷavaraiyan Sundaraśōḻa that the *iṟai* collected by him from the Nagarattār of Tūśiyur viz.,

* The astronomical data in this record reduce the king's accession to 25th June - 25 July A. D. 985. Kielhorn, *EI.* vi. p. 20

muḻumanai-kālum arai-manai araikkālum, shall be in the form of *niṟa-iṟai*; and that in the case of dues under *daṇḍanguṟṟam*, the practice of Nandipura shall be followed. (*B*) Kollimaḻavan Piradigaṇḍan * makes an endowment for the merit of his father who died in Ceylon (*engaḷ-āccar-īḻattuppaḍa avar śrīmadāhattukkuc-ciṟupāḍu.*) *SII.* iii. 212.

Year 10.—*Tirumālpuram* (NA.)—Kāndaḷūr-śālai etc. Gold by Kuḷakkuḍaiyan Aruṇilai Śrikṛṣṇan *alias* Mūvēnda Piḍavūr Vēḷār. A *tiruppadiyam* beginning Kōlanār-kuḻal composed by the father of the donor in praise of Gōvindapāḍi-āḻvār was to be sung at a festival.
333 of 1906.

" *Tiruviḍaimarudūr* (Tj.)—Kāndaḷūr-śālai. Gift of a gold flower by one Hṛdayaśiva of Tirupputtūr.
197 of 1907.

" *Tiruviḍaimarudūr* (Tj.)—Kāndaḷūr-śālai. Gold image of Umāsahitar by queen Pañcavan Mahādēvi.
254 of 1907.

" *Tiruviśalūr* (Tj.)—Kāndaḷūr-śalai. Money for lamp to Tiruviśalūr-perumāḷ at Avaninārāyaṇa-catm., a *dēvadāna* and *brahmadēya*. 3 of 1907.

" *Tribhuvani* (Pondicherry)—Kāndaḷūr-śālai. Land, by purchase, for water supply and a lamp. The tank, Kōkkiḻānaḍipperēri, is mentioned among the boundaries.
196 of 1919.

" *Uyyakkoṇḍān - Tirumalai* (Tri.) — Kāndaḷūr - śālai. Gift, by Sembiyan Mādēviyār, mother of Kaṇḍan Madhurāntaka-dēvan *alias* Śrī Uttama Cōḷa-dēva, to Śrī Kaṟkuḍi Viḻumiyār at Nandipanma-mangalam, of a jewelled crown comprising: gold 149 *kaḻañju*; silver 190 odd *kaḻañju*; *muttu* (pearl) 700 in number; *māṇikkam* 3; and diamond (*vayiram*) 27.
95 of 1892; *SII.* iv. 542. †

* cf. *SII.* iii. 213 of year 5.

† 459 of 1908 seems to be same record.

Year 10. — *Vijayanārāyaṇam.* (Tin.) — (*Vaṭṭeḻuttu*)-Kāndaḷūr-śālai. Land as *śālābhōga* purchased from sabhā as *iṟaiyili*, and fifty sheep for lamp to Manōmaya Īśvarattu Perumānaḍigaḷ ; charities under supervision of sabhā. 7 of 1927.

Year 11.*—*Bāhūr* (Pondicherry.)—Śālaik-kalam-aṟutta. Provision by sabhā of Vākūr for annual repairs to the tank at Bāhūr, at the rate of *padakku-nel* per *pū* per *mā* of land in the village. 178 of 1902 ; *SII.* vii. 805.

„ *Brahmadēśam* (NA.)—Śālaik - kalam - aṟutta. Village called Rājamalla † catm. of Tiruvēgambapuram in (Dāmar)-kōṭṭam. 190 of 1915.

„ *Kōnērirājapuram* (Tj.)—Kāndaḷūr-śālai. Gift by Uḍaiya-pirāṭṭiyār for singing the Tiruppadiyam. (?) ‡ 631 of 1909.

„ *Olagapuram* (SA.)—Kāndaḷūr-śālai. Land for offerings to shrine of Ivvūr-teṟkil-vāśal-mahāśattanār by Nagarattār of Ulagamādēvipuram. 144 of 1919.

„ *Takkōlam* (NA.) — Śālaik-kalam-aṟutta Rājarājakēsari. Twenty-five *kaḻañju* of gold deposited with Maṇaiyiṟ-kōṭṭattut-tiruvūṟal-purattuc-ciṟūr-ūrōm who undertook to supply paddy to the temple. 3 of 1897 ; *SII.* v. 1366.

„ *Tennēri* (Ch.)—Gift of vessels to temple by Sembiyan Mahādēviyār. Engraved on stone by sabhā by royal order. 199 of 1901 ; *SII.* vii. 411.

„ *Tirukkōṣṭhiyūr*(Rd.)—(*Vaṭṭeḻuttu*)-Rājarājakēsari. Land, by purchase, for a lamp and for a Brahman for explaining the Prābhākaram, by a native of Śatta-mangalam in Tiraimūr-nāḍu. 333 of 1923.

* Sunday 14th June, A.D. 996-Kielhorn *EI.* vii. p. 169.

† Possibly after a Ganga king - *ARE.* 1916 II 8.

‡ Purpose of grant not in the text, *contra* *ARE* 1910 II 18.

Year 11.—*Tirumālpuram* (NA.)—Kāndaḷūr-śālai. Sheep for lamp by a native of the Cōḷa country to the shrine of Anuma-dēva in the Viṣṇu temple. 335 of 1906.

" *Tiruvālīśvaram* (Tin.)—(*Vaṭṭeḻuttu*) - Kāndaḷūr - śālai. Land. Village called Rājarāja-catm. 119 of 1905. *

" *Tiruveṟumbūr* (Tin.)—Kāndaḷūr-śālai. 34 sheep for lamp to Gaṇapati in the local temple. The donor was one of the *āḷuṅgaṇattār* of the village (*ivvūr-yāḷuṅgaṇt-tār.)* 98 of 1914.

" *Tiruvirāmīśvaram* (Tj.)—Land for lamp by one of the *āḷuṅgaṇattār* of the *brahmadēya* village, Madanamañjari-catm. 136 of 1911.

" *Valappuranadu* (Sm.)— Kāndaḷūr-śālaik-kalam-aṟutta. The *śaṭṭapperumakkaḷ* of Tiruvaṟappaḷḷi received gold for a lamp from a merchant, Malaiyamān Śeṭṭi. Mentions the weight *malaikkal.* 498 of 1930.

Year 11, day 164.—*Tennēri* (Ch.)—Śālaik-kalam-aṟutta. The great assembly met in the *brahmasthāna* of the village and made the rule that only Brahmans well-versed in the mantras were eligible for appointment as *vāriyam-śeyvār* and for taking part in the deliberations of the assembly. Tennēri called Uttama Śōḷa-catm. *Nammūril mantra-brāhmaṇam vallārēy vāriyañjeyvārāgavum sabhā-māṟṟañjolluvārāgavum . . . mantrabrāhmaṇam-āṟṟādēy vāriyañjeydāraiyum sabhā-māṟṟañjonnārai-yum tiruvāṇai-maṟuttār paḍum-daṇḍappaḍuvārāga.* 241 of 1922.

Year 11, day 220. *Tennēri* (Ch.)—Śālaik-kalam-aṟutta. *Vyavasthā* of sabhā: *Nammūril brahmasvaṅgoṇḍārum mēlp-paḍukuṟṟam-muḍaiyārum nammūr-vāriyañjeyavum sabhā-māṟṟañjollavum peṟādārāgavum. Ikkuṟṟan-gaḷuḍaiyār vāriyañjeydārum sabhā-māṟṟañjonnārum kaṇakkar irupāḍu-kāṭṭinārum tiruvāṇai-maṟuttār paḍum daṇḍa(m) paḍuvārāga.* 240 of 1922.

* Why is Rājarāja's conquest of the Pāṇḍyas not mentioned earlier than his year 14 ? - *ARE.* 1905 II 13.

Year 12—*Kāñcipuram* (Ch.) — Kāndaḷūr-śālai. Rājarājakēsari. Loan from temple to sabhā who agree to remit paddy as interest. *SII.* i. 146.

„ *Kīḻappaḻuvūr* (Tri.)—Śālaik-kalam-aṟutta. Lamp by Aiyāṟan Kānan, a Kaikkōḷan of Aḍigaḷ Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar, for merit of a person killed by him (*paḍakkutta*). 122 of 1895 ; *SII.* v. 683.

„ *Kōnērirājapuram* (Tj.)—Śālaik-kalam - aṟutta. Silver image (of God ?) and copper image of Caṇḍēśvara by Nakkan Nallattaḍigaḷ, one of the Rājarājatteriñja Kaikkōḷar, and the son of Aṇukkan Mahāmalli, a *peṇḍāṭṭi* in the *vēḷām* of Rajākēsari. 627 of 1909.

„ *Kuhūr* (Tj.)—Śālaik-kalam-aṟutta. Land by residents of Kuhūr to Piḷḷai Nambi Ārūranār who sang the Tiruppadiyam hymns. 275 of 1917.

„ *Paṇḍāravāḍai* (Tj.)—A gold pot, 20 *kaḻañju*, by Śembiyan Mahādēvi for the merit of her son Uttama Cōḷa. 263 of 1923.

„ * *Pullamangai* (Tj.)—Śālaik-kalam-aṟutta. Assembly of Pullamangalam met in the temple to the beat of the drum and made gifts of land, one *vēli* wet land and 440 *pārtti* of garden land to some Brahmans versed in the *Sāma* and *Ṛgvēda.* 553 of 1921.

„ *Tinnevelly* (Tin.)—(*Vaṭṭeḻuttu*)-Kāndaḷūr-śālai. Land for offerings to Brahmapuri-dēvar at Tirunelvēli. 84 of 1927.

„ *Tirumālpuram* (NA.)—Kāndaḷūr-śālai. An agreement of the villagers of Paḷugūr regarding terms of an endowment in their charge. Mentions the fact that Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarādittar had fined the men in charge of the store-room in the 4th year of the king's reign † ; also the 14th year of a king whose name is lost. 282 of 1906.

* Decr. 28 A. D. 996. - *ARE.* 1922 App. E.

† cf. 283 of yr. 4.

Year 12.—*Tiruvadi* (SA.)—Śālaik-kalam-aṟutta. Tax-free gift of eighteen plots of land (*śeru*) by the sabhā of Avaiyanūr to the temple of Jalaśayana-mahādēva of that village. 418 of 1921.

,, *Tiruvadi* (SA.)—Śālaik-kalam-aṟutta. The assembly of Raṇadhāra-mangalam in Avaiyanūr-nāḍu, a division of Tirumunaippāḍi, agreed to furnish the *dēvadāna* lands of the temple of Jalaśayana-dēva, 18¾ *śeru* of land, with water for irrigation from the irrigation tank of the village. 419 of 1921.

,, * *Tiruvaṇḍarkōyil* (Pondicherry).—The assembly of Tribhuvana-mahādēvi-catm., met in the *maṇḍapa* built by Mummuḍiśōḻa-umbaḷa-nāṭṭu-vēḷān, remitted taxes on Muṇḍiyan Vaḷḷaippākkam, purchased and given to the temple by Immaḍiśōḻa Mūvēndavēḷān, and fixed the fines to be paid by those who imposed or realised any taxes on it in future. 362 of 1917.

,, *Tiruvirāmīśvaram* (Tj.)—Śālaik-kalam-aṟutta. Money for two lamps. Madanamañjari-catm., a *brahmadēya* in Nenmali-nāḍu. 119 of 1911.

Year 12, day 231.—*Tennēri* (Ch.)—Śālaik-kalam-aṟutta. Sabhā orders *daṇḍakkāṇam* to be collected from Vikkiyaṇṇan *alias* Vikrama-cōḷa-brahmādarāyan.
202 of 1901 ; *SII.* vii 414.

Year 13—*Kāmarasavalli* (Tri.)—Śālai. Fifteen *kaḻañju* of gold, interest (2½ *kaḻañju*) being payable to those who recited the Talavakāra Sāmavēda on the day of Mārgaḻi Tiruvādirai, each reciter being fed and paid 1¼ *kaḻañju* in gold. 76 of 1914.

,, *Kammarasandra* (Mys.)—Ś. 920. † Kanarese. Noḷamba Ayyapa-dēva's son Gannarasa was governing part of Daḷigavāḍi. 169 of 1911 ; *EC.* ix. Ht. 111.

* December 1st, A.D. 996-L.D.S. in *ARE.* 1918 App. E

† Date Ś. 92(3) in *ARE.* where 'Hēmaḷambi', the corresponding cyclic year, is noted to be wrong. This is the earliest Cōḷa record in Mysore (Rice, Intr. p. 14). But see *MAR.* 1917 p. 42.

Year 13.—*Tirugōkarṇam* (Pd.)—Kāndaḷūr-śālai. Money for payment of taxes. 310 of 1904.

„ *Tirukkaḍaiyūr* (Tj.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Purchase of some lands with money from the treasury of Tiruviraṭṭānamuḍaiya Paramasvāmin, at the instance of the sabhā of Paḍa-ēviya Kaḍavūr, for Udayaśandiran Amudakan *alias* Kālakāla Māyilaṭṭi, a merchant residing in the village, who got it made rent-free by the assembly, with the stipulation that he should pay a fixed quantity of paddy to the temple every year for expenses of worship and of three lamps. 242 of 1925.

„ *Tirumakkōṭṭai* (Tj.) — Kāndaḷūr-śālai. The assembly of Paḻaiya Śembiyan-mādēvi-catm. issued a new sale deed, in place of an old document lost, to a certain Parakēsari Viḻupparaiyan, the headman of Puravar-eḻilūr, for certain lands which they had sold to him. Refers to about the fourth year of Madilēṛi-eḻundaruḷina Rājakēsari-varman.* "*Iṛaikāval*" explained. 266 of 1917.

„ *Tiruvallam* (NA.)—Kāndaḷūr-śālai. The supervisor of the temple of Tiruttīkkāli-āḻvār, Mummuḍi-śōḻa Pōśan, finding that one of the directors (*gaṇattar*) of the village had received 25 *pon*, *dharmakaṭṭaḷai-tuḷai-niṛai*, for a lamp founded by Śingapirāṭṭiyār, and that his *marumagan* had neglected to maintain it, now made a gift of 600 *kuḻi* of his land for continuing the charity. 208 of 1921.

„ *Tiruvallam* (NA.)—Kāndaḷūr-śālai. Some ornaments made and handed to the sabhā from 40 *kaḻañju* and 7 *mañjāḍi* of gold accumulated from various sources in the treasury of the temple. Also a lamp and jewelled ornament by Mummuḍi-śōḻa Pōśar, the supervisor of the temple. (See 208 of 1921.)
210 of 1921.

„ *Tiruvallam* (NA.) — Kāndaḷūr-śālai. 10 *kaḻañju* of gold with the sabhā to Tīkkāli-āḻvār by Īrāyira

* Probably the king's father Sundara Cōḻa-*ARE.* 1918 II 25.

Pallavaraiyan *alias* Mummuḍi-śōḷa Pōśar of Araiśūr for the *Pavitrārōhaṇa* festival. Rate of interest 3 *mañjāḍi* per *kaḻañju* per annum yielding 1½ *kaḻañju*.
216 of 1921.

Year 13.—*Ukkal* (NA.)—Śālai. Record by the Mahāsabhā of Vikramābharaṇa-catm. of a private endowment of 500 *kuḻi* of land for 4 *nāḻi* of *tiruvamudu* every day at noon for Tiruvāymoḻi-dēva of the place. The land was made tax-free after receipt of a lump payment by the sabhā. 20 of 1893 ; *SII.* iii. 2.

Year 14.—*Agaram* (SA.)—A new introduction mentioning Taḷakkāḍu. Fragment. Sale of land. 376 of 1922.

" *Araśāṇimangalam* (Ch.)—Kāndaḷūr-śālai. Gift by a certain lady of a foot-rest, a seat (*meytāngi*), 90 sheep for a lamp, and utensils to god Tiruvāvi-bhaṭṭārakar at Araśāṇimangalam in Venkuṉṟa-kōṭṭam.
343 of 1923.

" *Kalakattūr* (Ch.)—New introduction. *Taṇḍēvi* etc. Mummuḍi-śōḷa Rājarājakēsari. Provision by Kāḍan Mayindan for two lamps in the temple of Ūruṇi-āḻvār at Kaḷakkāṭṭūr, a *śālābhōga* at the instance of the king who desired a gift of only one lamp for the prosperity of all kings and of the world at large. Liquid measure *niṉṟā-nāḻi*. Land for one lamp and sheep for another.
121 of 1923.

" *Kuhūr* (Tj.)—Land, by purchase, for lamp to Ādityēśvara at Kūhūr by a merchant of the Tribhuvana-mahādēvip-pērangāḍi outside Tañjāvūr. Mentions Viḍēlviḍugu-tukkācci-catm. 279 of 1917.

" *Mēlpāḍi* (C.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* The assembly of Tiruvallam get gold, *tuḷai-niṟai* 15 *kaḻañju*, and assign 1000 *kuḻi* of land by Siṟṟambalattuk-kōl to a person residing in Śankarappāḍi in Arumoḻi-dēvap-perunderu of this Rājāśrayapuram, who had to supply ¼ measure of *ghī* every day for a lamp. The gold was given by a well-known officer of Rājarāja and his son, Śōṇāṭṭut-

tenkaraip-pāmbuṇik-kūṟṟattu Araiśūruḍaiyān Īrāyiravan Pallavaraiyan *alias* Mummuḍi-śōḻa Pōśan.
87 of 1889 ; *SII.* iii. 19. *

Year 14.—*Mēlpāḍi* (C.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Boundary of *dēvadāna* lands given tax-free to Cōḻēndra-simhēśvara from the 10th year, including those mentioned in No. 102 of year 10 and day 107 of Parak. Rājēndra. Interesting details of restrictions and privileges relating to irrigation and crops, as in the Tamil part of the Tiruvālangāḍu plates. 103 of 1921.

„ *Podavūr* (Ch.)—New introduction †. 90 sheep for lamp.
67 of 1923.

„ *Sucīndram* (Tv.) — (*Vaṭṭeḻuttu*). Kāndaḷūr-śālaik-kalam-aṟutu Gangapāḍiyum Nuḷumbapāḍiyum Taḍiygavaḻiyum Vēngai-nāḍum-koṇḍa Kō. ‡ Fixes dues from the tenants (*mun kīḻk-kārāṇmaiyuḍaiya kuḍigaḷ*) of Ten-Vaḷanallūr who held from Nṛpaśēkhara Vaḷanallūr, a *dēvadāna* of Rājarāja Vaḷanāṭṭu-Nāñjināṭṭu-brahmadēyam Sujindirattu-emberumān.
75 of 1896 ; *TAS.* iv. pp. 129-30 § ; *EI.* v. pp. 44-5.

„ *Tirunāgēśvaram* (Tj.)—Śālai, Gangapāḍi etc. The sabhā of Nallūrc-cēri sell land tax-free to Tirunāgīśvaram-uḍaiya-mahādēva for 40 *kaḻañju* endowed by Ariñjigaippirāṭṭi *alias* Bāṇap-perundēvi, the daughter of Piḷḷaiyār Arikulakēsariyār. 81 of 1897.
SII. vi. 31 ; 82 of 1897, *SII.* vi. 32 is similar.

„ *Tirunāgēśvaram* (Tj.)—Rājarāja Rājakēsari. Sale of 1½ *vēli* of land to temple by the assembly of Mādānamangalam, a *brahmadēya.* Tirunāgēśvaram is called a *dēvadāna.* The cost of the land, 101 *kaḻañju,* 6 *mā*

* Later on, under Rājēndra, Uttamaśōḻa Pallavaraiyan. *SII.* ii. p. 222 n. 4.

† cf. 376 of 1922.

‡ Same form in 22 of 1906-Tirukkaḍaiyūr, year 14 : 81 of 1897-Tirunāgēśvaram year 14 ; 23 of 1905-Tirukkaḍaiyūr year 15 which adds Kuḍamalai-nāḍu, and others.

§ Here T.A.G. Rao accepts the naval victory of Kāndaḷūr (p. 128).

and 1 *kāṇi*, was the fund formerly deposited for offerings by princess Ariñjigaip-pirāṭṭiyār. Mentions the processes involved in making *tuḷai-pon.* *

218 of 1911.

Year 14.—*Tiruppaḷanam* (Tj.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* (No mention of Kalinga and Īḻam.) Kamban Maṇiyan *alias* Vikkirama-śinga-mūvēnda-vēḷān got a *marakata-dēvar* from the king, from the booty obtained in Malnāḍ, and consecrated it in the temple at Tiruppaḷanam.

135 of 1928.

„ *Tiruveṇṇainallūr* (S.A.)—*Tirumagaḷ - pōla.* Provision for feeding a man who had to bale out water for the sacred bath and blow the conch at Tiruvaṛattuṛai-āḻvār temple. 420 of 1921.

Year 14, day 258.—*Mēlpāḍi* (C.) Kōnēr-yinmai-koṇḍān. Land in several villages to Mahādēva of the Coḷēndrasiṁhēśvara temple constructed by the king in the city of Rājā-śraya-puram, after cancelling the old name Mēṛpāḍi *alias* Vīranārāyaṇapuram. † 101 of 1921.

Year 15.—*Agaram* (SA.) — *Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Sale of land to Mahāśāstā temple by a Kramavittan, one of the managing members (*yāḷunganam*) of Nṛpatongac-cayantāngi-catm. ‡ 369 of 1922.

„ *Kāyār* (Ch.)— *Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Sale of land by the assembly of Kāyār to a person for a lamp to god Āḍēri-dēva. 440 of 1922.

„ *Kiḷaiyūr* (Tj.)—Sale of 7 *mā* of land tax-free to Śrī-Kṛṣṇa temple by the big assembly of Tiruvaḷundūr for 15 *kāśu* got from Vaḷikkōṭṭunai-guṇa-śīlan (cf. 91 of year 17) who is also said to have set up the image of goddess in the temple. 93 of 1925.

* cf. preceding entry; also 215 of 1911 (Rājak. 9.)

† cf. 103 of 1921 (*ante*).

‡ This may have owed its existence to Kayirūr Perumānār of a Parāntaka inscription (*EI.* vii p. 141) *ARE*. 23 II 28. The śāstā is called Kayirūr Ayyanār in 370 of 1922 of year 15 from same place.

Year 15 *.— *Maṇimangalam* (Ch.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Land to Tiruvāyppāḍi Śrī-Kṛṣṇa Perumāḷ. The Mahāsabhā of Ulōka-mahādēvi-catm. (Maṇimangalam) met *taṉṉirp-pandalilē dharmi-śeydu* (?).

289 of 1897 ; *SII.* vi. 267.

" *Mēlappaḻuvūr* (Tri.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Land, one *mā*, reclaimed by Nakkan Kumarakkan, daughter of Dēvar-magaḷ Nakkan Periya Arangapirān, for offerings and worship on special days to the two gods in the temple of Avanikaṇḍarpa Īśvaram. Mentions Aḍigaḷ Paḻuvēṭ-ṭaraiyar Kaṇḍan Maṟavan. 363 of 1924.

" *Śērmādēvi* (Tin.)—(*Vaṭṭeḻuttu*)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Only the introduction is preserved.

182 of 1895 ; *EI.* v. p. 46.

" † *Sucīndram* (Tv.)—(*Vaṭṭeḻuttu*)-*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* The Mahāsabhā of Tiruccivindiram met in the *agraśālā*, being summoned by *kāḷam* and *kuṟi* (*kāḷmūdiviccuk-kuṟi-śātti*). The *Mūlaparuḍa-sabhā* managing the affairs of the temple under the Mahāsabhā said that they could no longer remit the *iṟai* on the *dēvadānas* of the temple or manage its affairs, and in this they were joined by their tenants (*paraḍaik-kuḍiyilār*), and having thus resigned everything into the hands of the Mahāsabhā, they undertook to pay a fine of 15 *kaḻañju* if they revived their claims individually (*taniccuttu-ḍaril*) at any time, and 50 *kaḻañju* of *śeydāra-pon* if the tenants (*kuḍigaḷ*) did so, and not to set up any claims even after paying these fines. Thereupon, the Mahāsabhā ordered that two *vāriyar* of their choice and the Karaṇattān must together manage the affairs of the temple thereafter, and provided for the remuneration in paddy of each of them every day.

85 of 1896 ; *EI.* v. p. 45 ; *TAS.* ii. pp. 1-8.

" *Tiruveṇkāḍu* (Tj.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Gold. Mentions treasures taken by Rājarāja from the Cēra king.

443 of 1918.

* Thursday 27th April, A. D. 999 Kielhorn, *EI.* v. p. 198.

† Tuesday 29th August A. D. 999. Kielhorn, *EI.* v. p. 48.

Year 15. — *Vṛddhācalam* (SA.)—Gift of *śrī-muḍi*, weight 9 *kaḷañju*, 9 *mañjāḍi* and 7 *mā*; inner silver cover 206½ *kaḷ*., and 4 *mañjāḍi*; 3 *māṇikkam*, 36 *vayiram* and 1998 pearls assorted, by Śembiyan Mahādēvi. *

48 of 1918.

Year 16.—*Brahmadēśam* (NA.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla*. Land for recitation of the Tiruppadiyam in the temple.

199 of 1915.

" *Hebbani* (Mys.) — Kan. Navakhaṇḍa-maṇḍalamum † daṇḍattigoṇḍa. The king's general was Noḷambādhirāja who gave Perbaṇṇa (Hebbaṇi) to the plunderer of Kaḍiyaṇṇa (Kāḍuveṭṭi ?); and a farmer of the place repaired the big tank which had breached its bank.

EC. x. Mb. 208; 100 of 1899.

" *Kiḷiyanūr* (SA.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla*. Gift of a *kāḷam* by a native of Śōḷa-nāḍu for convoking the assembly of Kiḷiyanūr, a *brahmadēya*. Mentions also that the herald was entitled to get two meals (*śōṟu*) every day from the village. 156 of 1919.

" *Kīḷūr* (SA.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla*. Provides for the supply of temple servants, two persons as *paṇḍāris* by sabhā of Tirukkōvalūr, and other servants by four other villages named. 231 of 1902; *SII*. vii. 858.

" *Kuttālam* (Tj.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla*. 360 *kaḷañju* of gold by Vīra-nāraṇan-kuṭṭattāḷi, a *valangai-vēḷaikkāran*, residing at Kāvirinallūr, for midnight worship to Śonnavāraṛivār. The amount was invested with Kōyil-maḍamuḍaiyān Eḍuttapāḍam-Śeyya-pāḍam *alias* Tiruttuṟutti-piccan, the rate of interest being one *kalam* per annum (on each *kaḷañju*). 106 of 1926.

" *Māmandūr* (Ch.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla*. 46 sheep for half a lamp by Namban Rāman to Rudravālīśvaram Uḍaiya Mahādēva of Narasimha-mangala in Utta(ma ?) Cōḷēśvarapura within Tiruvēgambam to the east of the Citramēgha-taṭāka. 39 of 1888; *SII*. iv. 137.

* 47 of 1918 of Parak, 12—same place.

† *i.e.*, the world *EC*. x. Introduction p. xxiv.

Year 16.—*Śiṟuvakkam* (Ch.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla*. Land for festival in the Mūlasthāna temple of Śiṟupākkam. Mentions the eight members of the *Manṟāḍi-vāriyam* to which was assigned the work of inspecting the produce of temple lands and conducting the festivals with the *mēlvāram* received from the tenants. 66 of 1923.

„ *Śrōtriyam Taṇḍalam* (Ch.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla*. Land as *śrībali-paṭṭi* for the festival of Veḷḷēri-āḷvār by the villagers (ūr) of Sander-Taṇḍalam. 71 of 1923.

„ *Tirumalai* (NA.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla*. (Copy in year 40 of Vīra Narasinga Yādavarāya by Dēśāntari Tiruppuḷḷāṇi-dāsa who rebuilt the temple). A *paṭṭam*,—50 *kaḻañju*, 6 *māṇikkam*, 4 *vayiram* and 28 *muttu*,—by Parānta-dēvi Ammanār, the daughter of Śōramānār, and queen of (Ponmāḷigait-tuñjinān), *viz.*, Dēvi Ammanār. *
61 of 1889 ; *SII.* iv. 293.

„ *Tiruppugalūr* (Tj.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla*. Tax-free grant of land by Nakkan Tillaiyaḻagiyār *alias* Pañcavan Mahādēviyār, queen of Rājarāja, for festival and offerings on the day of Śadaiyam (king's nativity and her own) every month. 47 of 1928.

„ *Tiruppuṟambiyam* (Tj.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla*. Land for two perpetual lamps (*nandāviḷakku*) for the Paḷḷik-kaṭṭil of the goddess by *ivvūr-vaḷañjiyar*.
71 of 1897 ; *SII.* vi. 20.

„ *Tiruvāḍutuṟai* (Tj.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla*. Some money which the sabhā of Śiṟṟānaiccūr owed to their Kaik-kōḷan Kaṟṟaḷi-paṭṭālagan had become *rājasvam* and the king demanded its payment; unable to find the money, and unwilling to collect it from the people owing to fear of migration, the sabhā raised a loan from the temple to pay it off and agreed to make some temple lands *iṟaiyili*. *Kāśu* equal to three-fourths *kaḻañju* and three *mañjāḍi*. 105 of 1925.

* 159 of 1895 under Tiruviḍaimarudūr.

Year 16.—*Tiruvakkarai* (SA.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Gift of a *dēvadāna* village to stone temple of Śivalōka-uḍaiya-Paramasvāmin * built by Śembiyan Mahādēviyār. Allotments for various requirements of the temple.
200 of 1904.

,, *Tiruvallam* (NA.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* The citizens of Vāṇapuram, *i.e.*, Tiruvallam, sold, tax-free, 700 *kuḷi* of land to Tiruvaiyan Śankara-dēva who granted it to Tiruvaiya Īśvara, so called after his father. Tiruvaiyan seems to have claimed descent from the W. Ganga kings : *Gōguṇidhanma-Parama-Dhanma-mahārāja-Nipuṇilapura paramēśvara Śrīnātha Śrīmat-Śiva-Mahārāja Tiruvaiyan-Śankaradēva.*
11 of 1890 ; *SII.* iii. 51.

,, *Tiruviḍaimarudūr* (Tj.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Sale of land by the sabhā of Brahmadēyam Mahēndra-mangalam. Mention of oppression and torture of people by *paḍaiyilār*, and an unsuccessful appeal to the king by them ; also of Ponmāḷigait-tuñjina-dēvar-dēviyār-Śēramānar-Pirāntakan-dēviyammanār. †
159 of 1895 ; *SII.* v. 723.

,, *Trichinopoly* (Tri.)—Land to the shrine of Tiruccirāppaḷḷi at Śirrambar in Uraiyūr-kūrram. 412 of 1904.

,, *Vijayanārāyaṇam* (Tin.) — (*Vaṭṭeḻuttu*). *Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* The sabhā of Vijayanārayaṇa-catm., a *brahmadēya* in Nāṭṭārruppōkku, having assembled in the temple of Śaṭhakōpa - Viṇṇagara - perumānaḍi in the village, exempted from taxes two pieces of land given to the temple by a Brahman. 2 of 1927.

Year 17.—*Karuttaṭṭānguḍi* (Tj.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Sale of land by the Mahāsabhā of Rājakēsari-catm. to Kundavai, the daughter of emperor Pirāntaka and elder sister of the king ; she presented it for a lamp to Karundiṭṭagudi-mahādēva. Mentions a general edict of the king ordering the sale of all lands in Brahman villages held

* Candramauḷīśvara. cf. 95 of 1892 year 10 ; 276 of 1903 year 2(4) *ARE*. 1904 paragraph 20.

† 61 of 1889 under Tirumalai.

by lower castes except the *kāṇi* lands of workmen (*paṇiśeymakkaḷ paṇiśeykāṇiyoḻiya*); and an order based on this from Adigārikaḷ Vānavan Mūvēndavēḷān regulating the manner in which the lands in this place were to be sold for cash and deputing an officer (*Uḍaiyār paṇimakan*) Śāttambiyār. *Iccāttambiyār taṇḍa Mahāsabhaiyōm viṟṟa - nilaviḷaiyāvaṇam.* Attested by several people of the locality (*ivvūr*).
46 of 1897; *SII.* v 1094.

Year 17.—*Kiḷaiyūr* (Tj.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla* (in part). 180 sheep for lamp and *ghī* in the month of Śittirai to the standing Kṛṣṇa in the Citramaṇṭapa of the Tirukkaḍavuḍaiya-emberumān temple at Tiruvaḻundūr by a royal servant named Vaḻikkētuṇai-Guṇaśīlan (cf. 93 of year 15) and his wife Aiyaḍi-puttaki. 91 of 1925.

„ *Maṟkāṇam* (SA.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Ārūran Udayadivākaran Arumoḻi-mūvēndavēḷān of Araiśūr, while he was stationed at Paṭṭanam in Paṭṭana-nādu, enquired into some complaints relating to expenses in the Bhūmiśvara temple and fixed a fresh scale. States that the *tiru-nāḷ* of Rājarāja was Śadaiyam. 28 of 1919.

„ *Sōmūr* (Tri.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Gold diadem, to Tirunōmbalūr Paramēśvara at Dēvanapaḷḷi, made out of fines collected from defaulting temple servants, by the survey officer (*ulagaḷavitta*) Tiruvaḍigaḷ Śāttan who enquired into the expenses of the temple.
199 of 1917.

„ *Tenkarai* (Md.) — (Grantha.) Rājāśraya. A certain Kōdaṇḍa-cōḷa made a gift of land to the temple of Madhubhid (Viṣṇu) in the village of Tēnūr *alias* Jananātha-catm. 132 of 1910.

„ *Tenkarai* (Md.)—(Gr.) *Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Land situated in Perundēnūr by Jananātha Pallavaraiyan *alias* Kōdaṇḍan-śōlai to god Śrī Vīra Kēraḷa Viṇṇagara-dēvar of Naḍuvil-śrī-kōyil of Perundēnūr *alias* Jananātha-catm. in Pāganūr-kūṟṟam. 134 of 1910. *

* No regnal year given in the text.

Year 17.—*Tiruppaḻanam* (Tj.)—Twenty *kaḻañju* gold, converted into land, for lamp, by queen Tennavan Mahādēvi.
123 of 1895 ; *SII.* v. 684.

" *Tiruvaḍandai* (Ch.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* (Īḻam but not Raṭṭapāḍi among conquests). Dedication of twelve families (*paṭṭinavan-kuḍi*) for conducting a festival of seven days, called Rājarāja-dēvar-tirunāḷ (śatabhiṣaj) in the month of Āvaṇi. The families had to pay ¾ *kaḻañju* per head out of their earnings from weaving or venturing on the sea, and to render assistance in celebrating the festival. Other duties and privileges are also mentioned. This was engraved under orders of : (i) Rāman Kumaran *alias* Sōḻa-Mūvēnda-vēḷa-Mārāyan who was *nāḍu-kaṇkāṭci* ; and (ii) Kaṟṟan Ādittan *alias* Dāna-Mūvēndavēḷān Mārāyan who was *nāḍu-vagai.* 274 of 1910.

" *Ukkal* (NA.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* The Mahāsabhā including the (Dhamma)vāriyap-perumakkaḷ for the year, the *Śāttagaṇattār* of the locality (*emmūr*) and some others met in the temple of Mahāśāstā to the north of the *ambalam.* Some gifts were made to the temple and these were left in the charge of the *Śāttagaṇattār*. A fine of one *kaḻañju* was to be laid on those who sold betel-leaves outside the Piḍāri temple and the fine to be collected by the *ēri-vāriyap-perumakkaḷ.* The *madhyastha* made the record. *SII.* iii. 6.

" *Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Sheep for lamp, some being bought from the treasury of Subrahmaṇya-dēvar of Uttaramērūr. Others were endowed by different people, one giving 11¼ sheep for 1/8 lamp.
54 of 1898 ; *SII.* vi. 337.

" *Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* 96 sheep for lamp to the Paramasvāmi who was pleased to stand at the Kongaraiyar-śrī-koyil of Uttaramērūr. The sheep were left with the sabhaiyār of Araśāṇi-mangalam.
173 of 1923.

Year 18.—*Ambāsamudram* (Tin.)—(*Vaṭṭeḻuttu*) Rājarājak. 25 sheep for a lamp to the temple of Tiruppōttuḍaiya-dēvar. 98 of 1905.

„ *Ārpākkam* (Ch.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla*. Gift by purchase of tank and land made tax-free (*kāḍungulamum vilai koṇḍu tirutti iṟaiyiḻicci*) for offerings to Tiruvīra-Viṇṇagar-āḻvār, in the name of Nambirāṭṭiyār Śembiyan Mukkōk-kiḻān-aḍigaḷ *alias* Kannara-Nācci-Piḍāra-nangai, by a certain Arangan Kōdaṇḍarāman of Paṇivaga-mangalam in the Cōḻa country. Liquid measure: *śōḻiyam*. 139 of 1923.

„ *Brahmadēśam* (NA.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla*. Gold for a lamp. The *samvatsaravāriya* of Rājamalla-catm. looking after *grāmakārya* had to see to its proper maintenance on pain of being fined for default by the *Śraddhā-mantar*. 192 of 1915.

„ *Kāñcīpuram* (Ch.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla*. 60 *kaḻañju* of gold by residents of Śiṟu-nanṟaiyur for four lamps in the name of the king to Añjañjaṇḍi Durgaiyār of Kāñcī. 78 of 1921.

„ *Kiḷaiyūr* (Tj.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla*. Provision made by assembly of Tiruvaḻundūr for supply of one *kuṟuṇi* of *ghī* for offerings to Tirukkaḍavuḍaiya-emberumān-neyamuduśeydān on the day of Punarpūśam every month with the interest on the sum of money received from Vaḻikkētuṇai-Guṇaśīlan. (91 of year 17). 95 of 1925.

„ *Kiḷaiyūr* (Tj.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla*. 45 sheep for ½ lamp by Kumaran Pallavaraiyan of Vaḻugūr. Mentions *kāḷigaṇattar*. 99 of 1925.

„ *Tillaisthānam* (Tj.)—Sale of land by *pati-pāda-mūlat-tar, pañcācāryargaḷ, śrīkoyiluḍaiyār* * and *dēva-kanmigaḷ* for being endowed for offerings to the

* These are evidently in apposition. See the compound term below.

temple. The *pati-pāda-mūla-pañcācārya-śrīkoyiluḍai-yār* and the *dēvakarmis* * declare this land free from the obligation to pay *iṟai, eccoṟu, veṭṭi, āṟṟukkulai* or anything else. 46 of 1895; *SII.* v. 603.

Year 18.—*Tirunandikkarai* (Tv.)—(*Vaṭṭeḻuttu.*) *Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Gift of Muṭṭam in Vaḷḷuva-nāḍ to Tirunandikkarai Mahādēva after changing its name to Mummuḍi-śōḻa-nallūr, for a festival and river bath to the god on Śadaiyam day, the king's birthday. *TAS.* i. 291-2.

„ *Tiruppuṟambiyam* (Tj.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* (Mentions conquest of Īḻam.) Land for lamp. 333 of 1927.

„ *Vṛddhācalam* (SA.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Land by residents of Neṟkuppai for the recitation of Tiruppadiyam in the local temple. 40 of 1918.

Year 19.—*Kōṭṭaikarunguḷam* (Tin.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* 25 sheep for lamp to Rāsinga Īśvarattu Bhaṭāra with an army officer *paḍaittalaivan* (of the local garrison ?) living in the place. 272 of 1928. †

;, *Madras Museum*—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Lamp. Mentions Taṇṇiyālattūr in Śinattūr-nāḍu, a sub-division of Puliyūr-kōṭṭam, from Puliyūr near Kōḍambākam to the west of the Mailāpūr tank.

290 of 1895; also 291.

„ *Maṟkāṇam* (SA.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Salt-pan for lamp to Śri-Bhūmīśvarattāḻvār at Rājarājappēraḷam in Maṟakāṇam, a *dēvadāna* in Paṭṭina-nāḍu, a sub-division of Ōymā-nāḍu, by the officer and workers (*kuḍigaḷ*) in the salt-pans. 23 of 1919.

„ *Tiruccengāṭṭanguḍi* (Tj.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Land for feeding in the *maṇḍapa* of Śiṟuttoṇḍa Nambi devotees attending the festival of *Śittirait-tiruvādirai* of Śirāḷa-dēva. 57 of 1913.

* Had these any taxing or assigning powers ?

† The *Vaṭṭeḻuttu* record of Śaḍaiya-Māṟan in this stone temple (270.) makes it more likely that a Pāṇḍya Rājasimha was its builder than the Cēra feudatory of Rājēndra and possibly also of Rājarāja. *ARE.* 1928 II. 5.

Year 19.—*Tiruccengāṭṭanguḍi* (Tj.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Land for *tiruviḷā* to Śiṟuttoṇḍa-nambi, a devotee of Śīrāḷa-dēva of Tiruccengāṭṭanguḍi, by two residents of Marugal. Mentions the revenue survey of the seventeenth year; also the phrase: *mikudik-kuṟai-uḷḷaḍanga* * re: land measurement. 59 of 1913.

„ *Tiruvaḍandai* (Ch.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Thirty *kaḻañju* of gold by a merchant of Tiruvoṟṟiyūr in Puḻār-kōṭṭam to Varāhasvāmi temple. The residents of Taiyūr agreed to pay interest in oil and paddy to the assembly of Tiruvaḍandai for a lamp and for feeding thirty-five Brahmans. 267 of 1910.

„ *Tiruvaḍandai* (Ch.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* (Īḻam but not Raṭṭapāḍi among conquests). 16½ *kaḻañju* of gold by a merchant of Kaḍaṟpār-paḷḷi in Malai-nāḍu for feeding twelve Brahmans in the Varāha-dēva temple during the thirty days of the month of Kumbha. An instance of *vāḍākkaḍan.* 273 of 1910.

„ *Uttanūr* (Mys.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* After 'Kalingamum' in the introduction, we have: "*Kuḍamalai-nāḍum ālkaḍal kaḍandānguru Ni .... ñjiramungoṇḍa tiṇ-ḍiṟal venṟit-taṇḍārkoṇḍa taṇṇeḻil*" etc. Mentions Arumoḻidēva-catm. in Pudal-nāḍu.
459 of 1911; *EC.* x. Mb. 123.

Year 19, day 126.—*Tiruveṇkāḍu* (Tj.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* String of rubies (*māṇikka-nāṇ*) by queen Kūttan Vīra-nārayaṇiyār *alias* Cōḷa-Mahādēviyār.
112 of 1896; *SII.* v. 975.

Year 20.—*Kāmarasavalli* (Tri.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Mentions an executive assembly (*kūṭṭam*) of 80 persons.
62 of 1914.

„ *Śēnūr* (NA.)—A new introduction (beg. lost). Gift of land by ūr of Śeyanallār to the temples of Tiruvagat-tīśvara and Tirumēṟṟaḷi-dēva, on account of the drummers who beat the drums during the *śrībali*

* This is common in the records of the period.

ceremony; the gift was made at the instance of a local officer. 394 of 1911.

Year 19.—*Śōmūr* (Tri.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla*. A *paṭṭam* from three *kaḷañju* of gold collected as *daṇḍam* from the temple authorities. Mentions Rājādēvar Kaikkōḷap-paḍai, Pirāntakat - teriñja - kaikkōḷar, Sundaraśōḷat - teriñja-kaikkōḷar, and Pāṇḍikulāśani-teriñja-kaikkōḷar, and *Iñāḍu - vagai - śeygiṟa Kuḷattūr - uḍaiyār*. The offence thus punished was the failure to bring out the image of the goddess on the day of a solar eclipse. 67 of 1890; *SII.* iv. 391.

„ *Taḍimalingi* (Mys.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla*. Sale of land to temple for offerings for 100 *kāśu* by *tuḷai-niṟai-kempōnāgarasa-niṟaik-kal*. Mentions Periya-Kundavai-āḻvār-bhaṇḍāra and Ponnila-dēvar-bhaṇḍāra. 491 of 1911 *; *EC.* iii. Tn. 35.

Year 20.—*Tirukkōṣṭhiyūr* (Rd.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla*. Sheep for lamp by a cavalier of the king commanding the ..... *vattāṇḍa terinda-valangai-vēḷaikkārar*. Tirukkōṣṭhiyūr is called a *dēvadāna* in Kēraḷaśinga-vaḷa-nāḍu, a sub-division of Rājarāja-vaḷa-nāḍu. 320 of 1923.

„ *Tiruvāḍutuṟai* (Tj.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla*. Agreement between Sadāśiva-bhaṭārar of the *maṭha* at Tiruvaiyāṟu, as manager of the temple of Tiruvāḍutuṟai on the one part, and the assemblies of Śāttanūr (Tiraimūr-nāḍu) and Śiṟṟānaiccūr (Tiruvaḻundūr-nāḍu) on the other, that the latter shall pay the taxes on the temple lands in their villages in lieu of the interest on loans due from them to the temple which they were unable to pay. 121 of 1925.

„ *Tiruvallam* (NA.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla*.—Lamp by Nannamaraiyar or Nannaman, son of Tukkarai of the Vaidumba family ruling over Ingallūr-nāḍu, a district of Mahārājapāḍi. † 14 of 1890; *SII.* iii. 52.

* *MAR.* 1912 p. 38.

† Mahārājavāḍi 7000 with Vallūra for its capital must have been in the Cuddapah district, *SII.* iii. p. 106.

Year 20.—*Tiruveṇkāḍu* (Tj.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Golden bowl (*ponnin kapālam*) by Nambirāṭṭiyār Tiṭṭaipirānderumānār *alias* Śōḷa-mahādēviyār.
111 of 1896 ; *SII.* v. 974.

Year 21.—*Agaram* (SA.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* An officer Parāntaka-śōḷa Mūvēndavēḷān sent an order to the assembly of Nṛpatunga - śayantāngi - catm. that the property of those who ran away without paying the fines imposed on them was to be sold for any price it could fetch and the money credited to the *tālam* (treasury) at Kaccipēḍu and a receipt obtained. This was in turn communicated to the sabhā of Tirunārāyaṇac-cēri, a hamlet of the village, whereupon a certain Kiḷākkil Avanipabhaṭṭa was deprived of his *bhaṭṭasvam* land which was sold to the temple of Mahāśāstā Kayirūr Ayyan in an *ājñākrayam.* 379 of 1922. *

" *Dādāpuram* (SA.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Vessels and ornaments of gold, silver and pearls presented to the temples of Kundavai-viṇṇagar, Iravikula-māṇikka-Īśvara, and Kundavai-jinālaya built by Parāntakan Kundavaip-pirāṭṭiyār, daughter of Ponmāḷigait-tuñjinadēvar, † in the city of Rājarājapuram in Nallūr-nāḍu. Mentions officer Parākramaśōḷa Mūvēnda-vēḷān.
8 of 1919.

Dādāpuram (SA.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Mentions the construction of the three temples at Rājarājapuram (See No. 8 of 1919) by Pirāntakan Kundavaip-pirāṭṭiyār, and records that, on receipt of the royal writ, the officer Ārūran Aravaṇaiyān *alias* Parākramaśōḷa Mūvendavēḷān of Panaiyūr ordered the temple treasury to be examined and the presents to be engraved on stone in the respective temples. 17 of 1919.

Ēmappērūr (SA.) — *Tirumagaḷ - pōla.* Rājarājavarman *alias* Rājarāja-dēva. 96 sheep for lamp. 517 of 1921.

* This record is treated as an instance of rent recovery in *ARE.* 1923 II 29.

† This confirms the identity of this person with Sundara Cōḷa I. The Jaina shrine exists no longer, though the others do. *ARE.* 1919 II 11.

Year 21.—*Tirumalai* (near *Pōḷūr* NA.) — *Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* A verse recording construction of a sluice by Guṇavīra-māmuni, * respected by kings and lord of the cool Vaigai-malai; the sluice caused paddy to grow on either side of the hill and was named after Veṇkiḻān Kaṇiccēkara-maru-poṟcūriyan. *SII.* i. 66.

" *Tiruppugalūr* (Tj.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Remission of taxes, after getting 15 *kāśu*, by the assembly of Kār-ōḍuc-cēri, a *brahmadēya*, on lands granted to the temple by the king and queen Pañcavan-mahādēviyār for special worship every month on the Śadaiyam day. 54 of 1928.

" *Tiruppugalūr* (Tj.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Money, 12 *kāśu* equal to 96 *kalam* of paddy, yielding interest of 32 *kalam* at one *tūṇi* per *kalam*, for offerings to Tiru-nāvukkaraiya-dēva, installed by Agnikumāra-krama-vittan *alias* Poṟkōyil Caṇḍēśvarayōgi of Kuṇḍūr, a hamlet of Vīra-śikāmukac-cēri in Vīranārāyaṇa-catm., an independent village (*taniyūr*) on the north bank in the Rājēndrasimha-vaḷa-nāḍu. 68 of 1928.

" *Tiruvaiyāṟu* (Tj.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* (No reference to Raṭṭapāḍi) 192 sheep for two lamps. *Ivvāḍu kuḍi-nīkkāc-cāvā-mūvāp-pērāḍu-āga*; again: *kuḍi enṟu ivvāḍu kaik-koṇḍu.* 218 of 1894; *SII.* v. 517.

" *Tiruvaiyāṟu* (Tj.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Temple of Lōka-mahādēvīśvara built by the queen of Rājarāja, Dantiśakti-Viṭanki *alias* Lōka-mahādēvi. Sale of land by the authorities of the temple of Tiruvaiyāṟuḍaiyār to the *Mahā-dēvakanmis* of the temple mentioned above, at 100 *kaḻañju* per *vēli.* Mentions *vilaiyāva-ṇam* and *poruḷmāvaṟudip-porutcilavōlai.* Formula of sale interesting. 219 of 1894; *SII.* v. 518.

" *Tiruvalañjuḻi* (Tj.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla* (in middle of record). While staying at Tiruvallam the king, who bore the surname Sivapāda-śēkhara-dēva, confirmed a

* Rangachari-i p. 80 notices three persons of this name.

grant of land made in the twelfth year of Parakēsari and made a new grant also.

624 of 1902 ; *SII.* viii. 222.

Year 21.—*Tiruvallam* (NA.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Sale of land to Rājarājēśvaram within the temple of Tikkāli-mahādēva for feeding Brahmans. Mentions the royal officer Araiśūruḍaiyān Īrāyiravan Pallavan. 238 of 1921.

Uttaramērūr (Ch.) — *Tirumagaḷ-pōla,* (but no Raṭṭa-pāḍi). A lamp, by a resident of Nārāyaṇac-cēri, to Veḷḷaimūrti-āḻvār of Śri Veḷi-Viṣṇu-gṛha to be maintained by the *Pēriḷamaiyār.* The *Śraddhāmantas* and the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas were themselves to punish defaults.

165 of 1923.

Year 22.—*Agaram* (SA.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Sale of land to Paramasvāmigaḷ Kayirūr Ayyan by a managing member of the assembly. 381 of 1922.

" *Agaram* (SA.) — *Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* (No mention of Raṭṭapāḍi). * Resolution passed by the big assembly of Nṛpatunga-śēndāngi-catm. met in the courtyard of Accutapriya-dēvar, setting apart a portion of land belonging to the *Mahāśāstā* for one perpetual lamp in the temple. 387 of 1922.

" *Kāmarasavalli* (Tri.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Tanks and ponds in the village and its vicinity for red lotuses in the month of Dhanus. By order of the sabhā.

69 of 1914.

" *Kōlār* (Mys.)—A *dēvadāna* to Piḍāriyār (Kōlāramma) : "*paṭṭan kaiyil tārai-aṭṭik-kuḍuttaruḷina dēvadānam : Kuvalāla-nāṭṭu Aṟaiyūrai sarvabādhāparihāra-māgak-kuḍuttaruḷinār.*"

481 of 1911 ; *EC.* x. Kl. 106 (b).

" *Mēl-śēvūr* (SA.)—A member of the Jananātha-teriñja-valangai-vēḷaikkārar set up the image of the goddess Umā-bhaṭṭāraki. 216 of 1904.

* Perhaps conquered at end of year 21 and beginning of year 22. 217 of 1894 mentions it. *ARE.* 1923 II 27.

Year 22.—*Puñjai* (Tj.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Ten *vēli* of land by the king for a feeding house Arumoḻidēvan and for daily *havirbali* to Āḍavallār in the temple, with the condition that taxes on half the portion were to be paid by the temple and the rest by the assembly of Talaccengāḍu. Another tax-free gift of 5 *vēli* by the assembly for an annual festival in Śittirai and a remission of taxes on land given in the seventeenth year for *havirbali-arcanā.* 186 of 1925.

" *Tiruvaiyāṟu* (Tj.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* (Includes Raṭṭapāḍi). 96 Sheep for lamp Vīmayan Vambavai, the *dēvi* (queen) of Śaḷukki Vīmayan, and daughter of Vañjayan-Peṟṟappai. 217 of 1894; *SII.* v. 516.

" *Tiruvallam* (NA.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* An increase of *pañcavāra* paddy that the assembly of Mandaram *alias* Jayamēru-śrīkaraṇa-mangalam agreed to pay to the *dēvakanmis* of the temple. Mentions Īrāyiravan Pallavan *alias* Mummuḍiśōḷa-pōśan, lord of Araiśūr, and an officer of the Perundanam of Rājarāja-dēva, who raised the contribution from the village. 219 of 1921.

" *Tiruvīḻimiḻalai* (Tj.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla* (full). The assembly (*mahāsabhā*) of Tirumaḻalai, a *dēvadāna* village of the god in Veṇ-nāḍu, made provision for the singing of Tiruppadiyam hymns twice a day in the temple. The assembly met in the *tirumuṟṟam* of the temple (*nammāḻvār kōyil.*) 423 of 1908.

" *Tiruvīḻimiḻalai* (Tj.)—26 *kāśu* for lamp by Kaviṉiyan Ēṟan Śōndan of the locality. 449 of 1908. *

" *Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Gift of 96 sheep by a Brahman lady of Vāmanac-cēri for lamp to Veḷḷaimūrti-āḻvār, the *Periḷamaiyār* being responsible to the sabhā for its maintenance, and the *samvatsara-vāriyam* and the Śri-Vaiṣṇavas having the power to punish default. 163 of 1923.

* *Śen Tamiḻ* iii. pp. 359-60, where T. A. Gopinatha Rao reaches the conclusion that Śēndan is identical with Tirumāḷigai-dēvar of the *Tiruvisaippā.*

Year 23.—*Āttūr* (Tin.) *Tirumagal-pōla.* Sale of land made tax-free by the assembly of Kīranūr, to the following deities: Rājarāja Viṇṇagar Paḷḷi-koṇḍaruḷina-dēva, Durgā-bhagavatī, Saptamatṛkas, Kṣētrapāla and Gaṇapati set up in the temple of Sōmanātha-dēva *alias* Ten-tirup-pūvaṇam-uḍaiyār at Āṟṟūr-Śendamangalam.
415 of 1930.

„ *Dādāpurām* (SA.) — *Tirumagal-pōla.* The dancing girls attached to the temples of Iravi-kulamāṇikka Īśvara and Kundavai Viṇṇagar should accompany the god in procession, and sing and dance during the hunting festival. 14 of 1919.

„ *Erumūr* (SA.)—*Tirumagal-pōla.* Five *kaḻañju* of gold by Araiyan Viccādiran of Uṟumūr, a *dēvadāna* and *brahmadēya*, on receiving which the sabhā agreed themselves to pay the annual fee collected from the *uvaccar* and to have the *śrībali* conducted properly.
385 of 1913.

„ *Erumūr* (SA.)—*Tirumagal-pōla.* Sale of land to temple by the sabhā of Uṟumūr, a *dēvadāna* and *brahmadēya*. Mentions taxes: *eccōṟu*, *vāśalil-pōnda-kuḍimai*, and *ūriḍu-vari*. 388 of 1913.

„ *Maḷūrpaṭṇa* (Mys.)—*Tirumagal-pōla.* The assembly of Periya-maḷuvūr *alias* Rājēndrasinga-catm. agree to give paddy to the temple every year, for offerings etc., from lands cultivated by themselves.
510 of 1911; *EC.* ix. Cp. 128.

„ *Śērmādēvi* (Tin.)—(*Vaṭṭeḻuttu*). *Tirumagal-pōla.* 25 cows for lamp. Śēravanmahādēvi-catm. was in Muḷḷi-nāḍu of Rājarāja-vaḷa-nāḍu. 713 of 1916.

„ *Tirumālpuram* (NA.)—Gold by a native of the Pāṇḍya country. 342 of 1906.

„ *Tirumeyñānam* (Tj.)—*Tirumagal-pōla.* Meeting of *Nālūr-nambimāruḷḷiṭṭa perunguṟi-mahāsabhai* at the big hall called Gaṇḍarādittan. Mentions the Viṣṇu temple Tirunārāyaṇa-Viṇṇagar of Nālūr.
326 of 1910.

Year 23.—*Tiruppugalūr* (Tj.)—Nine gold flowers to Kōṇapperumāḷ by Śelvan-āccan, one of the Śatrubhayankara-terinda Vēḷam of queen Pañcavan-mahādēviyār.
62 of 1928.

„ *Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* 96 sheep for lamp by Udayan Ādittan of Taṇṇīrmuttam in Malai-nāḍu to Śrī-Veḷi-Viṣṇugṛhattu Veḷḷaimūrti-āḻvār; the *Pēriḷamaiyār* of the place (*ivvūr*) to conduct the charity, subject to punishment for default at the hands of the *Śraddhāmantas* and the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas.
182 of 1923.

„ *Uttaramērūr* (Ch.) — *Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* 96 sheep for lamp by a merchant of Naḍuvilangāḍi, and 15 *kaḻañju* of gold for a lamp to Tiruvāykkulam-uḍaiyār (Kṛṣṇa), by a resident of Gōvindac-cēri. The *vīragaṇattar* of the place were trustees (*puṇai*) of the first gift. The gold was with the *vaikhānasas* of the temple. The *Śraddhāmantas* had the power to punish default. All these arrangements were made by the sabhā.
187 of 1923.

„ *Uttaramērūr* (Ch.) — *Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* 48 sheep for lamp to Veḷḷaimūrti-āḻvār by a resident of Teṟkilangāḍi with the Kāḷi-gaṇattar of the place (*ivvūr*) as trustees (*puṇai*). The *Śraddhāmantas* and Śrī Vaiṣṇavas to punish default. The donor gave also a *paḍikkam.*
189 of 1923.

Year 23, day 385—*Tiruvāmāttūr* (SA.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* An enquiry into the affairs of the temple by Tāmuḻān Koṟṟinangi of Śiṟudhāmanallūr, * the king's agent, and trustee of the temple, who ordered the distribution of certain offerings among 21 temple servants; in year 27, Vēḷān Ārūran of Pudukkuḍi, who belonged to the king's perundaram, took objection to this distribution as it was against the śāstras. 22 of 1922.

Year 24.—*Jambai* (SA.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* The sabhā of Neṟkunṟam *alias* Vairamēgha-catm. gave land in exchange

* 21 of 1922; year 26, day 206.

for fields taken up by the bed of their new tank, made by Bāṇa Maṟavan Narasimhavarman. 84 of 1906. *

Year 24.—*Kāḷahasti* (NA.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Gold for lamp to the shrine of Maṇikkengai-mādēvar. † 298 of 1904.

„ *Karuttaṭṭānguḍi* (Tj.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Arangan Kāri *alias* Sōḻaviccādira Muttaraiyan of the Siṟudanam of Rājarāja and of the Śingaḷāntakat-teriñja-Kudiraic-cēvagar caused the death of Kāri-kuḻir-vāgai of the Iḷaiya-paḍai-irumuḍi-śōḻavīrar in a contest (*Śrī-rāja-rājadēvar - karṇavillekkat - tōḷam eydu ?*), and compounded with his relatives (*ivanukkuṟavu muṟai kaḍavār * * * oḍum tirundi*) and endowed a perpetual lamp in the temple of Mahādēva.
48 of 1897 ; *SII.* v. 1411.

„ *Mēlpāḍi* (C.) — *Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Sale of land, tax-free, for *pavitrārōhaṇa* festival to Mahādēva of the Candramauḷīśvara temple, by residents of Mēṟpāḍi *alias* Rājāśrayapuram in Tūy-nāḍu of Perumbāṇappāḍi, for thirty *kaḻañju* of gold received from Araiśūruḍai-yān Īrāyiravan Pallavaraiyan ‡ *alias* Mummuḍi-śōḻa-pōśan of Śō-ṇāḍu. 96 of 1921.

„ *Mēlpāḍi* (C.) — *Tirumagaḷ - pōla.* Land, tax-free, by residents of Mēṟpāḍi *alias* Rājāśraya-puram to god-Rājāśrayapura Viṭankar. 99 of 1921.

„ *Olagapuram* (SA.)—Land by the nagarattār of Ulaga-mādēvipuram for feeding 25 Brahmans in a śālai attached to the temple. 134 of 1916.

Śērmādēvi (Tin.)—(*Vaṭṭeḻuttu*). *Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Gift of 75 cows for three lamps to Nigarili-śōḻa-viṇṇagar-āḻvār in Śēravan - mahādēvi - catm. by Divākaran Vāsudēvan. 702 of 1916.

* 86 of 1906 of year 26.

† In *ARE.* 1904 II 21 this temple, Maṇikaṇṭhēśvaram, is taken to be of the time of Kulōttunga III. This inscription shows that the shrine itself is older than the present structure of the temple. *ARE.* 1905 II 11.

‡ Larger Leyden Grant; also 100 of Yr. 6 of Parak. Rājēndra; *ARE.* 1921 II 32.

Year 24.—*Śevilippēri* (Tin.) — (*Vaṭṭeḻuttu*). *Tirumagaḷ-pōḷa.* Lamp by a native of the Cōḷa country; endowment left in charge of those who, for the time being, were responsible for the daily worship being conducted properly. 419 of 1906.

" *Tirumeyñānam* (Tj.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Gift of land by a merchant. Meeting of *brahmadēyan-nālūr nambimāruḷḷiṭṭa mahāsabhaip-perunguṟip-perumakkaḷ,* at the Śri-rāja-rājanāna Periyambalam * in front of the Śamaparēśvara temple. 322 of 1910.

" *Tirunāmanallūr* (SA.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Gifts of gold ornaments made in the thirteenth and nineteenth years engraved now by order. 358 of 1902; *SII.* vii. 988.

" *Tiruppūndurutti* (Tj.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Assembly of of Tirutturutti received 20 *kāśu* from Kūttan Madhurāntakan, a member of the Tailakula-kāla-teriñja-parivāram, and agreed to burn a perpetual lamp in the temple. 78 of 1931.

" *Tiruppuṟambiyam* (Tj.)—Agreement by residents of Śankarappāḍi to burn a lamp in the temple on behalf of Rāman, a servant maid of Mēlai-vēḷam called Madhurāntakat-terinda Vēḷam of the king. 340 of 1927.

" *Tiruvāḍuturai* (Tj.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Agreement by the assembly of Ilaccikuḍi *alias* Vikramasinga-catm., a *brahmadēya* in Maṇṇi-nāḍu in Rājēndrasimha Vaḷa-nāḍu, to pay taxes levied in the land-survey made by order of the king on the lands at Śāttanūr, (a *brahmadēya* in Tiraimūr-nāḍu), belonging to the temple of Tiruvāḍu-tuṟaiyuḍaiya Paramasvāmigaḷ, in payment of the interest on money which they had received from the temple but could not pay back. 100 *kuḷi* = one *mā.* In continuation is another record of year 25 by which the ūr of Iḷangāri-kuḍi in Pērāvūr-nāḍu give land for a lamp. 101 of 1925.

* cf. *Kaṇṭharādittanāna-periya-ambalattu* of 326 of 1910. Year 23.

Year 24.—*Tiruvaiyāṛu* (Tj.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Gold ornaments and vessels presented to the temple—a long and detailed list. The Uttarakailāsa * shrine (stone) in the temple was founded by Dantiśakti Viṭanki and was called Lōkamahādēviśvara. 222 of 1894 ; *SII.* v. 521.

" *Tiruvaiyāṛu* (Tj.)—Ornaments and land to the same shrine founded by Dantiśakti Viṭanki. 155, 156 of 1918.

" *Tiruvāmāttūr* (SA.)—Gift by Tāmuḷānkoṛṛangi of a silver vessel and plate for keeping sacred offerings. 24 of 1922.

" *Tiruveṇkāḍu* (Tj.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Gold for Śengaḷunīrtiru-vāśigai and gold flowers to Tiruveṇkāḍu-dēva by one of the Mūlaparivāra and one of the Mūlaparivāra-viṭṭēṛu (servants) of the king. 454 of 1918. †

" *Tiruviśalūr* (Tj.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Land for offerings. Refers to a revenue survey made at an earlier date. 44 of 1907.

" *Vṛddāhcalam* (SA.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Residents (*ūrōm*) of Maṇalūr agree to supply annually four cloths in lieu of interest due from them to the temple—*amudu paḍaippārkku vāy-kaṭṭukku nālu puḍavai.* 45 of 1918.

Year 24, day 124.—*Parandūr* (Ch.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Mentions Citrakūṭam (king's palace ?) at Tañjāvūr. General order relating to revenue ; damaged, but same as the next. 73 of 1923.

Year 24, day 124.—*Ukkal* (NA.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Oral order of the king seated in the college (*kallūri*) to the south of the Citrakūṭa at the Tañjāvūr Periya-śeṇḍu-vāyil (hippodrome gate). Procedure regarding the execution of such oral orders indicated by this inscription. 29 of 1893 ; *SII.* iii. 9 ; *PK.* pp. 114-5.

* This is the modern name of a small shrine in the Pañcanadēśvara temple. *SII.* ii p. 278 n. 7.

† No regnal year appears in the text.

Year 25.—*Dādāpuram* (SA.)—Sheep for lamps to the temple of Kundavai Viṇṇagar-āḻvār by princess Parāntakan Kundavaip - pirāṭṭiyār. Sēnāpati Mummuḍi Śōḻa Brahma-mahārāyar in charge of the management of the temple. 10 of 1918.

„ *Dādāpuram* (SA.) — *Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Sheep left with thirty shepherds for ten lamps to the Iravikula-māṇikka temple, by Kundavai who built the temple. 18 of 1919.

„ *Māmallapuram* (Ch.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* A *vyavasthā* relating to division of land and some privileges among the *Nagaram* and the *Pēriḷamaiyār* while Puduk-kuḍaiyān Ēkadhīran Aiymbadinman who was settling (*vagai-śeyginṟa*) the Āmūr-kōṭṭam was present in the nandavanam (flower - garden) to the south of the Jalaśayana-dēva temple of Nagaram Māmallapuram. *SII.* i. 40.

„ *Paṭṭukkaṇāmpaṭṭi* (Tj.)—Land to Mahādēva temple at Nelvāy. Mentions Pañcavan Brahmādirāyan ruling Tagaḍūr-nāḍu granted to him as *jīvitam* by the king. He was an officer of the Perundaram, and his father was a native of Ariyūr and called Erumaiya-nāḻgā-muṇḍan. 254 of 1909.

„ *Tiruppuṟambiyam* (Tj.) — Lamp by . . . . . Māyilaṭṭi of the Śiṟudanam of Rājarāja-dēvar. 339 of 1927.

„ *Tiruvalañjuḻi* (Tj.)—Land to Kṣētrapāla-dēva set up by Nambirāṭṭiyār-ulōga - mādēviyār and to Gaṇapati. Mentions land-survey commencing in the sixteenth year. 624-A of 1902 ; *SII.* viii. 223.

„ *Tiruvalañjuḻi.* (Tj.) — *Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Ornament by Rājarāja's queen Dantiśakti Viṭanki *alias* Lōkamahā-dēvi, his daughter Kundavai, the queen of Vimalāditya, and his middle daughter Mādēvaḍigaḷ, to the shrine of Kṣētrapāla-dēva which had been built by the king. 633 of 1902 ; *SII.* viii. 234.

Year 25.—*Tiruvallam* (NA.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* A *paṭṭam* of eleven *kaḻañju* by Dharmakkaṭṭaḷai-tuḷai-niṟai for Tīkkāli-Aṇḍār by judges (*niyāyattār*) of the village.
221 of 1921.

" *Tiruvāmāttūr* (SA.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Tāmuḷān Koṟṟanangi enquired into the temple affairs and arranged that the drummers engaged in the temple should, in return for some paddy, take out the god Candraśēkhara-perumāḷ in procession thrice daily for *śrībali.* The drummers got the share of the paddy till then given to the Paḷḷis for measuring the paddy due to the temple from the villagers, (*kāl-aḷavu-kūli*).
16 of 1922.

" *Tiruveṇkāḍu* (Tj.)—Thirty *kāśu* for lamp by queen Vānavan-Mahādēviyār *alias* Tribhuvana-mādēviyār.
442 of 1918.

" *Vṛddhācalam* (SA.) — *Tirumagaḷ - pōla.* Money for reading . . . in the temple. 50 of 1918.

Year 25, day 154.—*Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Two thousand *kuḻi* of land by the Mahāsabhā for Tiruccennaḍai to the god in the Śrī-Puruṣōttama.
177 of 1923.

Year 25, day 310.—*Tanjore* — *Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Gifts to Umā-Paramēśvari by the elder sister of Śrī-Rājarāja-dēva, the Mahādēvi of Vallavaraiyar Vandya-dēvar.
SII. ii. 2.

Year 26.—*Gangaikoṇḍān* (Tin.) — *Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Land, by purchase from the sabhā, for offerings to Śrī-Kailāyattu Kṣētrapāla in Śrī Vallabha-mangalam, a *brahmadēya* on the south bank of the Tan-porundam.
160 of 1895 ; *SII.* v. 724.

" *Jambai* (SA.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Mentions a Bāṇa chief named Maṟavan Narasimhavarman *alias* Rājarāja Vāṇa - Kōvaraiyar :— *Sakala-surāsura - samadhigata-vijaya-śrī-manōhāri - vallabha - mahārāja - mahābali-kula - tilakāyamāna - Paṇṇaiśarirudaya - nandana*

Nanda-giri-nātha Parivaipura-paramēśvara Vetci-cihnālamkṛta vṛṣabha-lāñchana.
86 of 1906 * ; *EI.* xi. p. 239 n. 4.

Year 26.—*Kaṇḍamangalam* (SA.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Land made into an *agrahāra* called after Tribhuvana-mahādēvi to the temples of Jayantāngi-Viṇṇagar-Paramasvāmi and Śrī-Kailāsam. 354 of 1917.

" † *Kōnerirājapuram* (Tj.)—*Tirumagal-pōla.* Land by Uḍaiya-pirāṭṭiyār to two persons at Pūnguḍi for singing Tiruppadiyam in the temple of Tirunallam-uḍaiyār. 624 of 1909.

" *Kuhūr* (Tj.)—Money for lamp to Ādityēśvaram-Uḍaiyār temple at Kūhūr. 276 of 1917.

" *Śevilippēri* (Tin.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Gift of land by the Mahāsabhā of Śrīvallabha-mangalam, a *brahmadēya* in Kiḻkaḷa-kūṟṟam, a sub-division of the Rājarāja-maṇḍalam. 422 of 1906.

" *Takkōlam* (NA.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* 96 sheep for lamp. Takkōlam is called Kṣatriya-śikhāmaṇi-puram, a *taniyūr* in Maṇayiṟ-kōṭṭam in the Jayangoṇḍa-śōḷa-maṇḍalam. 259 of 1921.

" *Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* 48 sheep for half a lamp to Veḷḷaimūrti-āḻvār by a lady of Panmaic-cēri ; the residents of Panmaic-cēri were themselves the trustees (*puṇai*) and the *Śraddhāmantas* and the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas had the power to punish defaults. 186 of 1923.

" *Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* 96 sheep for a lamp to Veḷḷaimūrti-āḻvār in charge (*puṇai*) of the residents of Panmaic-cēri, the *Śraddhāmantas* and the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas having the power to punish defaults. The donor is described as : *Ivvūr-yāḷunganattāruḷ Śrī-gōvindaccēri Koṭṭic-canna-Kumāra Kramavittan Brāhmaṇi Nangai-mādic-cāni.* 190 of 1923.

* cf. 84 of 1906 of Year 24.

† Wednesday 12th July, A.D. 1010. Sewell, *EI.* xi. p. 241.

Year 26, day 20.—*Tanjore.*—Begins: " *Ētad-viśva-nṛpa-śrēṇi-mouli - mālōpalālitam Śāsanam Rājarājasya Rāja-kēsari varmaṇah.*" *Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* The king, seated for making *dānas*, in the Kiḷaittiru-mañjanaśālai of Irumaḍi-śōḷa within the Tañjāvūr Kōyil (palace), ordered that there be engraved on stone all the gifts from himself, his elder sister, and his wives (*nam-peṇ-ḍugaḷ*) and other gifts to Śrī-Rājarājēśvaram-Uḍaiyār of the sacred stone temple built by him (*nām eḍuppicca-tirukkaṟṟaḷi*) in the Tañjāvūr - kūṟṟam of the Pāṇḍyakulāśani Vaḷa-nāḍu. 105 numbered paragraphs follow. *SII.* ii. 1.

Year 26, day 206. — *Tiruvāmāttūr* (SA.) — *Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Tāmuḷān Koṟṟinangi of Śiṟuḍhāma-nallūr, the king's agent and trustee of the temple, called together the sabhā and the ūr of the village, and enquired into the affairs of the temple, and finding the existence of a certain surplus of paddy due to measurement by the *vidiviṭankan-marakkāl* instead of by the *rājakēsari*, he ordered this surplus to be utilised for the daily supply of *akkāra-aḍiśil* by name Jayan-goṇḍa-śōḷan to god. Mentions other gifts for lamps: also *śālābhōga.* 10 sheep for one *kaḷañju.*
21 of 1922.

Year 27.—*Brahmadēśam* (NA.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Ten *kaḷañju* of gold for which were got 90 sheep (for a lamp) left in charge of the *gaṇapperumakkaḷ* who looked after the *śrīkāryam* for the year. 204 of 1915.

" *Ēmappērūr* (SA.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Sale by residents (Ūrōm) of Nalavūr of lands made tax-free to the trustees of the temple of Tiruvālanduṟai - uḍaiya Paramasvāmin of Ēmappērūr for offerings thrice a day. 513 of 1921.

" *Kāḷahasti* (NA.) — Verse *Ētad-viśva* followed by *Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Seems to enforce payment by the *upāsakas* of arrears of interest on some endowments.
299 of 1904.

Year 27.—Ś. 933.—Sādhāraṇa.—*Kallahaḷḷi* (Mys.)—Death in a fight of Jebayya, son of Baḷalcōra Nolambaseṭṭi who received Kolatūr Kal-nāḍ from Nannaiyabhūpa, "*Samadhigatapañcamahāśabda Pallavānvaya Śrī Pṛthivīvallabha Pallavakula-tilakaikavākyam Kāñcī-puravarēśvara Śrīman Noḻambādhirāja Cōrayyam rājyāḷe.*" *EC.* x. Ct. 118.

" *Kiḻūr* (SA.)—A new introduction. Conquest of Udagai in the campaign against Malai-nāḍu. 236 of 1902 ; *SII.* vii. 863.

" *Mēlappaḻuvūr* (Tri.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* At the request of his queen Nakkan Pañcavan-mādēvi, the daughter of Avani-kandarppa-purattu-dēvanār of Paḻuvūr, the king provided for offerings and worship in the temple by granting an additional income of 900 *kalam* of paddy due on some lands which were surveyed and assessed, the *dēvadāna* lands of Uranguḍi being excepted. 385 of 1924.

" *Śērmādēvi* (Tin.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Lamp to Cōḻēndra-simhēśvara. 192 of 1895 ; *SII.* v. 756.

" *Śērmādēvi* (Tri.)—The Aga-nāḻigai Śivabrāhmaṇas of the Cōḻēndrasinga-īśvara agreed, on receiving twelve old *kāśu*, to burn a perpetual lamp to Kailāsattāḻvār. 629 of 1916.

" *Tirumalavāḍi* (Tri.)—Money for lamp by Iḷangōn Picci, the senior queen (*mūtta-dēviyār*) of Śōḻapperumān and the daughter of Vallavaraiyar. 14 of 1920.

" *Tiruppugalūr* (Tj.)—Undertaking by the Śivabrāhmaṇas at Pugalūr to burn a lamp to Kōṇapperumāḷ for money received by them from a Brahman lady named Gaṇapati Ponnāḻvi *alias* Śōlai. 69 of 1928.

" *Tiruvaḍandai* (Ch.) — *Tirumagaḷ - pōla.* Land for offerings in the Varāha-dēva temple by the residents of Taiyūr *alias* Rājakēsari-nallūr. 272 of 1910. *

* Text does not give the details given here.

Year 27.—*Tiruveṇkāḍu* (Tj.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Provision for Śadaiyattirunāḷ in Aippigai and for festival during the six days preceding. 115 of 1896 ; *SII.* v. 979.

" *Tiruveṇkāḍu* (Tj.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Twenty-two *pon* for lamp to Nāngūr Tiruveṇkāḍa-dēvar by Vēḷān Sundara-śōḷan, the son of Koḍumbāḷūr Vēḷān Śiṟiya Vēḷān who fell in Īḷam in the 3rd year of Uḍaiyār Pon-māḷigaiyiṟ-tuñjina-dēvar. *
116 of 1896 ; *SII.* v. 980.

" *Tiruveṇkāḍu* (Tj.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Setting up of a copper image of the goddess to Ṛṣabha-vāhana-dēva by persons of the Rājarāja-jananātha-teriñja-parivāra.
457 of 1918.

" *Tiruveṟumbūr* (Tri.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla,* omitting *mun-nīrp-paḻandīvu-pannīrāyiramum.*
100-A of 1892 ; *SII.* iv. 548.

" *Tiruveṟumbūr* (Tri.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Land for two lamps. Mention seems to be made of a general tour of inspection by the king (*dēvargaḷ*) in the course of which Kāḷi Ādittan audited the accounts of the temple.
109 of 1914.

" *Uḍaiyārguḍi* (SA.) — *Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Assembly of Vīranārāyaṇa-catm. met in the hall Rājarājan, and under orders of the great assembly, decided that a ¼th share of all lands and tanks in the hamlet should belong to the Tiruvanantīśvara temple.
615 of 1920.

" *Uyyakkoṇḍān-Tirumalai* (Tri.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* 90 sheep for lamp to Kaṟkuḍi-viḻumiyār in Rājāśraya-catm., in Pāṇḍi-kulāśani-vaḷa-nāḍu. † The donor was queen Nakkan Arumoḻi *alias* Piridi-mādēviyār.
455 of 1908.

* See *MV.* Ch. 54 vv. 12 ff. Mahinda IV. A.D. 954-70. Yr. may be (9) not (3).

† Before and after this year, the village was in Keraḷāntaka Vaḷa-nāḍu, *ARE.* 1909 II. 42.

Year 28.—Ś. 934.— *Balmuri* (Mys.)—(Canarese.) King called also Kali Rājarāja. Conquests mentioned: Gangavāḍi, Malēnāḍ, Noḻamba, Āndhra, Kongu, Kalinga and Pāṇḍya, all becoming Cōḻa-nāḍ. Lamp by general Pañcavan Mārāya, the *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* of Bengi and Ganga Maṇḍalas. He is called Mummuḍi-Cōḻana-gandhavāraṇam and is said to have seized the Tuḷuva and Koṅkaṇa, held Malēya, pushed aside the Cēra, Teluṅga and Raṭṭiga.

5 of 1895; *EC.* iii. Sr. 140.

Year 28.—*Jambai* (SA.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* "A merchant of Jambai had a concubine whom a native of Nāvalūr (now Tirunāmanallūr) attempted to outrage at night. The latter was stabbed by the merchant. The merchant could not be prosecuted. He combined with a relative of the deceased and gave gold for a lamp to burn in the Tānṟōnṟi-āḻvār temple at Jambai."

77 of 1906; *ARE.* 1907 II. 42.

" *Śērmādēvi* (Tin.) — (*Vaṭṭeḻuttu*). *Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Land by purchase for two lamps in the Nigarili-śōḻa-viṇṇagar-āḻvār temple by a certain Veḷḷai-Vaḍuga-puṅgi-śittar. 711 of 1916.

" *Sevilippēri* (Tin.)—(*Vaṭṭeḻuttu*). *Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Mentions Neccuṟa-nāḍu in Rājarāja-maṇḍalam. The village Ten-tirumāliruñjōlai was situated on the north bank of the river Taṇporundam. 411 of 1906.

" *Taḍimalingi* (Mys.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Grant of land to temple in lieu of 100 *kaḻañju* of gold (by *kem-pōnagarasa-niṟaik-kal*) taken out of the temple treasury by the *gāmuṇḍas* of Māyilangai of Iḍai-nāḍ.

491 of 1911; *EC.* iii. Tn. 35.

" *Tirukkaḷittaṭṭai* (Tj.)—90 sheep for lamp by Vēmban Śīṟuḍaiyār *alias* Mīnavan Mahādēviyār, queen of Rājarāja-dēva. 301 of 1908.

" *Tirumalavāḍi* (Tri.) — *Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* The king ordered that the central shrine of the temple should be rebuilt, and that certain original inscriptions in the

temple were to be preserved by being copied in a book. * 92 of 1895 ; *SII.* v. 652.

Year 28.—*Tiruttaṇi* (NA.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla*. Sale of land tax-free by the assembly of Jananātha-catm. to a private person for feeding pilgrims going to and returning from Śri Vēngaḍam. 430 of 1905.

„ *Tiruveṇkāḍu* (Tj.) — *Tirumagaḷ-pōla*. Lamp by the mother of queen Villavan Mahādēviyār, named Nakkan Ulōga-cintāmaṇiyār.
117 of 1896 ; *SII.* v. 981 ; also 447 of 1918 (same).

„ *Tiruveṇkāḍu* (Tj.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla*. Gold for offerings to Āḍa-vallār in the temple of Tiruveṇkāḍuḍaiyār by Kūttan Vīrāṇiyār, a queen of the king.
449 of 1918.

Year 28, day 141.—*Tirumukkūḍal* (NA.) *Tirumagaḷ-pōla*. The great assembly of Madhurāntaka-catm. including the young and the old met together in the Śembiyan-mahādēvi-perumaṇḍapam built by the king † and agreed to pay the *ūriṛai*, and *uḷaviṛai* on certain temple lands from the interest on 100 *kaḷañju* of gold which they had received from the temple treasury. One of the signatories was the accountant of the *samvatsara-vāriyam*. 178 of 1915. ‡

Year 29.—*Ādanūr* (Tin.)—(*Vaṭṭeḻuttu*).—25 sheep for 2 lamps.
433 of 1909.

„ *Maḷūrpaṭṇa* (Mys.)—*Ētadviśva* . . . . and *Tirumagaḷ-pōla*. A *dēvadāna* on the day of consecration of Jayangoṇḍa-śōḷa-viṇṇagar-āḻvār.
507 of 1911 ; *EC.* ix. Cp. 130.

„ *Maḷūrpaṭṇa* (Mys.)—The mercantile community provide for offerings in the temple by voluntary contributions.
508 of 1911.

* cf. 91 of year 14 of Rājēndra.

† Evidently for the meetings of the assembly -*ARE.* 1916 II. 10.

‡ 171, same day, lays down the details of expenses to be met from this land.

Year 29.—*Maḷūrpaṭṇa* (Mys.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Meeting of the assembly of Periya-maḷuvūr *alias* Rājēndra-śinga-catm. in the temple and gift of a *dēvadāna* on the day of consecration. 510 of 1911 ; *EC.* ix. Cp. 128.

" *Maḷūrpaṭṇa* (Mys.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Gift of a *dēvadāna* by the assembly of Vaṇḍūr *alias* Śōḷa-mādēvi-catm. to the temple of Jayangoṇḍa-śōḷa-Viṇṇagar-āḷvār : " *Pirutiṣṭhai - śeyda - nāḷ ittēvar śrī-kōyililē nāngaḷ kūttakkuṟaivaṟak-kūḍiyirundu ittēvaṟkku udakapūrvañjeydu* " etc.
513 of 1911 ; *EC.* ix. Cp. 132.

" *Mēlpāḍi* (NA.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Construction of the Cōḷēśvara *alias* Ariñjigai-Īśvara temple by Rājarāja and gifts to it. 83 of 1899 ; *SII.* iii. 15.

" *Mēlpāḍi* (NA.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Gift of a *dēvadāna* to Ariñjigai Īśvara Mahādēva by the Nagarattār of Pulikkunṟam : " *Nīr-nilamum kollaiyum kāḍum utpaḍa-(vuṇṇi-lamo)ḻivinṟi ippulikkunṟattu ni(lam) epperppaṭṭadum ittēvaṟkku vēṇḍu nivandanan-gaḷukkut-tēvadāna iṟaiyili-yāga.*" etc.
84 of 1889 ; *SII* iii. 16

" *Mēlpāḍi* (NA.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Gift by a cultivator of 96 sheep for the supply of ½ Rājakēsari measure of *ghī* every day for lamp to : " *Āṟṟūrt-tuñjina-dēvaṟkku paḷḷippaḍaiyāga Uḍaiyār Śrī Rājarāja-dēvar eḍup-pittaruḷina tiru Variñjiśuvarattu Mahādēvaṟkku.*" *
86 of 1889 ; † *SII.* iii. 17.

" *Rajakkal* (NA.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* 600½ *kuḻi* of land by residents of Eḷādaḷēl for offerings in three services to god **Agastiśvara.** Measuring rod *kaḍigaikaḷattuk-kōl.*
172 of 1921. ‡

" *Śenkunṟam* (NA.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.*—Twenty *pon* by a Brahman to merchants of Jayangoṇḍa-śōḷapuram

* A temple on the burial place (*paḷḷippaḍai*) of Āṟṟūrtuñjina-dēva (Venkayya) *ARE.* 1907 II 30.

† ' Written in beautiful florid characters ' - Hultzsch.

‡ No. 173 in continuation of this mentions Śiṭṭōṇan-padinaṟuśaṇ-kōl.

(in Aṇḍa-nāḍu, Perumbāṇappāḍi) for purchase of 180 sheep for a lamp at 9 sheep per *kāśu*. Liquid measure *jayangoṇḍa-śōḻaraiyan.* 149 of 1921.

Year 29.—*Śevilippēri* (Tin.)—Lamp by a merchant of Karavandapuram in Kaḷakkuḍi-nāḍu. 418 of 1906.

" *Tanjore.—Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* List of villages that had to supply accountants, *māṇis* and treasurers in accordance with the royal order and rates of remuneration for the servants of the temple. 57 of 1893 ; *SII.* ii. 69.

" *Tanjore.—Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* List of villages in the Cōḷa country which had to supply watchmen in accordance with the king's command.
58 of 1893 ; *SII.* ii. 70.

" *Tanjore.—Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* List of persons to whom cattle had been assigned for the supply of *ghī* at the rate of ¼ measure by Āḍavallān every day for each lamp which meant 96 sheep or 48 cows or 16 buffaloes.
20 of 1897 ; *SII.* ii. 63.

" *Tanjore.*—This is a continuation of the preceding inscription. It gives the information : 1 *kāśu* was equal to three sheep. (paras. 18 and 21)
21 of 1897 ; *SII.* ii. 64.

" *Tanjore.*—List of metal pinnacles (*stūpik-kuḍam*) for the different shrines in the temple with names of donors and description including weight. A gift of year 3 of Rājēndra is mentioned.
24 of 1897 ; *SII.* ii. 90.

" *Tanjore.*—Catalogue of jewels.
25 of 1897 ; *SII.* ii. 32 (ll. 1-54) ; v. 1383-1401.

" *Tanjore.*—An image of Durgā by a native of Nallūr *alias* Pañcavan-mahādēvi-catm. and gifts of jewels to it described in detail. 26 of 1897 ; *SII.* ii. 79.

" *Tanjore.*—An image of Śrikaṇṭha and jewels for it by queen Pṛthivī-mahādēviyār, detailed description.
27 of 1897 ; *SII.* ii. 80.

Year 29.—*Tanjore.*—An image of Kālāpiḍāri given by the son of a Perundanam of the king, described.
28 of 1897 ; *SII.* ii. 81.

" *Tanjore.*—Seven copper images of Gaṇapati set up by the king, described. 30 of 1897 ; *SII.* ii. 84.

" *Tanjore.*—Ornaments to Parivārālayattu Gaṇapati by king Rājarāja. 32 of 1897 ; *SII.* ii. 86.

" *Tanjore.*—Ornaments to Parivārālayattu Gaṇapati by a *paṇimagan* of the king. 33 of 1897 ; *SII.* ii. 87.

" *Tanjore.*—A vessel to same by Rājarāja-dēvar *paṇimagan puravu-variti̱ṇaikkaḷattu varippottaga nāyakan* (master of rent-roll in the department, *tiṇaikkaḷam*, of taxes from endowments-Hultzsch) Pāṇḍyakulāśani-Vaḷanāṭṭu Puṟkiḷiyūrnāṭṭuk-kāmadamangalam-uḍaiyān Kāñjan Koṇḍaiyan. 34 of 1897 ; *SII.* ii. 88.

" *Tanjore.*—Ornaments to Gaṇapati.
35 of 1897 ; *SII.* ii. 89.

" *Tanjore.*—Silver vessels by king Rājarāja from his own treasures, and the booty of silver vessels captured in the campaigns in Malai-nāḍu against the Cēra and the Pāṇḍya. 36 of 1897 * ; *SII.* ii. 91.

" *Tanjore.*—King's grants to the temple including five villages in Ceylon † (continuation of *SII.* ii. 4)
37 of 1897 ; *SII.* ii. 92.

" *Tanjore.*—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Ornaments by the king out of the Cēra and Pāṇḍya treasures and his own.
38 of 1897 ; *SII.* ii. 93.

" *Tiruvaḍandai* (Ch.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Fifteen *kaḻañju* of gold by a merchant of Koḍungōḷūr in Malai-nāḍu

* It looks as if the king had more gold and precious stones at his disposal, than silver. Hultzsch.

† Rājarāja's foreign conquests were not mere inroads. Note omission of details of measurement unlike in villages in the Cōḷa country, and removal of previous holders in some cases. Money revenue more common outside the Cōḷa country than in it. Hultzsch.

for feeding 30 Brahmans in the Āḻvār temple at Tiruvaḍandai from interest (paddy) given by the residents (ūr) of Taiyūr in Kumiḻi-nāḍu of the Āmūr-kōṭṭam to the sabhā of Tiruvaḍavandai. The loan is called *vāḍākkaḍan.* 260 of 1910.

Year 29.—*Tiruvaiyāṟu* (Tj.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Silver vessels by Viṣṇu-Vardhana-Mahārāja *alias* Vimalāditya-dēva, the king's son-in-law, to Lōkamahādēvi-Īśvaram-uḍaiya Mahādēva. 215 of 1894 ; *SII.* v. 514.

„ *Tiruviśalūr* (Tj.)—Village called Vēmbaṟṟūr *alias* Śōḻa-mārtāṇḍa-catm. in Maṇṇi-nāḍu, a sub-division of Rājēndrasimha-vaḷa-nāḍu. Mentions the performance of *tulābhāra* by the king, and of *hiraṇyagarbha* by his queen Dantiśakti-viṭaṅkiyār *alias* Lōkamahādēviyār in the temple of Tiruviśalūr. 42 of 1907. *

„ *Ukkal* (NA.) — *Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Endowment of a well called Rājarāja, and of a *toṭṭi* by a servant of the king. 22 of 1893 ; *SII.* iii. 4.

„ *Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* 90 sheep by a lady of Trivikramac-cēri for a lamp to Veḷḷaimūrti Āḻvār of Śrī Veḷi Viṣṇugṛha. 178 of 1923.

„ *Uyyakkoṇḍān - Tirumalai* (Tri.) — Gold ornament (*paṭṭam*) called Jayaṅgoṇḍa-śōḻan. 468 of 1908.

Year 31.—*Kanyākumāri* (Tri.)—Begins . . . . . *perumbugaḻ Kōvi-rājakēsari.* The *dēvakanmis* of Rājarāja-Īśvaram-uḍaiyār of Kumarikkaḻikkuḍi sell some land to the Nāṟpatteṇṇāyiravar for the establishment of a *taṇṇīrp-pandal* named Jayaṅgoṇḍa-śōḻan, † the erection of a Kāvaṇam and the plantation of useful trees in the area which may be enclosed (*śuṟṟumaḍaittu*) for the purpose. *TAS.* i. 168-9.

* Inscription below a sculpture representing the king and queen in a worshipping attitude - K.V.S. Aiyar; *EI.* xii. p. 121, n. 2.

† T.A.G. Rao took this to be a surname of Rājādhirāja, and assigned the record to Rājarāja II who was a Parakēsari. 252 of 1915 (Brahmadēśam NA). is another record with year 31 which may be of this king.

Ś. 9(2)3.—*Kāñcipuram.* (Ch.) — (Sanskrit) Records genealogy of E. Cāḷukyas up to Danārṇava; and several titles of Cōḷa Bhīma whom Rājarāja conquered.
237 of 1931 *, *EI.* xxi. pp. 29 ff.

Ś. 929 (Prabhava). † —*Kalēyūr* (Mys.)—Tēyakulatilaka Malepakulakāla Koṭṭamaṇḍala - nātha Apramēya was a pillar of victory. He defeated the Hoysala minister Nāgaṇṇa; slew in battle at Kalavūr the Hoysala leaders Mañjaga, Kāliga (or Kāḷi-ganga), Nāgavarma and others, winning by his valour in the plain of Kalavūr a name to endure for ever.
353 of 1901; *EC.* iii. i. Tn. 44.

The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following :—

Bannūr (Mys.)—(Kanarese) *Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Grant to temple at Muttatti. Kuḍamalai-nāḍu is here clearly Koḍaga-malē-nāḍum (Coorg hill country).
EC. iii. Tn. 122.

Brahmadēśam (Tin.)—(*Vaṭṭeḻuttu.*) Sale of land.
381 of 1916.

Kāvērippākkam (N.A.) Mentions the Cōḷa feudatory Parāntakap - pallavaraiyan of Umbaḷa - nāḍu; also Jananātha-dēva and Mummuḍi-Cōḷa 414 of 1905.

Kōvalūr (NA.)—Sale of land by the assembly of Kōvalūr. 438 of 1922.

Kuhūr (Tj.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Land by Vayirikuṭṭēran *alias* Śōḻaviccādira-Pallavaraiyan, headman of Kūrūr, for offerings to a shrine constructed by him.
304 of 1917.

Kuttālam (Tin.)—*Tirumagaḷ - pōla.* States that when the temple had become dilapidated it was repaired and

* No. 238 records the presentation of ornaments to the temple, and the construction of a tank, Cōḷa samudram, and a temple. Mentions the Ganga family, a Pōla-rāja, Cōḷa Bhīma Vaidumba.

† Date irregular. Kielhorn considers this of no 'value for historical purposes.' *EI.* iv. 67. *ARE.* gives Ś. 9(28).

the old inscription which was in *vaṭṭam* characters was re-engraved in Tamil on the new stone wall. Śaḍaiyan is prefixed to the name of the king. Records a gift of land by residents of the village of Viṇṇandai *alias* Vikrama-Pāṇḍya-nallūr in Kōṭṭu-nāḍu, a sub-division of Īḻa-maṇḍalam, for a lamp to Tirukkuttālattu-bhaṭṭārakar. 454 of 1917.

Kuttālam (Tin.) — *Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Mentions the re-engraving in Tamil of old *Vaṭṭeḻuttu* records. 455 of 1917.

Māḷambi (Cg.)—The king heard of Manija's heroism in the battle of Paṇasōge and sent word to Pañcavan-Mārāya to bind on him a *paṭṭa* (inscribed with the title) Kṣatriya-śikhāmaṇi Kongāḷva * and give him Māḷavvi. Witnesses: Gōvinda Rācamma's family. 633 of 1912; *EC.* i. 46.

Maḷūrpaṭṇa (Mys.)—Gift to temple by Nigarili-śōḷa-purattu *nagarattār.* 509 of 1911; *EC.* ix. Cp. 131.

Nārāyaṇavanam (C.) — *Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Rājarāja-kēsarivarman - Vikkiyaṇṇan Pugaḻvippavargaṇḍan † of the (Ca)ḷukki family and two other chiefs of the Vaṭṭiya-nāḍu gave certain privileges to the Veḷḷāḷas of that district in (Kunṟa)-vattanak-kōṭṭam. 375 of 1911.

Pallikoṇḍa (NA.)—Provision by the assembly for a festival to Bhaṭāriyār in the village by levying the water-tax due from certain specified residents of the village. Near by is another record of about the same time,—an undertaking by the assembly to maintain offerings to and worship of the Bhaṭāriyār from an endowment by Gōvinda Kāṭaka Sarvakratuyājiyār of Kaḷamūr, a member of the *gaṇa.* 477 of 1915.

* This occurred in 1004 A.D. and was the origin of the Kongāḷva line. *EC.* i. pp. 16-7. See also year 28-No. 5 of 1895; and Rice - *Mysore and Coorg*, pp. 144 ff.

† A title of the Ilāḍas, like whom, the Caḷukki were perhaps a local family subject to the Cōḷas. *ARE.* 1912 II. 21.

Taḷaccangāḍu (Tj.)—Gift, of 100 *kāśu* to be raised in the manner specified, by the assembly of the place for feeding, in the name of Rājarāja, ten Brahmans in the temple Tiruccitrakūḍattu-āḻvār and for *havirbali* to the deity. 198 of 1925.

Tanjore.—Mentions one of the *pañcadēhamūrtis* of copper placed in the temple of Rājarājēśvaram Uḍaiyār by the king till his 29th year. 275 of 1911.

Tennēri (Ch.)—*Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* Regulation of dues on areca gardens. '200 of 1901 ; *SII.* vii. 412.

Tiruccatturai (Tj.)—In praise of a Cōḷa feudatory. Mentions victories in Puna-nāḍu and Malai-nāḍu, defeat of Vaḷudi, destruction of Viḻiñam and of Kaṛkaḍaimā-nagar, as well as defeat of Telunga Bhīma.
204 of 1931. *

Tirukkaḷittaṭṭai (Tj.)—Rājakēsari. Silver pot to the temple of Śrī-kuḍittiṭṭai-mahādēva at Vēmbaṟṟūr by Śembiyan-mahādēvip-pirāṭṭiyār who gave birth to Uttama Cōḷa-dēva. 297 of 1908.

Tirumaiyam (Pd.)—Mentions Perumbiḍugu Perundēvi, the mother of Viḍēlviḍugu-Viḻuppēraḍi-Araiśan *alias* Śāttan Māṟan. 403 of 1906.

Tiruvallam (N.A.) — *Tirumagaḷ-pōla.* 96 sheep by Śōḷa-mahādēviyār, daughter of Tiṭṭaipirān and queen of Rājarāja-dēva, for a lamp in the Brahmīśvara shrine in the temple of Tiruttikkāli-āḻvār ; also gold for a *chauri* and offerings. 223 of 1921.

Tiruvāmāttūr (SA.) — *Tirumagaḷ - pōla.* A certain Guṇaśēkharan of Vēśālippāḍi made a jewelled gold vessel for the sacred bath of the deity and a pair of bracelets set with precious stones. 23 of 1922.

* Said to be in characters of the 12th century and victories ascribed to the time of Kulōttunga I and Vikrama Cōḷa at *ARE.* 1931 II 30.

PARAKĒSARI RĀJĒNDRA I

(Acc. 27th March.—7th July A.D. 1012)

Ś. 943 *—*Nandigunda* (Mys.) — *Tiru manni vaḷara.* Mallagāvuṇḍa gave land to Mallēśvara.
2 of 1895 ; *EC.* iii. Nj. 134.

Ś. 945. — *Jōḍi-Daḷaśigere* (Mys.) — (Kanarese) Gold to temple. 57 *gadyāṇa* in gold, 359 golden grains of rice, and 42 *poruḷ* ; for Brahmans and ascetics 37 *poruḷ.*
171 of 1911 ; *EC.* ix. Ht. 10.

Ś. 9(48) †—*Marasanahaḷḷi* (Mys.)—(Kanarese) *Pūrva-dēśamum Gangaiyum koṇḍa.* Construction of a sluice.
179 of 1911 ; *EC.* x. Cb. 13.

Ś. 956. —*Kurubahaḷḷi* (Mys.)—(Kanarese). Death of Cangāḷva Biñjavunira-dēva, son of Baniki Bunkara- Gavada, in fight with Cangāḷva Nāyaka. Mentions former's wife Pāḍikabbe of the Kauṇḍigā-kula.
495 of 1911 ; *EC.* iv. Yd. 37.

Ś. 963.—*Siddhanahaḷḷi* (Mys.)—(Kanarese). Death of a heroine in a cattle-lift after the recovery of the lost cattle.
173 of 1911 ; *EC.* ix. Ht. 11.

Year 2.—*Honganūr* (Mys.)—Grant of tax-free land, after purchase, for offerings by the assembly of Punganūr *alias* Trailōkya-mahādēvi-catm.
199 of 1911 ; *EC.* ix. Cp. 42-A.

" *Kuttālam* (Tin.)—Rājēndrasimha. Lamp by a certain Veḷḷān-dēvan Paṭṭālagan, a native of Pāgūr.
479 of 1917.

Year 3.—*Karuttaṭṭānguḍi* (Tj.)—Sale of land tax-free to the temple by the sabhā of Pērālattūr for 75 *kāśu.*
44 of 1897 ; *SII.* v. 1407.

* Wednesday March 1st, A.D. 1021.—Earliest correct date in current Śaka year. Kielhorn *EI.* iv. 69.

† 949—*EC.*

Year 3.—*Karuttaṭṭāṅguḍi* (Tj.)—Sale of land tax-free to temple for 20 *kāśu* by an individual; attested by witnesses.
45 of 1897; *SII.* v. 1408.

„ *Kīḻūr* (SA.)—100 sheep by Rāman Mummuḍiśōḻa for the merit of his mother Rājaśēkharan Umai-naṅgaiyār, who was the daughter of Munaiyadiyaraiyar and the *dēvi* of Paṭṭālagan Rāman *alias* Arumoḻidēva-milāḍuḍaiyār. 13 of 1905.

„ * *Maḷūrpaṭṇa* (Mys.)—Gift of a tax-free *dēvadāna* by the sabhā of Trailōkya-mahādēvi-catm. *alias* Punganūr with right of irrigation from a tank in the neighbourhood: "*Maṇalūr ēriyininṟum nīr-pāccik-koḷḷa candirādittaval nīr-pāya udakapūrvañjeydu koḍuttōm Maṇalūr ūrkku śamanda Kottayan Uttaman āna Śōḻavirccādira gāmuṇḍanum Iḍava - gāmuṇḍanum uḷḷiṭṭa ūrōm.*" The fine for obstructing the irrigation was fifty *kaḷañju*. 506 of 1911; *EC.* ix. Cp. 127.

„ *Maḷūrpaṭṇa* (Mys.) — Agreement between the *dēvakanmis* of a temple and the sabhā of Vaṇḍūr *alias* Śōḻa-mādēvi-catm., regarding a perpetual loan in paddy (*nellumudal*) of 320 *kalam* and the interest due on it every year (100 *kalam*) and the methods of enforcing its payment. 512 of 1911; *EC.* ix. Cp. 129.

„ *Nārttamalai* (Pd.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara.* Fragment.
358 of 1904.

„ *Nattam* (Ch.)—Mentions Paramēśvara-maṅgalam *alias* Nigarili-śōḻa-catm., the meeting of the *samvatsara-vāriyam* who had met in the Rājēndraśōḻan-catuśśālai; and Kañjāran Aiyan Sūryan who was the settlement officer (*vagai śeyginṟa*) of the district (*kōṭṭam*)
262 of 1912.

„ *Paṇḍāravāḍai* (Tj.)—Sale for 70 *kāśu* of 9 *mā* tax-free by the big assembly of Rājakēsari-catm., to Āḻvār Śrī Pirāntakan Śrī Kundavaip-pirāṭṭiyār, for the maintenance of a free dispensary founded by her,

* Year said to be lost in *ARE*, 1912.

Savarṇan Araiyan Madhurāntakan being the name of the physician. * 248 of 1923.

Year 3.—*Śērmādēvi* (Tin.)—(*Vaṭṭeḻuttu*). The *vaikhānasas* of Nigarili-śōḻa-viṇṇagar in the Nigarili-śōḻa-catm., undertake to burn half a lamp for *kāśu* deposited with them. "*Eriyādoḻiyil aṇṛu śrī-kōyil vāriyam śeyvārē muṭṭina neyyiraṭṭi aṭṭuviccu erivippārāgavum .... Ipparisu oṭṭi ikkāśu koṇḍa vaikhānasarōmil munninrōmē erippōmānōm.*"
179 of 1895 ; *EI.* v. p. 47.

„ *Śērmādēvi* (Tin.)—Assignment of a street with houses by Mahāsabhā of Nigarili-śōḻa-catm., for residence of *Tigai-yāyirat-taññūṛṛuvar.* 651 of 1916.

„ *Śivankūḍal* (Ch.)—The assembly (sabhā) of the village got money from a private person and declared some lands below the tank Brahmādhirāyap-puttēri rent-free in order to provide for offerings and lamp to the local temple of Mahādēva. 289 of 1912.

„ *Tanjore.*—Vessels in copper, zinc (*tarā*), and bell-metal (*veṇkalam*) to ālayattup-piḷḷaiyār in the temple by Uḍaiyār Śrī Rājarājīśvaram Uḍaiyārkku Śrī-karyañjeyginṛa Poygai-nāḍu Kiḻavan Ādittan Sūryan *alias* Tennavan Mūvēnda Vēḷān.
31 of 1897 ; *SII.* ii. 85.

„ *Tirukkāravāśal* (Tj.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara,* † to *Maṇṇaikkaḍakkam.* Land by purchase for lamp to Tirukkārāyil-uḍaiyār. 451 of 1908.

„ *Tirumukkūḍal* (NA.)—Three *kaḻañju* of gold by *niṟaikkal*, yielding interest of 9 *mañjāḍi* per year for offerings at Māśi-makham. Price of paddy taken to be 40 *kāḍi* per *kaḻañju* as an average ‡ (*ēriluñjurungilum*). 176 of 1915.

* *ARE.* 1925 II. 14, cf. 249 of year 7.

† Usually no introduction in records earlier than year 5—*ARE.* 1909 II. 43.

‡ *Con.* 245 of about 20 years later. Interest and prices tripled, *ARE.* 1916 II. 12

Year 3.—*Tirumukkūḍal* (NA.)—Twenty-five *vēli* of land by Rājarāja-dēva, seated on Rājāśraya, given at the instance of Dāmōdarabhaṭṭan of Kaḍalanguḍi, * who was made madhyastha (*naḍuvirukkam*) in the temple of Mahādēva at Tirumukkūḍal. 196 of 1917.

" *Tiruvāḍuturai* (Tj.)—Gift, by a native of Tiruviḻimiḻalai, a *brahmadēya*, of paddy from interest on which the Śiva-brāhmaṇas of the temple agreed to get daily three pots of water for the sacred bath from the Kāvēri during the three services. 116 of 1925. †

" *Tiruvaiyāṟu* (Tj.)—164 gold flowers to the Uttara-kailāsa shrine (modern name) by Dantiśakti *alias* Lōka-mahādēvi, queen of Rājarāja.
220 of 1894 ; *SII.* v. 519.

" *Tiruvaiyāṟu* (Tj.)—Seven bronze lamp-stands to Ulōka-Mahādēvi-Īśvaram-uḍaiya Mahādēva at Tiruvaiyāṟu by Dantiśakti Viṭankiyār, queen of Rājarāja.
152 of 1918. ‡

" *Tiruvalañjuḻi* (Tj.)—Two gold flowers to Kṣētrapāladēva (of the stone temple built by Dantiśakti *alias* Lōka-mādēvi) out of the gold used for her *hiraṇyagarbha* in the temple of Tiruviśalūr in the 29th year of Rājarāja.
633-C. of 1902 ; *SII.* viii. 237.

" *Tiruvallam* (NA.)—People of Vāṇapuram sold tax-free 1000 *kuḻi* of land to Vaidumban Śankara-dēva Sōmanātha to whos ename are prefixed the same epithets as those of Tiruvaiyan Śankara-dēva (Rājarāja I Yr. 16-*SII.* iii. 51). Sōmanātha assigned the land to the Mahādēva temple of Tiruvaiya-Īśvara which the members of his family had caused to be built on the southern side of Tiruvallam-Uḍaiyār ; he also gave 96 sheep for a lamp. 82 of 1889 ; *SII.* iii. 53.

* This person appears also in the Larger Leyden Grant, *ARE.* 1918 II. 26.

† 117 n.-d. is a list of images and lamp-stands (with details) in the temple of Tiruvāḍuturai-uḍaiyār in Sāttanūr *alias* Abhayāśraya-catm. (cf. 104. n-d.)

‡ cf. 154 of year 21.

Year 3.—*Tiruveṇkāḍu* (Tj.)—Money, 46 *kāśu*, to temple for offerings and festivals and feeding by a cavalier of the king's troops (*taḍi-māṟum-kudiraiccēvagar*), a native of Aṭṭuppaḷḷiniyamam. 459 of 1918.

" *Tiruveṟumbūr* (Tri.)—Eight *kāśu* to the Śrī Kōyiluḍaiyār for lamp to Tiruveṟumbūr-uḍaiya-mahādēva by one of the *āḷunganattar* of Śrīkaṇṭha-catm. 100 of 1914.

" *Tiruviḍaimarudūr* (Tj.)—45 sheep for a lamp at night at the gate called Ēkanāyakan-tiruvāśal. 200 of 1907.

" *Tiruviśalūr* (Tj.)—Gold to provide *śidāri* for the incense. 15 of 1907.

" *Tiruviśalūr* (Tj.)—Ornaments by the queen of the Pāṇḍya Śri-vaḷḷuvar. 46 of 1907.

" *Tiruviśalūr* (Tj.)—Silver *kalaśa* by a queen. 340 of 1907.

" *Tiruviśalūr* (Tj.) — Mentions the building of the Tiruccuṟṟālayam and the *gōpuram* to Tiruviśalūr Mahādēva temple at Vēmbaṟṟūr *alias* Śri Śōḷamāttāṇḍa-catm. 341 of 1907. *

" *Tiruviśalūr* (Tj.)—Land for lamp by Nakkan Śembiyanmādēviyār, queen of Rājēndra. 348 of 1907.

" *Uḍaiyārguḍi* (SA.)—Gift, by Kamban Madhurāntakan, a member of the elephant corps (*perundarattu ānaiyāḷ*); lamp-stand and gold for lamp and offerings on specified days. 598 of 1920.

" *Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—Land by the assembly for three daily offerings to Rāghava-dēva in the temple of Veḷḷaimūrti-āḻvār, and for flower-garden, with the stipulation that food offered at the two services should be given away to the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas reciting the Tiruppadiyam hymns. 181 of 1923.

* cf. 52 of 1907 of Vikramacōḷa, a surname of Rājēndra. *ARE.* 1908 II. 55.

PARAKESARI RAJENDRA I

Year 3.—*Uṭṭattūr* (Tri.)—Death (?) of a certain Śrutimān Nakkan Candiran *alias* Rājamalla-muttaraiyan of the elephant-corps, when, in a fight with Satyāśraya *, he was ordered by the king to pierce the (enemy's) elephant. A gift was made on his behalf to the temple of Mahādēva at Ūṛṛattūr. 515 of 1912.

" *Uyyakkoṇḍān-Tirumalai* (Tri.)—Survey of temple lands and change of tenants under orders of the king residing in his palace at Paḷaiyāṛu. 463 of 1908.

" *Uyyakkoṇḍān-Tirumalai* (Tri.)—Records the survey mentioned in the last inscription. 473 of 1908.

Year 3, day (3)50.—*Brahmadēśam* (NA.)—Gold for offerings by Indaḷadēvī, wife of Vallavarasar Vandya-dēvar. Sabhā of Parākramacōḷa-catm. take charge of the five *kaḻañju* given. Measure: *Śrī Poḷandaiyan-marakkāl.* 191 of 1915.

Year 4.—*Aḻagādriputtūr* (Tj.)—Land for offerings at the shrine of Sūrya-dēva constructed in the temple by a native of Kallūr in Mēl-vēmba-nāḍu in Pāṇḍi-nāḍu *alias* Rāja-rāja-maṇḍalam. Mentions Kurugūr Maḍam where the assembly of Paradāyakuḍi (a hamlet of Aḻagādriputtūr) met to make a gift to the temple. The *maṭha* was to the north of the village tank.
289 of 1908; *ARE.* 1909 II. 43.

" *Allūr* (Tri.)—Provision for feeding five Brahmans on new-moon days. 365 of 1903.

" *Dādāpuram* (SA.)—Sheep for ten lamps to temple of Kundavai-viṇṇagar by Kundavaip-piraṭṭiyār. 12 of 1919.

" *Kāḷahasti* (NA.)—96 sheep for a lamp for the merit of a soldier killed in a private quarrel. Mentions Śiṛudanattu Edirili-śōḷa-terinda-valangai-vēḷaikkārar and Śiṛudanattu-iḷaiya-rāja-uttamaśōḷa-terinda-valangai-vēḷaikkārar and Śiṛudanattu-śōḷa-sikhāmaṇi-terinda-valangai-vēḷaikkārar. 286 of 1904.

* Hoṭṭūr inscription of A.D. 1007-8 in Fleet *DKD.* p. 433. *ARE.* 1918 II 22.

Year 4.—***Kāñcipuram*** (Ch.)—Sale of land by merchants (*mānagaram*) of Kāñcīpuram for offerings and worship to god Gaṇapatiyār Kāñcīpura Aḻagar on the northern side of the temple called Añjāñjaṇḍi-ambalam-Rājēndra-śōḻan. 76 of 1921.

" *Kāvantaṇḍalam* (Ch.)—Land by sabhā as *iṟaiyili dēvadāna* to temple of Rājēndra-cōḻēśvara built by a revenue officer (*nāḍu vagai-śeyginṟa*) Piccan. 210 of 1901 ; *SII.* vii. 423.

" *Kīḻūr* (SA.)—Gift by Pirāntakan-yādava-bhīman *alias* Uttama-cōḻa-milāḍuḍaiyār of the Bhārgava-gōtra at the request of Araiyan Malaiyarādittan *alias* Cēdināḍu-vēḷān of Āviyūr. The sabhā of Tirukkōvalūr sold land for the purpose. 20 of 1905.

" *Kuttālam* (Tj.)—Sale of 8 *mā* of land tax-free to temple by the assembly of Villavanmādēvi-catm., on payment of 43 *kāśu*. 104 of 1926.

" *Maṟkāṇam* (SA.)—Taxes on a salt-pan for two lamps to Tiruppūmiccuram-uḍaiyār by the ūr. 24 of 1919.*

" *Miñjūr* (Ch.)—Land for festivals etc. in the temple of Śōḻakulasundara - vinnagar-āḻvār at Miñjūr by the *ūrār*. Mentions Kallaḍiśvaram-uḍaiyār. 133 of 1916.

" *Śērmādēvi* (Tin.)—(*Vaṭṭeḻuttu*). Deposit by a Brahman lady of six *kāśu* in the hands of the Vaikhānasas for half a lamp before Nigariliśōḻa-viṇṇagar-āḻvār. 708 of 1916.

" *Tiruvadi* (SA.)—90 sheep for lamp by one of the Jananāthat-teriñja-valangai - vēḷaikkārar of Pangaḷa-nāḍu. 393 of 1921.

" *Tiruvāḍuturai* (Tj.)—Sale of land and house sites for one hundred and twenty *kāśu*, current and capable of passing for full value, by the assembly of

* cf. 23 of 1919 (Rājarāja I, Yr. 19.)

Paḷaiya-Vānavan-mādēvi-catm. (in Innambūr-nāḍu of Rājēndra-simha-vaḷa-nāḍu) to Āḻvār Śrī-Pirāntakan-Śrī-Kundavaip-pirāṭṭiyār who conferred it on Savarṇan Araiyan Candraśēkharan *alias* Uttama-Cōḷa-acalan and his descendants as the physicians of the village. The transaction was engraved on the temple walls by order of the king. Another record (113) in continuation is the undertaking by the assembly to pay the taxes on this land and on the houses in return for 80 *kāśu* got from the donor. 112, 113 of 1925. *

Year 4.—*Tiruvaiyāṟu* (Tj.)—Śakkaḍi Samudaiyan *alias* Śembiyan-mādēvip-perundaṭṭān appointed to the Taṭṭarākkāṇi of the Ulōka-mahādēvi-Īśvaram by order of Dēviyār Dantiśakti. 216 of 1894 ; *SII.* v. 515.

" *Tiruvallam* (NA.)—Araiśūruḍaiyān Īrāyiravan Pallavaraiyan *alias* Uttamaśōḷa-Pallavaraiyan, of the Perundaram of the king, had built a shrine Rājarājēśvara ; he bought 2000 *kuḻi* of land tax-free for 50 *anṟāḍu-naṟkāśu* from the inhabitants of Tiruvallam for two lamps to the shrine. 299 of 1897 ; *SII.* iii. 54.

" *Tiruveṇkāḍu* (Tj.)—90 sheep for lamp by a servant (*adigāricci*) of the queen. 463 of 1918.

" *Tiruveṇkāḍu* (Tj.)—Money, 333 *kāśu*, yielding interest 41⅝ *kāśu* per annum, for incense etc., by queen Nakkan Karukkamandāḷ *alias* Pañcavan-mādēviyār. 464 of 1918.

" *Tiruviśalūr* (Tj.)—Gift of land as *śalyakriyābhōga* by Āḻvār Śrī Pirāntakan Kundavaip-pirāttiyār while she was in the palace (*kōyil*) at Paḻaiyāru. 350 of 1907 ; also 351.

" *Uḍaiyārguḍi* (SA.)—Umbrella with 19,908 pearls with a gold ornamental handle (?) of 25¾ *kaḻañju* by the Kaikkōḷas of Viranārāyaṇa-catm., a *brahmadēya* in Rājēndrasimha-vaḷa-nāḍu. 613 of 1920.

* cf. 248 of 1923 of Year 3.

Year 4.—*Ukkal* (NA.)—Sale of land, 3000 *kuḻi*, by Mahāsabhā as *bhōgam* for two boats (*ōḍam*) given to the tank of the place by a servant of the king. Also sale of five picottahs (*ēttam*) besides one already bought for the *ōḍam*. 27 of 1893 ; *SII.* iii. 10.

„ *Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—Land, 720 *kuḻi*, by sabhā of Uttaramērūr *alias* Rājēndraśōḻa-catm., set apart as tax-free Bhaviṣyak-kiḍaippuṟam, to enable a person to reside permanently (*nirantaram*) in the village and teach, (*ōduvippārāga*). 29 of 1898 ; *SII.* vi. 312.

„ *Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—480 *kuḻi* of land set apart as Tayittiriyak-kiḍaippuṟam by the Mahāsabhā. 33 of 1898 ; *SII.* vi. 316.

„ *Vṛddhācalam* (SA.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* to *Maṇṇaik-kaḍakkam*. Land by residents of Neṟkuppai for reciting the Tiruppadiyam. 44 of 1918.

Year 4, day 84.—*Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—Hereditary appointment of a Śivabrāhmaṇa to the place of *arcaka* in the Subrahmaṇya temple. He was to perform the usual services (*munbu-śeyyak-kaḍava-nibandam*) with the temple lands. 53 of 1898 ; *SII.* vi. 336.

Year 4, day 114.—*Tiruvallam* (NA.)—While Naḍuvirukkum Puvatta Bhaṭṭa Sōmayājiyār of Koṭṭaiyūr was seated in the hall Arumoḻi-dēvan on the north side of the temple of Śōḻēndrasimha-Īśvaram-uḍaiyār at Mēlpāḍi *alias* Rājāśrayapuram and audited the temple accounts, the scale of expenses of the Tikkālivallam-uḍaiya-mahādēva temple was fixed in conformity with the inscription engraved on stone by Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarāccan in the 7th year of Rājarāja * and with other relevant factors. 227 of 1921.

Year 4, day 352.—*Tirumukkūḍal* (NA.) — 120 *kāḍi* of paddy for offerings on new moon days. Mentions Rājarāja-vādya-mahārājan an earlier donor and the officer Śembanguḍaiyār whose order the sabhā carries out in appropriating the paddy in a detailed manner for expenses. 175 of 1915.

* *cf.* 10 of 1890 of Year 7 Rājarāja I.

Year 5.—*Ammanguḍi* (Tj.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* (Frag). Land tax-free to Rājarājēśvaram-uḍaiya-mahādēva. Also provision for lamp. 236 of 1927.

" *Embāḍi* (NA.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* up to *śemboṟṟirutta-gumuḍiyum*. Order issued by the king in year 5 from his palace at Paḻaiyāṟu regarding the dues from the village Perumaḍi. The village had not paid up even by year 25, day 32. 585 of 1906.

" *Kaḷattūr* (NA.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara*. Land for offerings etc. to Tirukkumbiśvaram-uḍaiya Mahādēva at Pañjirai-kaḷattūr *alias* Vikramaśinga-catm. Mentions Kūttan Tiruvēngaḍa-dēvan, an *adigāri* of Uḍaiyapirāṭṭiyār. 158 of 1916.

" *Karuttaṭṭānguḍi* (Tj.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* up to *Maṇṇaik-kaḍakkam*. Gold diadem made out of gold accumulated till year 4 in various ways including *pīḍiligaivāri* and gifts by different donors. The diadem was called *Rājēndraśōḻan-paṭṭam*.
50 of 1897 ; *SII*. v. 1413.

" *Kiḻappaḻuvūr* (Tri.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* to *Maṇṇaik-kaḍakkam*. Lamp by Ariñji-mādēvaḍigaḷ, * a *peṇḍāṭṭi* of Nambirāṭṭiyār Pāṇḍi-mādēviyār, on behalf of her daughter Arumoḻi-dēvan Bhōgi Bhaṭṭan Gaṇḍarādittì. 235 of 1926.

" *Kōnērirājapuram* (Tj.)—Damaged. Mentions year 3 and Āḻvār † Parāntakan Kundavaip-pirāṭṭiyār and her palace at Paḻaiyāṟu. 639 of 1909.

" *Olagapuram* (SA.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* to *Maṇṇaik-kaḍakkam*. Records previous gifts of land to the temple not recorded before and now caused to be engraved by the *taṇḍuvān* for the year. Mentions *Kalikoṇḍap-pērēri* and *Gaṇḍarādittap-pērēri*.
140 of 1919.

* A striking instance of misguiding names having no reference to the status of the persons bearing them.

† Probably died between years 3 and 5 of Rājēndra. *ARE*. 1910 II 20. *Contra* 249 of 1923 year 7 and *ARE*. 1924 II 14 where this mistake is corrected.

Year 5.—*Śinnamanūr* (Md.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* up to *Maṇṇaik-kaḍakkam.* Sale of land for a lamp to Durgāparamēśvariyār by the sabhās of three villages, Arikēsari-nallūr, Arpagaśekhara-mangalam and Mandragaurava-mangalam met in the *śrīvāśalgōpuram* of Durgāparamēśvariyār. 439 of 1907.

„ *Tiruppalāttuṛai* (Tri.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara.* Last conquest mentioned is *Īḻa-maṇḍalam.* * Land. 257 of 1903 ; also 275 ; † *SII.* viii. 650, 674.

„ *Tiruppugalūr* (Tj.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* to *Īḻa-maṇḍalam.* Lands of the temple exempted from taxes by the assembly of Bhūlōkamāṇikka-catm., and provision made for worship to Śrī-kāmēśvaram-uḍaiyār and recitation of the Vēdas. Endowment was 50 *kāśu* yielding 75 *kalam* interest per annum. 52 of 1928.

„ *Tiruvallam* (NA.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* to *Īḻa-maṇḍalam.* Sale of land by Vāṇapurattu-ūr, tax-free, with well, *ēri-nīrkkāl* and *ētta-nīrkkāl* and irrigation right. Notable phrases : *engaḷūr mañjikkamāy viṟṟa nilam ; nīr vilaiyum maṟṟu śilligai śōṟu-māṭṭu veṭṭi amañji-yum maṟṟumonṟum kāṭṭappeṟādōmānōm.* 4 of 1890 ; *SII.* iv. 327.

„ *Tiruveṟumbūr* (Tri.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* to *Maṇṇaik-kaḍakkam.* Land for offerings to Tirumalai-āḻvār of Tiruveṟumbiyūr by ūr. Grant made in Rājarāja's time, year 21. Mentions *māḷigaik-kōl.* 99 of 1914.

„ *Tiruviśalūr* (Tj.)—Provision for feeding Brahmans. Mentions Uruttiran Arumoḻi *alias* Piruti-mahādēviyār, queen of Rājarāja-dēva. ‡ 349 of 1907.

„ *Tribhuvani* (Pondicherry) — *Tiru manni vaḷara* up to *Īḻa-maṇḍalam.* " This temple of Naḍuvil-vīra-nārāyaṇa-viṇṇagar at Tribhuvanamādēvi-catm., a *brahmadēya* in Jayangoṇḍa-śōḻa-maṇḍalam, shall be under the

* Ceylon must have been conquered before 1015-6 A.D. *ARE.* 1908 II 55.

† 275 is dated Tuesday 26th March. A.D. 1017-*EI.* viii 262 (Kielhorn.)

‡ cf. 27 of 1897.

protection of the regiments of Śri-Vādanūr Tillaiyāḷip-perumbaḍai and ...... Pallāyiravan of our lord Rājarāja-dēvar." 174 of 1919.

Year 5.—*Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* up to *Maṇṇaik-kaḍakkam.* Land for various purposes to Śri Kṛṣṇa in the temple of Kongaraiyar called Rājēndra-śōḷa-viṇṇagar by the sabhā of Uttaramērūr *alias* Rājēndra-śōḷa-catm. The endowment was in charge of the *Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-gaṇap-perumakkaḷ.* 174 of 1923.

" *Vṛddhācalam* (SA.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* up to *Īḻa-maṇḍa-lam.* Gold, 10 *kaḻañju,* for lamp to Neṟkuppait-tiru-mudukuṇṟam - uḍaiyār by Śembiyan - dēvaḍigaḷār, daughter of Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar and wife of Muññai Vallavaraiyar. 39 of 1918.

Year 5, day 230.—*Brahmadēśam* (NA.) — *Tiru manni vaḷara* to *Īḻa-maṇḍalam.* 90 sheep for lamp to Pondai-mahādēva in Karikkōṭṭup-piramadēyam *alias* Parākrama *-śōḷa-catm., in Tiruvēgambapuram. Mentions Mandara-gauravanār Kundā-dēviyār (wife of) Vallavaraiyar Vandya-dēvar, † chief of the *sāmantas.*

243 of 1915.

Year 5, day 281.—*Paṇḍāravāḍai* (Tj.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* up to *Īḻa-maṇḍalam.* An undertaking by two shepherds to supply *ghī,* ½ measure daily, for lamp to the central shrine of Tiruccōlūr-dēva for 90 sheep received by them from Āḻvār Śrī Parāntakan Śrī Kundavaip-pirāṭṭiyār ‡ 256 of 1923.

Year 6.—*Kaṇḍiyūr* (Tj.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* up to *Palpaḻandī-vum.* A long record giving interesting details of the expenditure in the temple of Kaṇḍiyūr situated in Āyirattaḷi. 22 of 1895 ; *SII.* v. 578.

* Surname of Rājarāja I, *ARE.* 1916 II 8.

† In other Brahmadēśam records, the wife is called Indaḷa-dēviyār. The Tanjore records mention another wife - Parāntakan Kundavai. The chieftain was perhaps a native of Kongu (157 of 1915) - *ARE.* 1916 II 13.

‡ See n. to 639 of 1909 Year 5.

Year 6.—*Kilappaluvūr* (Tri.)—*Tiru manni valara* up to *Palpalandīvum.* Undertaking by the priests of the temple of Tiruvālandurai-ālvār to measure out a stipulated quantity of *ghī* daily for 15 *kāśu* received by them from the temple treasury. 227 of 1926.

" *Mēlpāḍi* (C.)—*Tiru manni valara* up to *Palpalandīvum* 72 *kalañju* gold at the instance of Īrāyiravan Pallavan *alias* Uttamaśōla Pallavaraiyan, lord of Araiśūr, for 720 sheep, distributed among shepherds who had to supply two measures of *ghī* daily by the Rājakēsari measure. Adhikārin Udayamāttāṇḍa Mūvēndavēḷān executed the order. 100 of 1921.

" *Nattam* (Ch.)—*Tiru manni valara.* Land for offerings. Mentions assembly of Nigariliśōla-catm., which included 12 members of the *samvatsara-vāriyam* doing *śrī-kāryam.* Details of prices, wages and yield of land. 263 of 1912.

" *Paṇḍāravāḍai* (Tj)—*Tiru manni valara* to *Palpalandīvum.* Two lamp-stands and 90 sheep for lamp to Tiruccēlūr-mahādēva at Rājakēsari-catm., * in Nallūr-nāḍu by Ālvar Śri-Parāntakan Śrī-Kundavaip-pirāṭṭiyār. 239 of 1923.

" *Śērmādēvi* (Tin,)—(*Vaṭṭeluttu*). *Tiru manni valara* up to *Īla-maṇḍalamuludum.* Gift of hereditary *karāṇmai* over a *dēvadāna* tank to the merchant Mannēṟkkāḍan *alias* Tirunīlakaṇḍa-śeṭṭi of Nagaram Rājēndra-śōlapuram, by the assembly of Nigarili-śōla-catm., a *brahmadēya* in Mulli-nāḍu in Rājarāja-maṇḍalam, the merchant being required to pay two *kāśu* to Kailāsam-uḍaiyār as *ulavu-kāśu* on each *vēli* of land. 614 of 1916.

" *Suldenahalli* (Mys.)—The *nāṭṭār* of Kaivāra-nāḍu in Gangapallapuram (of Nulumbapāḍi *alias* Nigarili-śōla-pāḍi) make an arrangement for the sacrifice by the

* Perhaps after Āditya I. Rājagiri, a small place a mile from Kōyil Tēvarāyanpēṭṭai, has ruins of temples, now forming private premises - *ARE.* 1924 II 8.

Kuṟattiyar of the nāḍu of a goat (āḍu) on each Tuesday to Bhaṭṭāraki Muṇḍēśvari of Jayangoṇḍa-śōḻa-catm. 484 of 1911; *EC.* x. Kl. 26.

Year 6.—*Tirunāgēśvaram* (Tj.) — *Tiru manni vaḻara* to *Palpaḻandīvum.* A jewel to temple made from the accumulated income (*antarāyattil kūḍina mudal*) from the fief (*kāṇi*) of Aḍigaḷ-āccan, one of the Iḷaiya-kuñjira-mallar in the army of Rājēndra-Cōḻa-dēva commanded by Adikārigaḷ Śōḻa-Mūvēndavēḷār. 211 of 1911.

" *Tiruppattūr* (Tri.)—*Tiru manni vaḻara* to *tiruttagumuḍiyum.* Gift by Uttamaśōḻa * Milāḍuḍaiyār. Mentions Tiruppiḍavūr-sabhā. 587 of 1908.

" *Tiruvāḍutuṟai* (Tj.)—*Tiru manni vaḻara* up to *Palpaḻandīvum.* Sale of *nañjai* and *puñjai*, 2 *vēli*, 8 *mā* each of common land, tax-free (cost 10 *kāśu*, *iṟai-kāval* 190), to the temple by the assemby of Abhayāśraya-catm. *alias* Śāttanūr met at the Ulagaḷandān to the north of the temple. Mentions the *māḷigaik-kōl* by which 100 *kuḻi* was a *mā.* Also land given to the temple in year 5 by the ūr of Kāṟanūr in Pērāvūr-nāḍu for a lamp. 102 of 1925.

" *Tiruvāḍutuṟai* (Tj.)—*Tiru manni vaḻara* to *Palpaḻandīvum.* Sale of one *vēli* of land to the temple for forty *kāśu* by the assembly of Pērāvūr, a *brahmadēya* in Pērāvūr-nāḍu, with an undertaking to pay all its taxes for a further sum of 90 *kāśu* received by them. 109 of 1925.

" *Tiruvālangāḍu* (NA.)—Copper-plates. *SII.* iii. 205.

" *Tiruvallam* (NA.)—*Tiru manni vaḻara* up to *Palpaḻandīvum.* Sale of waste land by residents of Vāṇapuram. 220 of 1921.

" *Tiruviḻakkuḍi* (Tj.)—*Tiru manni vaḻara* up to *Tolperungāval Palperundīvum.* Detailed description of tax-free lands endowed for flower-gardens and *śrībali* to

* After a surname of Rājēndra - *ARE.* 1909 II. 43.

Tiruverudupāḍi-mahādēva in Kaḍalanguḍi also known as Viḍēlviḍugu-catm., in the (2)0, 24, and 27th years of Rājarāja by the residents of Kaḍalanguḍi, Iḍaiyāṟu and Pāṇḍūr. Also gift by his queen Arumoḻi-dēviyār made in year 2 of Rājēndra of 50 cows of which only 26 survived in year 5. 120 of 1926.

Year 6.—*Tribhuvani* (Pondicherry)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* up to *Palpaḻandīvum.* The great men of the village of Tribhvana-mādēvi-catm., made an order that every 6 *mā* of land irrigated by the tank Madhurāntakap-pērēri must pay one *kalam* of paddy as *ēri-āyam* and that the tank-committee must collect this and maintain the tank in good repair. 192 of 1919. *

" *Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* up to *Palpaḻandīvum.* Apportionment by the village assembly of shares in *arcanāvṛtti* among the four Vaikhānasas of Kongaraiya Śri-kōyil in lieu of those held by them at Araśāṇimangalam, an *arcanābhōga.* 171 of 1923.

" *Vēḷaccēri* (Ch.)—Sheep for lamp by a Brahman lady, the wife of one of the *āḷunganattār* of the village. 302 of 1911.

" *Vēḷaccēri* (Ch.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* to *Palpaḻandīvum.* Sale of lands held by non-brahmans to the temple with the king's permission. 311 of 1911. †

Year 6, day 185.—*Tiruppanangili* (Tri.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* up to *Palpaḻandīvam.* Under the supervision of the *mūlaparuḍaiyār*, the *perumakkaḷ* of the Mēlaic-cēri-maṇiyambalam administer an endowment of 150 *kāśu* for *Śiṟu-kālaip-paruppup-pōnagam.* The schedule of expenses gives the information that 2 *nāḻi paruppu* (dholl) = *kuṟuṇi irunāḻi* paddy ; one *piḍi* of ghi = 2 *nāḻi* paddy ; sugar one palam = two *nāḻi* of paddy ; and that one *poṟikkaṟiyamudu* = four *nāḻi* of paddy. 91 of 1892 ; *SII.* iv. 538.

* cf. 66 of 1919 of 20 Tribh. Cn. Kulōttunga. - *ARE* 1919 II 17.

† Though this number is not quoted, this record seems to be treated at *ARE.* 1912 II 23 as a sale by public auction for default in payment of taxes.

Year 7.—*Elaburige* (Mys.)—Irāsēntira-śōḷa-dēvar. Below a female figure: "represents wife of Mūkkaiyan" who performed sati. Mūkkaiyan was the *gāmuṇḍa* of Kuḷattūr *MAR.* 1917, p. 42.

" *Kōnērirājapuram* (Tj.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* to Ceylon conquest (variation at end). Some drummers of the temple undertook to beat drums, and blow horns and conches during the early morning service in consideration of the money they received from a private person. 642 of 1909.

" *Kuhūr* (Tj.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara.* Sale of land by the assembly of Tirupperundurai, a *brahmadēya* in Tirunaraiyūr-nāḍu. Mentions a revenue survey. 296 of 1917.

" *Paṇḍāravāḍai* (Tj.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* up to *tiruttagumuḍiyum.* Sale of house-site (1¼ grounds) to Āḷvār Śri Kundavaip-pirāṭṭiyār by a resident of Kalākarac-cēri of the village, to make up the deficit in the *vaidyabhōga* provided by her for the hospital called Sundara-śōḷa-viṇṇagar-ātula-śālai at Tañjāvūr. The *vaidyabhōga* given by her in year 3 (No. 248) and the present gift were to be enjoyed by Savarṇan Araiyan Madhurāntakan and his descendants who were natives of Marugal. Both these transactions were engraved by the big assembly by order of the princess communicated to them from the palace at Paḷaiyāṟu. * 249 of 1923.

" *Rāmanāthan Kōyil* (Tj.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara.* Land for worship and offerings to god in the Pañcavan-Mahādēviśvaram built as a *paḷḷipaḍai* † at Paḷaiyāṟu *alias* Muḍikoṇḍa-śōḷapuram in Tirunaraiyūr-nāḍu, a sub-division of Kṣatriya-śikhāmaṇi-vaḷa-nāḍu. Mentions Tiruvādirai as natal star of Rājēndra and Rēvati as that of his queen; also Lakulīśvara Paṇḍita who supervised the affairs of the temple. 271 of 1927.

* This palace was the home of Rājēndra, cf. 463 of 1908 (year 3)

† This word is sought to be erased in the record - *ARE.* 1927 II 13.

Year 7.—*Śangēndi* (Tri.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* * up to *tiruttagu-muḍiyum.* Sale of land to Kailāsamuḍaiya-mahādēva by the assembly of Śangēndi-mangalam for money given by a lady for a lamp. Another gift of land by the same assembly for offerings. 325 of 1928.

" *Śenkunṟam* (NA.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* to *tiruttagu-muḍiyum.* Land, tax-free, to Jayangoṇḍa-śōḷīśvara, by merchants assembled in the hall (built by) the supervisor of Vikkūr *alias* Jayangoṇḍa-śōḷapuram. Details of temple expenditure given. 152 of 1921.

" *Tanjore.—Tiru manni vaḷara* to *Śandimat-tīvu* (Kēraḷa). Money to image of Śrī-Kaṇṭha deposited with the *karaṇattār* by the Perundanattuk-karmigaḷ of Rājēndra Cōḷa and lent out to villages on interest at the rate of 3 *kuṟuṇi* paddy per *kāśu* per annum.
29 of 1897 ; *SII.* ii. 82.

" *Tiruvadi* (SA.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* up to *Palpaḷan-dīvum.* 90 sheep for lamp by a captain (*nāyakan*) of the Rājakuñjaratteriñja-villigaḷ of Enanallūrk-kaḍagam-āna-uḍaiyār-paḍai. 394 of 1921.

" *Uyyakkoṇḍān-Tirumalai* (Tri.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* to *Palpaḷandīvum.* 90 sheep for lamp by Śōlai-irāja-śingam, for merit of her mother Dēvan Peṟṟamai, the *peṇḍāṭṭi* of Rājēndra-śōḷa Irukkuvēḷār of Koḍumbāḷūr.
97 of 1892 ; *SII.* iv. 544.

Year 7, day 186. — *Tiruvallam* (NA.) — *Tiru manni vaḷara* to (*tiruttagu*)*muḍiyum.* Deposit of gold in temple treasury for the daily supply of *tumbai* flower and an extra quantity of it on Sankrānti days to Tīkkāli-vallam-uḍaiyār. Grain measure *pañcavārakkāl.*
226 of 1921. †

Year 7, day 229.—*Tirumukkūḍal* (NA.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* to *tiruttagumuḍiyum.* Detailed regulation by the sabhā of Madhurāntaka-catm., a *taniyūr,* of the cultivation of a Nandavana belonging to Mahā-viṣṇu of

* In later characters. † 228 of year 14, day 187, is similar.

Tirumukkūḍal by the Vaikhānasas of the temple, and provision for the expenses of cultivation. Wages, manure, irrigation, and lease and cultivation rights dealt with. 172 of 1915; *ARE.* 1916 II. 11.

Year 8.—*Agaram* (Ch.)—The king constructed the village of Vānamangai and settled in it 4000 Brahmans. 232 of 1931.*

„ *Ambāsamudram* (Tin.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* to *tiruttagumuḍiyum.* Lamp to temple of Tiru-śālait-tuṟai-āḻvār of Iḷangōkkuḍi, a hamlet of Rājarāja-catm., by a native of the Cōḷa country. 74 of 1907.

„ *Kāmarasavalli* (Tri.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* to *tiruttagumuḍiyum.* Land made tax-free by assembly met in the Kailāsam-uḍaiyār temple after being summoned by double bugle (*iraṭṭaik-kāḷam*). 72 of 1914.

„ *Kīḻappaḻuvūr* (Tri.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* up to *tiruttagumuḍiyum.* Sabhā of Śiṟupaḻuvūr took fifty *kāśu* from Innāṭṭu-mannu-perumpaḻuvūr Aḍigaḷ Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar-peṇḍāṭṭi Virāṇan-oṟṟiyūr. 104 of 1895; *SII.* v. 665.

„ *Kōlār* (Mys.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* to *tiruttagumuḍiyum.* Five buffaloes for one lamp left with the Śiva-brāhmaṇas of the temple. *EC.* x. Kl. 106 (a)

„ *Puñjai* (Tj.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* to *tiruttagumuḍiyum.* Decision of the assembly (*mūlaparuḍai*) of Talaiccangāḍu met at Mummuḍi-śōḻan-maṇḍapa to pay taxes, in return for fifty *kāśu*, on two *vēli* of land at Pūdanūr which had been purchased by the Periyataḷi-mahādēva temple for expenses of the Vaigāśi festival and of feeding Brahmans on the occasion. It also agreed to pay taxes on two *vēli* of temple land at Kīḻppulam in lieu of interest on 100 *kāśu* which had been received by it on *kaiyeḻuttōlai* from the same temple. Engraved by order of the assembly on the walls of Tirunanni-paḷḷi-uḍaiyār. 187 of 1925.

* No. 231, 235 refer to the king's construction of the Kailāsanātha temple in the village.

Year 8.—*Śembiyanmahādēvi* (Tj.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* to *tiruttagumuḍiyum*. Remission by village assembly of taxes due on land granted for a flower-garden to the temple. Another remission of taxes on other lands given to certain images including one of Śembiyanmahādēviyār. Mentions Vikramaśōḷa-vadi.

481 of 1925.

" *Śivapuram* (Ch.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* to *tiruttagumuḍiyum*. Two lamps by the king to the Rājarājēśvara temple in Urōḍagam in Puriśai-nāḍu of the Maṇayiṟ-kōṭṭam. Sheep 180. 18 of 1896; *SII*. v. 881.

" *Takkōlam* (NA.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* to *tiruttagumuḍiyum*. 32 cows by a private individual for milk to god for the merit of the king's mother Tribhuvanamādēviyār. 276 of 1921.

" *Tirunāgēśvaram* (Tj.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* up to *tiruttagumuḍiyum*. Gift of 48 sheep for half-lamp by a *peṇḍāṭṭi* of Uḍaiyār - ānaimēṟṟuñjinār - vēḷam *alias* Abhimāna-bhūsaṇat-terinda-tiruvandik - kāppu - vēḷam for merit of her daughter. 212 of 1911.

" *Uḍaiyārguḍi* (SA.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* up to Iraṭṭapāḍi conquest. Fifty *kāśu* for sale of land by sabhā to Tribhuvana-mahādēviyār Vānavan Mahādēviyār, queen of Rājēndra-śōḷa-dēvar, for offerings and worship to images of Candraśēkhara Perumāḷ and his consort set up by her. Tiruvanantēśvara of the temple is called *nammūladeyvam* by the sabhā. 624 of 1920. *

Year 8, day 50.—*Tinnevelly*—*Tiru manni vaḷara* † up to *tiruttagumuḍiyum*. Enquiry by Aḍigārigaḷ Brahmaśrī-kiḻār into the *Kōyil-karumam*. Mentions the Tirunelvēli Vaḷañjīyar who gave 5¾ *nilam* in Kaṇṇanūr as *dēvadāna iṟaiyili*.

157 of 1894; *SII*. v. 449.

* In App. F of *ARE*. 1921 this record is treated doubtfully as of Rājēndra I or II.

† Later characters-copy ?

Year 9.—*Agaram* (SA.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* up to *tiruttagu-muḍiyum.* Deliberations of the great assembly of Nṛpatunga-Śentāngi-catm. *alias* Jananātha-catm. relating to the occupation of temple land (of Mahāśāstā) by artisans and others, and the assignment, in return, of several kinds of services to them such as conducting worship, supplying oil for lamps, keeping watch over the temple etc.; mentions *Śāttagaṇattar.*

386 of 1922.

" Ś. 943 *—*Beḷatūru* (Mys.)—Rebuilding of an old temple and its consecration after Rudra-hōma and large scale feeding. Gift of land to it.

139 of 1898; *EC.* iv. Hg. 16.

" *Gōvindavāḍi* (Ch.) — *Tiru manni vaḷara* up to Iraṭṭa-pāḍi conquest. 96 sheep for lamp in the temple of Tiruvūṟal-āṇḍār at Takkōlam *alias* Kṣatriyaśikhāmaṇi-puram. Six *kāśu* for supply of flowers given on the 345th day of the same year. 37 of 1923.

" Ś. 943.—*Marūr* (Mys.)—(Kanarese). Mentions the Nāṭṭaraya Huḷimadda and his part in the administration of justice. In this case capital punishment was awarded for assault and manslaughter.

497 of 1911; *EC.* iv. Hs. 10-11 †

" *Mēlpāḍi* (C.) — *Tiru manni vaḷara* up to Iraṭṭapāḍi. Some shepherds give an undertaking, before Maḍam-uḍaiya Ilakuḷiśvara Paṇḍitar Kaṇmigaḷ, to secure the supply of *ghī* for a lamp by a shepherd Ēṟan Śāttan under all circumstances. 85 of 1889; *SII.* iii. 18.

" *Sōmūr* (Tri.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* up to Iraṭṭapāḍi conquest. Fifteen cows for one lamp by Veḷḷāḷan Śingan-śōlai resident of Dēvanapaḷḷi. The temple authorities (*ivvūr-śrīkōyiluḍaiyōm*) undertake to protect the charity. "*Nāginṛina śūlam poṛiccu śāvāmūvāp-perumbaśuvāgak-kāṭṭu*" etc.

69 of 1890; *SII.* iv. 393.

* July 7, 1020 A.D. Kielhorn *EI.* iv p. 21.

† Obscure language difficult to interpret-Rice (n. to Eng. Trans.)

Year 9. *—*Tirukkaḷittaṭṭai* (Tj.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* up to *navanidikkulapperu-malaigaḷum.* Remission of taxes on temple land in Vēmbaṟṟūr *alias* Śōḷamārtāṇḍa-catm., by the mahāsabhā of that village. Mentions a survey. The taxes included ; *siddhāya-kāśu; pañcavāra-nellu ; payaṟu, tuvarai* and other *ūriḍuvari; ēri-īvu ; śilvari.* The remission was made after taking 65 *kāśu* from the Śri-Kuḍittiṭṭai temple. The names of *śēris* in the place give surnames of Rājarāja.
292 of 1908.

„ *Tirukkaḷittaṭṭai* (Tj.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* to conquest of Iraṭṭapāḍi. Similar to the above (292). Mentions a *kaḍigai* (*ghaṭikā*) in Vēmbaṟṟūr which included this village and Tiruviśalūr ; as also many *śēris* of the town.
293 of 1908.

„ *Tirumukkūḍal* (NA.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* to *navanidikkulapperu-malaigaḷum.* 90 sheep for lamp by the headman (*kiḻavan*) of Kāmavūr-Kiliñalūr to the north of Vānavan-Mahādēvi-catm., a *taniyūr.*
170 of 1915.

„ *Tiruvadi* (SA.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* up to Iraṭṭapāḍi conquest. One hundred *kāśu* by Aṇukki Śāttan Rāmadēvi, a *peṇḍāṭṭi* of the Periya-vēḷam of Rājēndraśōḷa, to the Nagarattār of Adiyaraiya-mangalam, who had to give as interest fifty *kalam* of paddy to the temple for offerings on specified occasions. Mentions *Arumoḻidēvan marakkāl.* 401 of 1921.

„ *Tiruvāḍuturai* (Tj.)—*Tiru manni valara.* Sale of land, tax-free, to temple by the assembly of Kāvanūr for 100 *kāśu.* 128 of 1925.

„ *Tiruviḍaivāyil* (Tj.)—A Śivabrāhmaṇa took from Koṟṟiyammai 12 *kalam* of paddy at interest of 3 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy annually for offerings during the Śittirai festival. Another gift by same donor of 28 *kalam* (yielding annually 7 *kalam* at 3 *kuṟuni* per *kalam*) for feeding dancing girls during the festival. 28, 29 of 1918.

* Wednesday, 8th February 1021, Jacobi., *EI.* xi. p. 121.

Year 9.—*Tiruviśalūr* (Tj.)—Twenty-five *kāśu* for a lamp to Umāsahitar by a native of Pāṇḍi-nāḍu. 346 of 1907.

Year 9, day 38.—*Tirumukkūḍal* (NA.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* to *tiruttagumuḍiyum.* 90 sheep for lamp by Maṇḍai-nangai, the senior wife of *Perundanam* Rājarājan *alias* Vānavan Brahmādhirājan, in charge of *kaḻani-* and ūr of Kūḍalūr. 174 of 1915.

Year 10. — *Kottaśivaram* (An.) — (Kan. and Tamil). This Maṇḍapa erected by Arōyaru Rājarājan *alias* Vikrama Cōḷa * Cōḷiya-varaiyan, chief of Śāttamangalam in Tirēmūr-nāḍu and commander of the forces (of the king), on the 40th day opposite the 160th (of this year). Below are titles : Nālamaḍi Bhīma, Cōḷana-cakra, and Sāmantābharaṇam in Kan. ; Nānmadibhīman and Sāmantābharaṇan in Tamil, perhaps titles of the chief who built the Maṇḍapa. Another record (24)—Edirtta-varkālan and Ahitaroṭṭaḷivan in Kan. ; and Vayiri-nārāyaṇan and Vīrabhīman in Tamil, of about the same period (as in No. 23). No. 30—is Tamil verse mentioning Nānmaḍivima and Telungar. On same pillar in old Kannada : Jayaśingakulakāla and Sāmantalaprahāri. No. 31—Tamil verse mentions battle with Kalingas, Oḍḍas and Telungas ; also titles in Nāgari : Ahitaroṭṭaḷiva etc.

23, 24, 30 and 31 of 1917.

" *Taḍi-malingi* (Mys.) — *Tiru manni vaḷara.* Muśangi is here called Mayal. Apparently Gangapāḍi was called Muḍikoṇḍa - cōḷa-maṇḍala ; and Māyilangai (Malingi opposite Taḷakkāḍ on the other side of the river) was called *Jananāthapura* : *Gangapāḍiyāna Mudikoṇḍa-śōḷa-maṇḍalattu tenkarai - nāṭṭu - Māyilangai tan (yāna ?) Jananāthapurattu.*

490 of 1911 ; *EC.* iii. Tn. 34.

" *Tanjore—Tiru manni vaḷara* up to *naranidikkulap-peru-malaigaḷum* (i.e., Iraṭṭapāḍi). Loans from endowments to Mahāmēru Viṭanka and his consort (set up

* Surname of Rājēndra ? *ARE.* 1917 II. 2. cf. 752 of 1917.

by Rājarāja), by the *śiṟudanattup *-panimakkaḷ*, for interest at the rate of *mukkuṟuṇi* per *kāśu* per annum (Continuation of *SII.* ii 82 of year 7).

SII. ii. 83.

Year 10.—*Tirumālpuram* (NA.) — Money for supply of four *kaḻañju* of Śidāri by a native of the Cōḷa country,

292 of 1906.

" *Tiruppugalūr* (Tj.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* up to *kulapperu-malaigaḷum*. Remission of taxes on the temple land by the assembly of Bhūlōka-Māṇikka-catm., in consideration of 150 *kāśu* from the temple.

44 of 1928.

" *Tiruvāṇḍārkōyil* (Pondicherry)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* to *kulapperu-malaigaḷum* followed by: *Pāradu nigaḻa pāṇḍi-maṇḍalattu-Maduraiyil māḷigai eḍuppittu tan magan Śōḻa-pāṇḍiyan-eṉṟabhiṣēkañjeydu taṇḍārccālaikkalamaṟutta kōpparakēsari.* 363 of 1917.

" *Tiruvīḻimiḻalai* (Tj.) — *Tiru manni vaḷara* (dam.) to Muyangi and a little more. Mentions copper image of Aḻagiya Maṇavāḷa caused to be made by the mother of Rājēndraśōḻa-Aṇukkap-pallavaraiyar.

444 of 1908.

" *Uḍaiyārguḍi* (SA.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* up to conquest of Iraṭṭapāḍi. Sixty *kāśu* by the headman (*kiḻān*) of Ārkkāḍu for the daily supply of 1000 lotuses for worship. The assembly met in the hall constructed by Tennavan Viḻupparaiyar, called *nammaganār* by the king. Assembly calls the Tiruvanantēśvara *nammūladeyvam*. 625 of 1920.

" *Uḍaiyārguḍi* (SA.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* up to conquest of Iraṭṭapāḍi. Agreement by some villagers to supply the flowers stipulated in No. 625 as interest on 60 *kāśu* received by them from the treasury of the temple.

626 of 1920.

* 'Servants of the minor treasure' (*SII.* ii. p. 405) servants or officers of the king when he was young (*śiṟu-danam*) - *ibid n.* 2.

Year 10.—*Uyyakkoṇḍān-Tirumalai* (Tri.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* up to conquest of Iraṭṭapāḍi. Paddy for *abhiṣēka* to the god on the king's birthday (ārdrā) to Tirukkaṛkuḍi-viḷumiya-dēva. 464 of 1908.

Veḷaccēri (Ch.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* to conquest of Iraṭṭapāḍi. Assembly (mahāsabhā) of Veḷiccēri sold 1500 *kuḷi* of land to the temple, and receiving 13 *kāśu* made the land tax-free. Also gift of 23 *kāśu* for a lamp by a Brahman lady. 305 of 1911.

Year 10, day 107.—*Mēlpāḍi* (C.) — *Tiru manni vaḷara* to Iraṭṭapāḍi conquest. Paddy and money of the temple not properly appropriated for expenses since the third year. As a result of audit by a royal officer, a fresh allocation is made. 102 of 1921.

Year 11.—*Agaram* (SA.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* up to *teṟipunaṟ-kengaiyum*. Land for offerings and lamp to Mahāśāstā Kayiṟūr Aiyanār by the members of the big assembly of Nṛpatunga-śēntāngi-catm. *alias* Jananātha-catm., a *brahmadēya*. The assembly met in the Ayyanār temple. 368 of 1922.

Kiḷaiyūr (Tj.) — *Tiru manni vaḷara*. Land for the maintenance of two persons singing the *tiruppadiyam* during the three services of Tirukkadavuḍaiya-dēvar, each getting three *kuṟuṇi* of paddy per diem.
96 of 1925. *

Kōlār (Mys.)—*Pūrvadēśamum Gangaiyum koṇḍa*. A royal gift of *dēvadāna* from the camp at Kāñcīpuram. The record furnishes interesting details of procedure followed on such occasions.
476 of 1911 ; *EC*. x. Kl. 112 (*a*).

Kuṟubūṟu (Mys.)—*Śrī Pūrvadēśamum Gangaiyum Kaḍāramum-goṇḍa*. *EC*. x. Ct. 47.

* This, and 91 and 95 of years 17 and 18 of Rājarāja, are records on pillars, and part of the introduction is omitted perhaps for lack of space.

Year 11.—*Tirumukkūḍal* * (Ch.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* to *Gangaiyum.* 113 sheep to temple of Veṇṇaik-kūttar at Tirumukkūḍal in or near Nīrkunṟam, the northern hamlet of Madhurāntaka-catm., a *taniyūr* in Kaḷattūr-kōṭṭam, by a native of Akkāramangalam. The sheep were in charge of *Tirumukkūḍalum Kūḍalūrum Ūrōm.*
167 of 1915.

Year 12.—*Kāḷahasti* (NA.)—Gold for the Kṛttikā-dīpa and 90 sheep by Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḷa-milāḍuḍaiyār, a chief of Milāḍu. 291 of 1904.

,, *Tirumalai* (*Pōḷūr* NA.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* to *teṟipunaṟ-kangaiyum.* Lamp to Paḷḷiccandam Vaigāvūr Tirumalai-dēva by Iḷaiyamaṇi-nangai also called Pallavaraśar-dēviyār Śiṉṉavaiyār. Sixty *kāśu,* the amount of the endowment, was converted into land.
SII. i. 68.

,, *Uyyakkoṇḍān-Tirumalai* (Tri.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* to *teṟipunaṟ-kengaiyum.* Provision for feeding Śiva-yōgins in the Tiruvāgīśvaram-Rājēndraśōḷan at the foot of the hill on which the temple of Tirukkaṟkuḍi Viḷumiya-dēva stands. 467 of 1908.

Year 13.—*Maḷūr* (Mys.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* (full). Sale of land by sabhā of Rājēndraśinga-catm. *EC.* ix. Cp. 84.

,, *Tirumalai* (NA.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* to *teṟipunaṟ-kangaiyum.* Twenty *kāśu* for lamp and ten *kāśu* for *tiruvamidu* to Śrī-Kundavai-jinālaya-dēva of Tirumalai by Cāmuṇḍappai, the wife (*maṇavāṭṭi*) of Nandappayyan, a merchant of Perumbāṇappāḍik-karaivaḷi-Malliyūr.
80 of 1887 ; *SII.* i. 67 ; *EI.* ix. pp. 229-33.

Year 13, day 207.—*Emappērūr* (SA.)—*Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān.* An order of Uḍaiyār Rājēndra-Cōḷa-dēva 'who was pleased to take Pūrvadēśam and Gangai,' confiscating the lands of persons who did not settle down in Tirumunaippāḍi-nāḍu and had migrated elsewhere, and granting the

* The Pālāru, Vehkā and Ceyyāṟ rivers meet here. - *ARE.* 1916 II 11.

lands to others who undertook to cultivate them or rear areca-palms thereon. * 531 of 1921.

Year 14.—*Puñjai* (Tj.)—*Tiru mannı vaḷara* (full). Undertaking by the assembly (*mūlaparaḍai*) of Talaccangāḍu to pay some taxes for the temple on some lands, to enable the temple to meet expenses of daily worship and offerings and of a special festival once a year to Ṛṣabhavāhana-dēva in the big temple for the victory of the king's arms (*bhujam varddhittaruḷa*.)
182 of 1925.

" *Tirumalavāḍi* (Tri.)—*Tiru mannı vaḷara* up to *teṟi-punag-kaṇḍ uyum*. Records the re-copying (from the books) on stone of the order of Rājarāja at the instance of Narākkaṉ Rāman (who built the enclosure to the Tanjore temple). The *dēvakanmis* and the sabhā of Gaṇḍarāditta-catm. executed the order.
91 of 1895 ; *SII.* v. 651.

" *Tirunāgēśvaram* (Tj.)—*Tiru mannı vaḷara* (full though damaged). List of jewels etc. owned by the temple, engraved by order of the king made at the instance of a servant Kaṇḍan Kōval-nāthan. 213 of 1911.

Year 14, day 341.—*Erumūr* (SA.) -*Tiru mannu vaḷaru* (apparently full). Assembly of Vaḷavan-mādēvi-catm. met in the temple and in the presence of the 'annual supervision committee' † agreed to pay in paddy the *śilvari* on certain temple lands, the income to be utilised for lamps and offerings. 398 of 1913.

Year 15.—*Mēlappaḻuvūr* (Tri.)—*Tiru mannu vaḷara* (full). An undertaking by the managers of the temple of Paḻuvūr to burn a perpetual lamp before Pagaiviḍaiy-Īśvarat-tu-mahādēva and another before Amanikandarpa-Īśvarattu-mahādēva for lands and money received by them respectively from two persons as an atonement for homicide. 372 of 1924.

532 is similar.

Called *samvatsaram śeyginga ūr-vāriyap-perumakkaḷ*.

Year 15.—*Tirukkaḍaiyūr* (Tj.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* (full). An agreement of the Mahāsabhā of Paḍa-ēviya Tirukkaḍavūr in Uyyakkoṇḍār-vaḷanāḍu to maintain an endowment for two meals to *Māhēśvaras* at midday.
20 of 1906.

Year 16.—*Kāñcīpuram* (Ch.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* (full). Gold by Nigarili-Lōkamādēvi, a servant of queen Mukkōkkiḻān-aḍigaḷ, and by a dancing girl of the temple called Peṟṟi-ponnambalam, for two lamps before Añjañjaṇḍi-durgaiyār. 73 of 1921.

„ *Kōlār* (Mys.)—*Pūrvadēśamum Gangaiyum Kaḍāramum-koṇḍa.* Gift of a *dēvadāna* to Piḍāriyār of Kuvaḷāḷa by the king seated in the palace at Vikrama-cōḷa-pura in the Kaviri-nāḍ. The grant was ordered on the 240th day and entered in the revenue register on the 281st day. 475 of 1911 ; *EC.* x. Kl. 111.

„ *Tirukkaḻukkunṟam* Ch.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* (full). Sheep for lamps in the temple in Tan-kūṟṟut-Tirukkaḻukkunṟam *alias* Ulagaḷanda-śōḷapuram. Mentions Māmallapuram *alias* Jananāthapuram in the Amūr-kōṭṭam. 171 of 1894 ; *SII.* v. 464.

„ *Tirumalavāḍi* (Tri.) — *Tiru manni vaḷara* (full). Piḷḷaiyār Arumoḻi-nangaiyāna-pirān gave 180 sheep for two lamps, distributed among eight shepherds, one getting 45, three others getting 45 together, and the rest 22½ each ; 45 sheep being counted as yielding one *āḻākku* of *ghī* daily, and 22½ sheep, 2½ *śeviḍu.*
77 of 1895 ; *SII.* v. 635.

„ *Tirumalavāḍi* (Tri.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* (full.) Lamp by Śrī Kṛṣṇan Kausalaiyār, wife of Narākkan Śrī Kṛṣṇan Rāman *alias* Rājēndraśōḷa Brahmamārāyar, (the builder of the enclosure to the Tanjore temple). 100 *kāśu* for 90 sheep distributed among four persons equally, each getting 25 *kāśu*, the equivalent of 22½ sheep, and having to supply 22½ *nāḻis* of *ghī* per annum. 78 of 1895 ; *SII.* v. 636.

Year 16.—*Tiruppuṟambiyam* (Tj.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* (full.) Fifty *kāśu* for ten lamps to Ādittiśvara temple at Tiruppuṟambiyam, deposited with *viraiyākkalip-perunderuviṟ-caṅgarappāḍiyōm*.

80 of 1897 ; *SII.* vi. 30.

„ *Tiruvāḍuturai* (Tj.) — *Tiru manni vaḷara* (full.) Undertaking by Śiva-brāhmaṇas to provide offerings to god for midday service and to feed an *apūrvi* daily with the same, out of the interest on 45 *kāśu* received by them from a person, the rate of interest being two *tūṇi* of paddy per *kāśu* per annum.

134 of 1925.

„ *Tiruviḷakkuḍi* (Tj.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* (full.) Sale of land as *śālābhōga* to temple for feeding devotees by the assembly of Kaḍalaṅguḍi who received a lump sum towards payment of taxes due on the land. They agreed to maintain the feeding house on behalf of the temple and supply red lilies to the god.

140 of 1926.

„ *Tribhuvani* (Pondicherry).—*Tiru manni vaḷara*. Assembly met at night, resolved that the village of Varakkūr (*dēvadāna*) divided into six divisions and assigned to 48 tenants with rights of sale and mortgage, was not liable to pay any taxes except those due to the Naḍuvil-śri-kōyil and the tank *Kōkkiḻānaḍip-pērēri*. The dues to the temple amounted to 5 *kalam* per *mā* (by *marakkāl* equal to *nālāyiravan*) from year 17.

189 of 1919.

Year 16, day 32.—*Tirumukkūḍal* (NA.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara*. An agreement by certain Vaikhānasas of the temple with the officers *Puravu - vari - tiṇaik - kaḷam* and *Vari-pottagam* to use the surplus paddy due by them (as discovered by a scrutiny of the temple accounts) for the recitation of the *tiruppadiyam* in the temple for the first time. Mentions Śembiyan-māhādēvi-peru-maṇḍapam in the middle of Madhurāntaka-catm.

183 of 1915.

Year 1(7).—*Kāmarasavalli* (Tri.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* to *palpaḷandīvum.* King called Vīra Rājēndra Cōḷa. Land to temple of Tirunallūr-Mahādēva, by royal order issued from palace at Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram.
61 of 1914.

Year 17.—*Kīḻpākkam* (NA.)—The great assembly of Nityavinōda catm., assembled in the temple of Śrī Kailāsa in the village, borrowed twenty *kaḷañju* of gold from the temple of Rājāditta-Īśvaram-uḍaiyār and placed it in the hands of the *ūr-vāriyam*, who had to supply oil, as interest. 38 of 1911.

„ *Kōnērirājapuram* (Tj.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* (full). Setting up of image of Kṣētrapāla-dēva by queen Arindavan-mahādēvi who also bought some land for it in year 16. 632 of 1909.

„ *Tirumalavāḍi* (Tri.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* (full). One hundred *kāśu* for lamp by Teccappan Śembiyan Mādēvi, the wife (*mārāśiyār*) of Arumoḷi *alias* Uttamaśōḷa-brahama-mārāyar to Tirumalavāḍi-mahādēva. The money was distributed among shepherds in the same manner and proportion as in 78 (year 16). 78-B mentions a *dantak-kāl-paḷḷikkaṭṭil* given to the deity. 78-A and B of 1895; *SII.* v. 637-8.

„ * *Uḍaiyārguḍi* (SA.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* (full.) Land, tax-free, for feeding ten devotees at midday worship and for feeding twenty-five Brahmans in a choultry erected for the merit and in the name of queen Vānavan-mādēvi. The land was sold to the queen for 160 *kāśu* by the Perunguṛi-sabhā. 627 of 1920.

Year 18.—*Mysore*—(Kanarese)—*Gangeyum Pūrvadēśamum Kaḍāramum āṇḍa.* Erection and endowment of the Siddhēśvara temple on the demise (*siddhi*) of the *daṇḍanāyaka* of Śrī-yuddhamalla-dēva. Writer of the inscription was the son of *Mahāmātra* Ajavarmaya.
502 of 1911; *EC.* ix. Nl. 1.

* Treated doubtfully as Rājēndra I or II. in *ARE.* 1921 App. F.

Year 18.—*Tirukkaḷar* (Tj.)—Copper-plates. *Tiru manni vaḷara.* Registers extent of *dēvadāna* lands belonging to the temple. *SII.* iii 207 ; *ARE.* 1903 II 17.

Year 18, day 93.—*Tiruvāmāttūr* (SA.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* (full). Land for campaka flower-garden. Also, land for village doctor, by many corporate bodies acting together. 18 of 1922.

Year 19.—*Maḷūr* (Mys.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* (full). Sale of land by assembly to temple on receipt of money from the king. 195 of 1911 ; *EC.* ix. Cp. 84.

Year 19, day 238.—*Tirumalavāḍi* (Tri)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* (full). Two vessels of gold (198 *kaḷ.*) and silver (294¼ *kaḷ.*) by queen Vānavan-mādēvi. 79 of 1875.

Year 19, day 343.—*Uttaramērūr* (Ch)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* (full). 2240 *kuḻi* of land lying waste (*mañjikkam*) without yielding any taxes was reclaimed by the assembly and presented tax-free for three daily offerings and special worship on the four *ayanam* and *viṣu* days and during eclipses to Ananta-nārāyaṇa on the third storey of the temple ; some other lands for lamps and offerings to the three (auxiliary) images in the lower floor and 1470 *kuḻi* for recitation of *Tiruvāymoḻi* by three persons during morning and evening services. 176 of 1923.

Year 20.—*Kaḷattūr* (NA.) Gold to Kumbīśvaram Uḍaiya-mahādēva at Vikraśinga-catm. Mentions a number of persons of the *āḷunganattār* of the sabhā of the village. 155 of 1916.

" *Kāñcipuram* (Ch.)—*Pūrvadēśamum Gangaiyum Kiḍāramum koṇḍa.* Sale by some merchants of Kāñcīpuram of one *tūṇi* of land as a tax-feee *dēvadāna* for 127 *kaḷañju* of gold to Tiruveḥkā-aṇaik-kiḍandaruḷina Paramasvāmi at Kāñcīpuram. 23 of 1921.

" *Kūhūr* (Tj.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* (full). Land by purchase as *iṟaiyili* from ūr by Madhurāntakan-dēvi for feeding persons who attended the nine days festival in the Āditta-Īśvaram-uḍaiyār temple. 303 of 1917.

Year 20.—*Marudāḍu* (NA.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara.* 90 sheep for a lamp with *ūrār* of whom some are named. Also sale of land for digging a tank, by a servant of a *daṇḍanāyaka.* The village is also called Vikrama-śōḷa-nallūr.
407 of 1912.

" *Nangavaram* (Tri.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* (full). The king dismissed two of the temple drummers and appointed another man instead. 335 of 1903.

" *Śōḷapuram* (NA.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* (damaged). Sale of land 14000 *kuḷi* (by 16 *śāṇ-kōl*) to temple by the residents (*nagarattōm*) of the city as *iṟaiyili dēvadāna.* 344 of 1912.

" *Tirumalavāḍi* (Tri.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara.* Paddy for offerings to images of Piḷḷaiyār Tiruñana-sambandaḍigaḷ, Tirunāvukkaraiya-dēva and Nambi Ārūranār set up by Tirumālarangan *alias* Tiruppaḷḷittāma-piccan and his lady. 37 of 1920.

" *Tiruvārūr* (Tj.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara.* List of gifts by Rājēndra-cōḷa-dēva's Aṇukkiyār Paravainangaiyār for plating and guilding certain portions of the temple ; also gift of pearls and coral wreaths by Arumoḷi-Kūttan *alias* Lōkamārāyan ; other gifts.* *Rājarājan-kāśu-niṟaikal* is mentioned as a standard of weight for gold.
680 of 1919.

" *Vṛddhācalam* (SA.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* (full). Land for monthly festivals (*tiruvādirai*) *pañcagavya, hōma* etc., in temple, for the prosperity of the king.
54 of 1918.

Year 21.—*Ratnagiri* (Tri.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* (full). Sale of land tax-free to temple for 380 *kāśu* by the assembly of Ariñjigai-catm., after paying taxes on part of it for fifteen years on behalf of the original holders who had left the place to live elsewhere without arranging to pay the accumulated dues on the land.
189 of 1914 ; *ARE.* 1915 II 22.

* Vast quantities of gold and copper and the building of the temple mentioned.

Year 21.—*Tiruvaiyāṟu* (Tj.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* (full). Gold ornaments, jewelled, to Ulōkamahādēvi-Īśvaram-uḍaiyār by Dantiśakti. 154 of 1918. *

Year 22.—Ś. 955 † —*Beḷatūru* (Mys.)—(Kanarese)—*Pūrvadēśamum Gangaiyum Kaḍāramum-goṇḍa*. Fragment giving the titles assumed by the Vīra Baḷañji Dharmma merchants in grants made by them.
140 of 1898 ; *EC.* iv. Hg. 17.

Year 22.—*Kāñcipuram* (Ch.)—*Pūrvadēśam* etc. Tax-free gift of 1000 *kuḻi* of land as *dēvadāna* and of 3600 *kuḻi* by sale for 47 *kaḻañju* by the *mā-nagarattōm* of Kāñcipuram for worship in the temple Tiruvaṣṭa-bhuyagṛhattu-mahāviṣṇu. 6 of 1921.

„ *Kōlār* (Mys.) — *Tiru manni vaḷara* (full). Gift of buffaloes for lamp in the Piḍāri (Kōlāramma) temple built to the king's order by Mārāyan Arumoḻi *alias* Sēnāpati Uttamasōḻa-Brahmamārāyan, son of Narākkan Śrī Kṛṣṇan Rāman *alias* Rājēndra-sōḻa Brahmamārāyan of Veṇṇāṭṭu Amaṇkuḍi *alias* Kēraḷāntaka-catm. 480 of 1911 ; *EC.* x. Kl. 109 (a).

„ *Kūḷambandal* (NA.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara.* Land and gold to 24 dancing girls of Gangaikoṇḍa Śōḻa Īśvaram Uḍaiyār built by priest Īśāna Śiva Paṇḍita (cf. *SII.* ii. 9). 414 of 1902 ; *SII.* vii. 1047.

Year 23.- *Kuttālam* (Tj.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* (full). Land for feeding Śivayōgins at midday service for the prosperity of the king's arms. Further gift of 12 *kāśu* for taxes on the land. 99 of 1926.

„ *Maḷūr* (Mys.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* (full). Remission by assembly of taxes on certain temple lands after receiving gold in lieu of the taxes from a servant of the king and headman of a village.
196 of 1911 ; *EC.* ix. Cp. 82, 83.

„ *Tiruppuṟambiyam* (Tj.)—Money by Dēvan-Puṟambiyāḷ Āḍal-viṭanka-māṇikkam, a maid-servant of the bathing

* cf. 152 of Year 3.

† Sunday, 25th November 1033. A.D. - Kielhorn *EI.* vi. p. 21.

establishment called *Ilankēśvara-kula-kāla-teriñja-tirumanjanattār vēḷam* for offerings, worship, etc., to Umāparamēśvariyāḷ of the Tiruppaḷḷikkaṭṭil, an image set up by her. 323 of 1927.

Year 24.—*Cidambaram* (SA.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara.* After *Takkaṇalāḍamum,* the introduction is not in the usual form, but different. Gift of *viravu-nilan eḻupatteṭṭē-kālē-araikkāṇi*; deducting land taken up by *ōḍai, nāraikālāṛu, kollai* and *nattam,* making up *muppattu-nālē-kālē-araikkāṇi,* the net arable land was forty *vēli.* The total yield (*variśayiliṭṭapaḍi*) was 4500 *kalam* of paddy; of this the *mēlvāram* was 2250 *kalam* which, at eight *kalam* one *tūṇi* and one *padakku* per *kāśu,* yielded 264¾ *kāśu* which with 40 *kāśu* from another source formed the fund for the expenses in the temple, to be administered by *Kuṇamēnakaipurattu ēṛina-vyāpāriyaḷ, Veḷḷāḷar, Śankarappāḍiyar, Śāliyar, Paṭṭinavar* and other *kuḍigaḷ* and the *kīḻ-kalanaigaḷ* including carpenters (*taccar*), blacksmiths (*kollar*), goldsmiths (*taṭṭār*) and the *koliyar.* Another gift by Nakkan Paravai, the *aṇukki* of the king, for feeding Brahmans and maintaining the required establishment, yielding *mēlvāram* of 1225 *kalam,* to be spent in the manner detailed. 118 of 1888; *SII.* iv. 223.

" *Kanyākumāri* (Tr.) — *Pūrvadēśamum Gangaiyum Kaḍāramum koṇḍaruḷina.* Fifty sheep for lamp by Śōḻakulavalli, the cook of the king (*Uḍaiyār Śrī Rājēndra-śōḻadēvarkkut-tiruvamudu aḍum peṇḍāṭṭi*). *TAS.* i. p. 161.

" *Mannārkōvil* (Tin.)—*Pūrvadēśamum Gangaiyum Kaḍāramum koṇḍa.* Reports that the Gōpālasvāmin temple was formerly called Rājēndra-cōḻa-viṇṇagar and built by the Cēra king Rājasimha.* The king made a grant of land to the temple from his palace at Kāñcīpuram to take effect from year 15 of Jaṭāvarman Sundaraśōḻa-Pāṇḍyan, one of the king's sons. 112 of 1905.

* 111 and 113 of 1905 give the name of Rājarāja-dēva, another Cēra king. These were probably Cōḻa feudatories. *ARE.* 1905 II 14.

Year 24.—*Olagapuram* (SA.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara.* Mentions a woman of the Rājēndra-śōḷa-dēvar Mummuḍi-śōḷatterinda-tirumañjanattār-vēḷam. 142 of 1919.

„ *Takkōlam* (NA.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* (full). Beginning lost. Twelve *kaḷañju* of gold (*tuḷai-niṟai-pon*) received from Śarabandoṇḍavai of Toṇḍamān-Pērāṟṟūr, the *peṇḍāṭṭi* of Rājēndra-śōḷa Brahmādirāyar, for a lamp to be maintained by the assembly of Uṟigaiyūr *alias* Rājamārtāṇḍa-catm., a *dēvadāna* of Tiruvūṟal-mahādēva. 256 of 1921.

Year 24, day 230.—*Brahmadēśam* (SA.)—Land for worship and offerings to Pātāḷiśvaram-uḍaiyār by Parāntakan Śuttamaliyār *alias* Mukkōkiḷānaḍigaḷ for the king's success (*bhujam vardhikka*), the king being present in the temple of Rājarājēśvaram-uḍaiyār at the time. 188 of 1918.

Year 25.—*Jambai* (SA.)—An agreement among citizens (*nagarattār*) of the city of Vāḷaiyūr *alias* Nittavinōdapuram on the N. bank of the Peṇṇār. An interesting commutation of old endowments. 82 of 1906.

„ *Tirumalavāḍi* (Tri.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara.* Silver *kavacam* to be used at the three sacred baths and 30 *kāśu* for one lamp by Uḍaiyār Śrī Rājēndra-śōḷa-dēvar-aṇukki-śūṟṟiya-Pañcavan-mādēvi. 70 of 1920.

Year 25, day 112.—*Eṇṇāyiram* (SA.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* (full). At the king's order, the assembly of *brahmadēyam taniyūr* Rājarāja-catm. met in the Mummuḍiśōḷan with Nambi Uḍuttūr-uḍaiyān who governed the village, and made a *vyavasthai* regarding incomes from the lands of a number of shrines: Rājarāja Viṇṇagar-āḻvār, Kundavai-and Sundaraśōḷa-āḻvārs, Dēvēndra, Sarasvatī, Śrī Bhaṣṭārakiyār, Mahāmōḍiyār, Sūryadēva, Saptamatṛs, Mahāśāstā, Durgaiyār, Subrahmaṇya, Jyēṣṭhaiyār and the village gods. 335 of 1917.

Year 26—Ś. 959.—*Ankanāthapuram* (Mys.)—(Kan). Mentions the Oangāḷva of Kūḍalūr in Noḷēnāḍ coming on an expedition. Grant of Nāgavangaḷam as a *kal-nāḍ* free

of all imposts. Some Gāvuṇḍas made chiefs of certain territories. 142 of 1898 ; *EC.* iv. Hg. 104.

Year 26.—*Tirumalavāḍi* (Tri.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara.* Remission of certain taxes on lands granted for feeding in the Gaṅgaikoṇḍān-śālai in the temple by the great assembly of Gaṇḍarāditta-catm., met at the hall Uttamaśōḻan-maṇḍapam. 33 of 1920.

" *Tirumalavāḍi* (Tri.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara.* Fourteen *kāśu* and vessels for early morning offerings by Tirumālaraṅgan *alias* Tiruppaḷḷittāma-piccan. 61 of 1920.

" *Tiruvoṟṟiyūr* (Ch.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara.* Adigārigaḷ Rājarājēndraśiṅga Mūvēndavēḷār enquired into the affairs of the temple in the Vakkāṇikkum-maṇḍapam, and fixed details of service to be maintained from *kuṟṟadaṇḍam* and the excess paddy collected from the servants of the temple and the tenants of the *dēvadāna* villages. Interesting schedule of expenses. 146 of 1912.

" *Tiruvoṟṟiyūr* (Ch.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara.* Sale of land by people of Igaṇaiyūr (*dēvadāna*) to Śāttan Rāma-dēviyār, the aṇukkiyār of the king, for maintaining twelve *dēvaraḍiyār* in the temple for the goddess Gauri. 153 of 1912.

Year 26, day 180.—*Uttaramērūr* (Ch.) — *Tiru manni vaḷara* (full). Sale of 1,520 *kuḻi*, tax-free, by the assembly to Veḷḷaimūrti-āḻvār of Rājēndra-śōḻa-viṇṇagar for providing seven *kuṟuṇi* of paddy daily to three persons reciting the *Tiruvāymoḻi* in the temple ; also two plots of land, one as Vājasanēyak-kiḍaippuṟam and the other for a flower-garden and festival in Māśi Punarvasu. Names of taxes remitted : one set giving *śittāyam pañcavāram śilliṟai eccōṟṟukkūṟṟariśi āṟṟukkāl-amañji* ; another *ērikkāḍi pāḍaganellu uḻaviṟai nīrvilai* and other *piḍāgaiyiṟai.* 194 of 1923.

Year 27.—*Aḻūr* (Mys.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* (full). Land to Cāmuṇḍiśvarī by the ūr including Māṇikka-śeṭṭi of

Vāṇapuram (in this nāḍu), and Rājēndra-śōḷa-gāmuṇḍan of Viṇṇamangalam, who was doing the *nāṭṭu-gāmuṇḍu*. *EC.* ix. Nl. 7 (a).

Year 27.—*Ārpākkam* (Ch.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara.* Land by residents (Ūr) of Ārpākkam for the maintenance of seven musicians for service in the temple Tiruvil-viṇṇagar-āḷvār. 145 of 1923.

" *Brahmadēśam* (NA.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara.* Money for *nūleṟṟu* by a native of Mīvanam for which some temple land was made tax-free. Also gold for lamp. Mentions Kundavaip-pērēri and Sundaraśōḷap-pērēri. 264 of 1915.

Year 28.—*Tiruvāḍuturai* (Tj.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara.* Land, half-*vēli*, made tax-free for 200 *kāśu* received from the temple by assembly (sabhā) of Mēṟkiḷi-mangalam with the condition that the Māhēśvaras of Sarva-dēvan Tirumaḍam called after the king's guru should be fed daily. Mentions Tūtuvan Arumoḷi, a woman of the Periya Vēḷam, as owning some adjacent land in describing boundaries. 103 of 1925.

Year 29*.—*Kāmarasavalli* (Tri.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara.* Land by the assembly of Kāmarasavalli-catm. to Śākkai-mārāyan Vikaramaśōḷan for performing the *śākkai-kūttu* thrice during either of the Tiruvādirai festivals in Mārgaḷi and Vaiyāśi. Śēris numbered one to four in the village mentioned. 65 of 1914.

" *Tīrthamalai* (Sm.)—*Pūrvadēśam* etc. Gift of three villages by Uttamaśōḷa-Puṟamalai-nāḍāḷvān, who seems to have been the chief of Rājēndra-śōḷa-viriyūr-nāḍu. The donor repaired the temple and constructed the Mukhamaṇḍapa. Taguḍūr-nāḍu was a sub-division of Nigarili-śōḷa-maṇḍalam. 670 of 1905.

" *Tiruviśalūr* (Tj.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* (full). Land for lamp by a queen. Mentions a revenue survey of the country. 347 of 1907.

* May 6, 1041 A.D. *ARE.* 1915. App. F. (L.D.S.)

Year 29.—*Tiruvoṟṟiyūr* (Ch.)—Money deposited, interest to be paid in paddy, with the inhabitants of Igaṉiyūr, for offerings every year at the festival of *pudiyidu* (first crop ?) by Nakkan Kōdai *alias* Kāñcīpura-nangai, a *magaḷ* (maid-servant ?) of Tiruvēkambam-uḍaiya-Mahādēva of Nagaram Kāñcīpuram. 139 of 1912.

„ *Tiruvoṟṟiyūr* (Ch.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* (full). Gift of *tuḷai-niṟai-pon* and Madhurāntaka-dēvan-māḍai for Mārgaḻit-tiruvādirai and for feeding three Brahmans learned in the Vēdas. Money loaned out on interest at 2 *kalam* of paddy per annum by the Rājakēsari-marakkāl on each *pon* and *māḍai*, with the *nagarattār* of Tiruvoṟṟiyūr and the residents of Mañjiyan-Kāraṇai. 140 of 1912.

„ *Tiruvoṟṟiyūr* (Ch.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* (full). Rājarājan *kāśu* * for feeding a Brahman by Kūttan Gaṇavadi, the military officer of Gangai-koṇḍān *alias* Uttama-śōḻamārāyan also called Śiṟudanam Peṟudanam † mārāyan. Money loaned out to merchants of the place, interest being payable in paddy. Mentions Āriyammai and her money gift. 141 of 1912.

„ *Tribhuvani* (Pondicherry) — *Tiru manni vaḷara*. Assembly agree regarding land for feeding the Śrī-vaiṣṇavas of the eighteen districts in the Rājēndra-śōḻan-maḍam not to change its class or levy on it *ēri-āyam* and *śeruvari*. 187 of 1919.

Year 30.—*Kaṇḍiyūr* (Tj.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara*. Appointment of new dancing-master, the late master's brother-in-law *(maittunan)*, nan-gāndaruvan araiyan Rājarājan *alias* Muḍikoṇḍa - śōḻa - vācciya - mārāyan ; the place was to be hereditary (*vargattār*). 23 of 1895 ; *SII.* v. 579.

* Must have been ½ a *māḍai* as interest was 1 *kalam* per annum. *ARE.* 1913 II 22.

† Treasuries small and big (Hultzsch) ; minority and majority of the king ? Perhaps purely honorary titles implying status in official life or society. *ARE.* 1913 II. 22.

Year 30.—*Tirunāgēśvaram* (Tj.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara.* Mentions *innāḍu vagai-śeyginṟa Koḍandiṭṭai Uḍaiyān.* Adigārigaḷ Rājēndraśōḷa-mūvēnda-vēḷān sent a *niyōgam* (order) that a *tirukkoḷgai, tiruk-koḍukku* and *tiruk-kōśam* were to be made from gold accumulated in the form of flowers and broken jewels. Another *niyōgam* from the *mūlaparuḍaiyār* of Tirukkuḍamūkkil. The *niyōgam* was addressed to *Śrīkōyil-vāriyam-śeyvār Dēvakanmis, Paṇḍārigaḷ* and *Karaṇattān.* Mentions also Kṣatriya-malla-teriñja-valangai-vēḷaikārar.

83 of 1897 ; *SII.* vi. 33.

" *Tiruvoṟṟiyūr* (Ch.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* (full). 90 sheep for lamp by Mārāyan Gangaikoṇḍa-śōḷan *alias* Uttama-śōḷa-mārāyan, chief of Tiruvārūr, for the merit of one Gaṇavadi Iḍumban *alias* Tannai-munivār-peṇḍirgaṇḍa Viśaiyaraiyan *, who stabbed himself and died (in order to relieve) the distress of the donor. Another gift of 90 sheep for lamp by Nimbaḷa-dēvi, wife of Indaḷa-dēva of Taḷaigrāma in Virāṭadēśa. †

138 of 1912.

" *Tiruvoṟṟiyūr* (Ch.)—Sale of land, for the maintenance of a flower-garden and the supply of four garlands every day, to Nāgalabbai Sāni *alias* Āriyavammai, wife of Prabhākara-bhaṭṭa of Mēṟkaḷāpuram in the Āryadēśa. "The land purchased included house-sites for the tenants who cultivated it; and it was also specified in the deed that the tenants were not liable to pay any kind of *iṟai* (the *kuḍimai* of other inscriptions) such as *veṭṭi, amañji* and *kūṟṟunel.*"

155 of 1912 ; *ARE.* 1913 II 22.

" *Tiruvoṟṟiyūr* (Ch.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara.* Sale of land by assembly of Maṇali *alias* Simhaviṣṇu-catm. to a person who presented it to the temple. Mentions that eight Madhurāntaka-dēvan-māḍai was the price of 2000 *kuḻi* of land. 156 of 1912.

* Same as Kūttan Gaṇavadi of 141 cf. 411 of 1912 of Yr. 8 of Rājarāja, *ARE.* 1913 II. 22.

† Country round Hangal, itself called Virāṭanagarī or Virāṭankōṭe in inscriptions. - *ibid.*

Year 30.—*Uttaramērūr* (Ch.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara.* Sale of some waste land (*innilangaḷ innāḷvaraiyil iṟaiyiṟādu kiḍandamaiyil*), tax-free, by the sabhā to the Rājēndra-śōḷa-viṇṇagar for a flower-garden, including 120 *kuḻi* as Nanda-vanappuṟam for three gardeners (*uḻappār*), and to provide for a *maṭha* called after Kundavai-āḻvār for feeding Śrī-vaiṣṇavas. The tenants had not to pay *uḻaviṟai*. 184 of 1923.

Year 31.—Ś. 9(54.) * *Śuttāṟu* (Mys.)—*Pūrvadēśam* etc. Land to temples for services in them including "*Pañcamahāśabdavam trikāla bājisuvadakkē.*"
1 of 1895 ; *EC*. iii. Nj. 164.

Year 31.—*Tiruvallam* (NA.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara.* 90 sheep for lamp by Nittavinōdat-teriñja-Valangai-vēḷai . . . . . . given to Tiruvuṇṇāḻigai-uḍaiyār and Dēvakanmigaḷ.
17 of 1890 ; *SII*. iv. 340.

„ *Tiruvoṟṟiyūr* (Ch.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* (full) — 150 *kāśu* by Caturānana Paṇḍita of Tiruvoṟṟiyūr and Tirumayānam for *ghī* to bathe god on the Mārgaḻi-tiruvādirai day, the king's birthday.
104 of 1912 ; 399 of 1896 ; *SII*. v. 1354.

Year 32.—*Kāḍugōḍi* (Mys)—*Pūrvadēśam* etc. Construction of a tank at Paṭṭandūr by Rājarāja Vēḷān, son of the Nāṭṭukkāmuṇḍan of Śeṇṇāi-nāḍu.
170 of 1911 ; *EC*. ix. Ht. 142.

„ *Tirunāgēśvaram* (Tj.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* (full). Mentions years 24 and 31 of the king and Narūkkaṉ Kṛṣṇan Rāman who gave some land to temple for bath, flowers and offerings to god. Mentions *veḷḷān veṭṭi* among taxes (*varigaḷ*.) 217 of 1911.

Year 32, day 70.—*Tiruvāmāttūr* (SA.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara.* Gold vessel called Rājēndraśōḷan for sacred bath to god. 28 of 1922.

Year 33.—*Tiruvāmūr* (Ch.)— 79 of 1909.

* 23rd Oct. A.D. 1032. Hence *acc.* 24th Oct. 1001 to 23rd Oct. 1002. But 5 of 1895 makes Rājarāja rule in December A.D. 1012 Kielhorn. *EI*. iv. p. 69. Regnal year must be however 21 (See *Mys. Gaz.* ii. p. 1085.)

The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following :—

Agaram (Ch.)—Construction of stone temple of Tirukkailāyar at Vānavan-mahādēvi, (Vanamangai.)
231 of 1931.

Brahmadēśam (NA.)—Provision for daily offerings and feeding of hundreds of Vaiṣṇava pilgrims coming from the Tiruvēngaḍa-malai. 255 of 1915.

Eṇṇāyiram (SA.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara.* By the king's order, 46 *vēli* of land was given to Rājarāja-viṇṇagar by the assembly of *taniyūr* Rājarāja-catm. for offerings, the recitation of *Tiruvāymoḷi* and the maintenance of an educational institution in which Vēdas, vyākaraṇa and mīmāmsā were taught.
333 of 1917.

Mahēndragiri (Gj.) (Sanskrit).—Below the inscription is engraved a tiger with double fish in front. Having defeated Vimalāditya, the king set up a pillar of victory on the Mahēndra mountain.
396 of 1896 * ; *SII.* v. 1351.

Mangalam (Sm.)—Gift of the village Mangalam as a *dēvadāna* to the temple of Rājaśēkhara - Īśvaram-uḍaiya-mahādēva built by Kongilāṇḍār of Mudalināyap-paḷḷi *alias* Jayangoṇḍa-śōḷapuram in Vallavaraiyar-nāḍu. Proclaims that the property of those who steal away the cattle from this *dēvadāna* or otherwise cause any injury to the village shall become the property of the god. Mentions Munnūṟṟuvar of some nāḍu.
157 of 1915.

Nambihaḷḷi (Mys.)—(Kan).—Ereya Gāvuṇḍa, son of Arasigaya Gāvuṇḍa, who took Beḷagattūr in Cōraya-dēva's war when cows were carried off and women's clothes were unloosed (*toṟa goḷalu peṇḍiran uḍe uch-chalu*), fought and went to *svarga.*
EC. x. Sp. 14.

* 397 (*SII.* v. 1352) is a Tamil version of same. Also 858 of 1917, a much damaged record, begins with names Madhurāntaka and Rājēndra.

Pailabanda (An.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara.* * Cows for lamp to the Mahādēva temple. 7 of 1917.

Polonnāruva (Ceylon.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara.* Mentions shrine of Paḷḷikoṇḍār within the temple of Vānavan-mādēvi-Īśvaram Uḍaiyār.
595 of 1912 ; *SII.* iv. 1389, 1390.

Śembiyanmahādēvi (Tj.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* to *tirut-tagumuḍiyum.* Decision of the assembly, met in the Śembiyan - mahādēviyāḷ - periya - maṇḍapam, to utilise the *veḷḷān-veṭṭi* from the *dēvadāna* lands of Ādityēśvaram Uḍaiya-mahādēva at Mōganūr, a western hamlet of the village, for a lamp in that temple.
483 of 1925.

Śivapuri (SA.)—*Pūrva-dēśamum Gangaiyum Kaḍāra-mum koṇḍa.* Gold by Nāṭṭāmai . . . . . a maid-servant of the bathing establishment in the palace at Gangai-koṇḍa-śōḷapuram. 510 of 1926.

Taḷaiccangāḍu (Tj.) — *Tiru manni vaḷara* (full); damaged. Remission of taxes on some temple lands by assembly in lieu of the annual interest of 150 *kaḻañju* due on 800 *kāśu* equal to 400 *kaḻañju* of gold (by standard *Rājēndra-śōḻan-māḍai*) received from a merchant of the Vīra-śōḷa-maḍigai at Gangai-koṇḍa-śōḷapuram on account of the temple of Tiruvāyppāḍi-āḻvār. 203 of 1925.

Tirumalavāḍi (Tri.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* (full). List of lands lying waste till year 21, and brought under cultivation, for feeding Śivayōgins and tapasvins on the occasion of the midday offering, by a servant of the king. 75 of 1920.

Tirunāmanallūr (SA.)—Gift (*mālai* and *kārai*) to Tirut-toṇḍiśvarattu Āḍavalār in Tirunāvalūr *alias* Rājaditta-dēvapura by Uḍaiyār-paḍai - vīra-nārāyaṇat - terinda-villigaḷ and their nāyakam Mārāyan Paḻuvūr Nakkan. Jewells described. 360 of 1902 ; *EI.* vii. pp. 137-8.

* Evidence of annexation of Nuḷambapāḍi-*ARE.* 1917 II 2.

Tirunaraiyūr (Tj.) — Mentions a *dēvadāna* village belonging to the temple of Arumoḻi-dēva Īśvara at Paḻaiyāṟu. 157 of 1908.

Tiruppūndurutti (Tj.) — Frag. Part of Rājēndra's *praśasti*. Endowments by : Pārthivaśēkhara-terinda-kaikkōḷar, Gaṇḍarāditta-terinda-kaikkōḷar, and Parāntaka-terinda-kaikkōḷar. Also provision for the reading of *Śrī Rājarāja Vijayam*. 120 of 1931.

Tiruvāḍuduṟai (Tj.)—List of presents to temple by several persons including Rājēndra's mother, the guru of Uḍaiyār Rājādhirāja-dēva and servants of the Periyavēḷam. Mentions *Rājarājamāḍai* as test of fineness of gold. 104 of 1925.

Tiruvaiyāṟu (Tj.)— Verse :

'*rājad-rājanya-makuṭa-śrēṇi-ratnēṣu śāsanam* / *ētad-rājēndra-cōḷasya parakēsari-varmmaṇaḥ*' //
214 of 1894 ; *SII.* v. 513.

Tiruveṇkāḍu (Tj.)—*Tiru mannu vaḷara* to *tolperungāval* (*palpaḷandīvum*). Gold by Uḍaiya-piräṭṭiyār Tribhuvana-mādēviyār, mother of the king. 460 of 1908.

Tiruvoṟṟiyūr (Ch.)—Erection of the *Śrī-vimānam* to Dēvēśa in Ādhipurī in fine black stone (*atibahulatarai-raśmabhiḥ kṛṣṇa-varṇaiḥ*) by Ravi called Vara Vīra-cōḷatakṣan, under orders of Rājēndra, the son of Rājarāja. The *vimāna* was of three tiers (*tritalam*) and built at the instance of Caturānana (Paṇḍita).
105 of 1892 ; *SII.* iv. 553; also 126 of 1912.

For daughter see—Rājādhirāja I-Yr. 29, day 102-Tirumalavāḍi, 71 of 1920.

RĀJAKĒSARI RĀJĀDHIRAJA I.

[acc.—* 15 Mar.—3rd Decr. A.D. 1018.]

Year 2.—*Śendalai* (Tj.)—*Śrī-bali* in the temple of Perunduṟai-uḍaiyār had to be stopped owing to absence of drummers and the land appertaining to this service was thereupon transferred to some others. 201 of 1926.

Year 3 †.—*Koṭṭaiyūr* (Tj.)—Rājak. *alias* Tribhuvana-cakravartin Rājādhirāja-dēva. 270 *kāśu* by Arumoḷi-nangai, wife of Araiyan Poṟcōman of Ēr *alias* Kulōttunga-śōḷa-Savan-namangalam for offerings to an image of Śrī-lāyingam-purāṇa-dēvar (Linga-purāṇa-dēva) set up by her. 241 of 1927.

Year 5.—*Kāḷahasti* (C.) Sale of land for areca-nut garden in the name of Tirukkaṇṇappa-dēvar, for 250 *kāśu* from the temple treasury. 125 of 1922.

Year 5, day 87.—*Kāḷahasti* (C.) — Cakravartin R. An order (*uḷvari*) of gift of tax-free land in Paḷaiyāṟu in Ambar-nāḍu of Uyyakkoṇḍār-vaḷa-nāḍu. 124 of 1922.

Year 10.—*Śembiyanmahādēvi* (Tj.)—*Tingaḷēr-taru*. Remission by royal order of taxes on some lands belonging to the temple of Tiruvēḷirukkai-mahādēva for a lump payment of 100 *kāśu* (Rājarājan *kāśu* 75, *paḷangāśu* 25) made to the assembly of Śāṭṭiyakkuḍi 484 of 1925. ‡

Year 24.—*Peṇṇāḍam* (SA.)—Vijayarājēndra-dēva who was pleased to take the head of Vīra Pāṇḍya, the Śeraḷan-śālai, Ilangai and Raṭṭapāḍi 7½ lakhs, and to perform the anointment of victors at Kalyāṇapura. Money for offerings. 245 of 1929.

* Kielhorn *EI.* iv. p. 218 , (approx. 23rd May 1018—*EI.* vii p. 7, n 3).

† Saturday, April 30th 1020 A.D. *ARE.* 1927, App. E.

‡ The regnal year is really 36 in the impression, though it is given as 10 in *ARE.* 1926. This is followed by a long introduction of Vijayarājēndra stopping with the regnal year.

Year 26.—*Peṇṇāḍam* (SA.)—Who took the head of Vīra Pāṇḍya and destroyed the ships at Kāndaḷūr-śālai. Records rates of taxes due to temple in merchandise.
244 of 1929.

„ *Tirukkaḻukkuṉṟam* (Ch.)—*Tiṅgaḷēr-taru.* The *nagarattār* (names of *viyāpārigaḷ* given) of Tiṟukkaḻukkuṉṟam *alias* Ulagaḷanda-śōḷapuram make a *nilavilai-āvaṇak-kaiyeḻuttu,* for *tiruccennadai* and *arcanābhōga* to the god on the hill top. Reason for this disposal of the land: *innilam kāṟkōḷāyk-kiḍandamaiyin.*
172 of 1894; *SII.* v. 465.

„ * *Tirumalavāḍi* (Tri.)—*Tiṅgaḷēr-peṟa.* The Peruṅguṟi-mahāsabhā of Gaṇḍarāditta-catm. dispose of some taxes and institute a festival on: *nammai uḍaiya cakravarti Śrī-Rājēndra-śōḷa-dēvar tirunakṣattiram.*
75 of 1895; *SII.* v. 633.

„ *Tiruvoṟṟiyūr* (Ch.) — *Tiṅgaḷēr-taru.* An enquiry into temple affairs by the *adhikārigaḷ* Vaḷavan Mūvēnda-vēḷār and Vikkira-śinga-mūvēnda-vēḷār held in the maṇḍapa of the temple called Maṇṇai-koṇḍa-śoḷan. They sold uncultivated waste lands of the temple to a military officer of the Cōḷa country, who brought them under cultivation and provided paddy for offerings on festive occasions. The temple share (*iṟai*) was 28 *kalam* of paddy on each *vēli* for one class of land, and 19 *kalam* for another. The donor was the chief of Śattimangalam, of the rank of *perundanam-daṇḍanāyakam* and was named Śōḷan Kumaran Madhurāntaka Mārāyan.
103 of 1912 †; *ARE.* 1913 II 24.

Year 26, day 120.—*Brahmadēśam* (NA.)—*Tiṅgaḷēr-taru.* The assembly which met under a tamarind tree sold land for a water-pandal for quenching the thirst of the king Śrī-uḍaiyār Rājēndra-cōḷa-dēva and queen Vīra-mahādēviyār, who is said to have entered the supreme feet of Brahmā in the very same tomb in which the body

* 14th March, 1044 A.D. Kielhorn *EI.* iv. pp. 216-7.

† cf. 102 of 1912 of Year 28, day 134.

of king Rājēndra Cōḷa was interred; the gift was by *sēnāpati* Madhurāntakan *alias* Parakēsari Vēḷār, who was the brother of the queen. 260 of 1915.

Year 27.—*Kāñcīpuram* (Ch.)—*Tingaḷēr-taru* up to *Koḷḷippākkaiyuḷḷeri-maḍuppi*, and then *Villavar Mīnavar* etc. Kōnēri ūr took five *kaḷañju* for offerings to Tirumayānattu Brahmīśvaram Uḍaiya-mahādēva of Kāñcīpuram. Details of expenditure given for the annual interest of 8 *kalam* and one *tūṇi* of paddy, at one *kalam* and two *tūṇi* per *pon-kaḷañju*. *Ippon-muḍaṟpon-koḷgavenṟu-śollappeṟādōmāgavum.*
54 of 1893; *SII.* iv. 867.

" *Tiruppugalūr* (Tj.)—*Tingaḷēr-taru* to *Koḷḷippākkaiyuḷḷeri-maḍuppi*. Money by a Brahman lady for festival and offerings, including the service of eight men who helped in the Aṣṭa-mangalam during the *abhiṣēka* on the Śadaiyam day of every month.
49 of 1928; *ARE.* 1928 II 7.

" *Tiruvārūr* (Tj.)—*Tingaḷēr-taru*. Details of quantities of paddy due from temple lands bought over by Rājēndra-śōḻa-dēva-aṇukkiyār Paravainangaiyār for expenses connected with offerings and worship to Tiruvaṟaneṟiyuḍaiyār. 679 of 1919.

" *Tiruvoṟṟiyūr* (Ch.)—Money for Māśi-makham by members of the assembly of Maṇali *alias* Śingaviṣṇu-catm. deposited with the revenue-accountant (*puravu-varit-tiṇaik-kaḷattuk-kaṇakkan*) of Śiṟuvāyppēḍu *alias* Mummuḍiśōḷa-nallūr, who had to pay the interest in paddy. 142 of 1912.

Year 27, day 241. *—*Tiruppangili* (Tri.)—*Tingaḷēr-taru* (omissions and abridgments). Sale of land as *abhiṣēka-dakṣiṇā* by the *mūlaparuḍai* of *taniyūr* Tiruveḷḷaṟai to Rājādhirāja-dēvar perundanam Uttama-cōḷanallūr-uḍaiyān Veṇkāḍan Śankaran *alias* Daṇḍanāyaka Rājādhirāja Pallavaraiyan, for feeding Brahmans.
90 of 1892; *SII.* iv. 537.

* Wednesday, 13th February A.D. 1045, Kielhorn, *EI.* iv. p. 217.

Year 27 + 1.—*Tirumaṇañjēri* (Tj.)—Land for feeding annually 1000 devotees including Śivayōgins and tapasvins in the temple of Tirukkaṟṟaḷi-mahādēva in the locality on Panguni-uttiram day. 2 of 1914.

Year 28.—*Kāḷahasti* (C.)—Mentions the king's conquest of Vīra Pāṇḍya, the Cēra king and Ceylon. Two lamps. 283 of 1904.

" *Kiḷiyanūr* (SA.)—*Tingaḷēr-taru* (part). Sale of land for 22 *kāśu* by assembly of Kēraḷāntaka-catm. to temple of Tiruvāgīśvara for the maintenance of a feeding-house called Maṟavaḍigaḷ. The land was made *iṟaiyili* after payment of 78 more *kāśu*. 151 of 1919. *

" *Tiruvoṟṟiyūr* (Ch.)—*Tingaḷēr-taru*. Thirty *kāśu* for special offerings paid to the assembly (sabhā) of Kāvanūr *alias* Kamala-nārāyaṇa-catm. who agreed to pay as interest 75 *kalam* of paddy every year for offerings. Mentions images of the Bhaktas (63 nāyanār) † (*pattarkaḷ-tirumēni*). Catalogue of temple servants. 137 of 1912.

" *Uḷḷattūr* (Tri.)—Parakēsari ‡ *alias* Rājādhirāja-dēva who destroyed the ships at Śālai and took the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya. Sale of land to temple. 513 of 1912.

" *Vēppangulam* (Ch.) — *Tingaḷēr - taru* (variant form). Fixing expenses in temple by royal order. 417 of 1902 ; *SII*. viii. 3.

Year 28, day 134.—*Tiruvoṟṟiyūr* (Ch.)—Sale of land by some members of the assembly of Maṇali *alias* Śingaviṣṇu-catm. a *dēvadāna* of the temple of Tiruvoṟṟiyūr-uḍaiyār. to Daṇḍanāyakam Śōḻan Kumaran Parāntaka Mārāyan *alias* Rājādhirāja Nīlagangaraiyar. 102 of 1912.

* cf 152, Year 29.

† Their stories 'were compiled in an abbreviated form by Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi in the time of Rājarāja I, under the name *Tiruttoṇḍattogai* (sic)' *ARE*, 1913, II. 24.

‡ Apparently a mistake for Rājak.

Year 29.—*Gangavāra* (Mys.)—*Tingaḷēr-taru* (full). A grant by persons named. 176 of 1911 ; *EC.* ix. Dv. 75.

„ *Kiḷiyanūr* (SA.)—Sale of land tax-free to temple by assembly for feeding-house. Sale price 30 *kāśu* ; *iṟaidravyam* 50 *kāśu*. 152 of 1919. *

„ † *Maṇimangalam* (Ch.)—*Tingaḷēr-taru*. The Mahāsabhā of Rājacūḷāmaṇi-catm. met in the Brahmasthānam and sold 2000 *kuḷi* of land to the temple of Tuvarāpati *alias* Kāmakkōḍi-viṇṇagar-āḻvār for 100 *kāśu*.
6 of 1892 ; *SII.* iii. 28.

„ *Tirumalavāḍi* (Tri.)—*Tingaḷēr-taru*. Land for lamp by Araiyan Jayangoṇḍa-śōḻiyar, also Pañcavan-mādēviyār wife of Śōḻa-vallabha-dēva, called Piḷḷaiyār.
85 of 1920.

„ *Tiruveṇkāḍu* (Tj.)—*Tingaḷēr-taru* (full). Land, by the king, seated on the flight of steps to the north of the Gangai-koṇḍa-śōḻan-māḷigai inside the palace in Gangai-koṇḍa-śōḻapuram, for offerings to Ardhanāri-dēva in the temple of Tiruveṇkāḍuḍaiyār given as *dēvadāna* (*dēvadānamāga variyiliṭṭu*.)
114 of 1896 ; *SII.* v. 978.

Year 29, day 102.—*Tirumalavāḍi* (Tri.) — *Tingaḷēr - taru*. A pearl umbrella by Madhurāntaka-dēvan Arumoḻi-nangaiyār *alias* Pirānār, daughter of Rājēndra-cōḻa-dēva.
71 of 1920.

Year 30.—*Eṇṇāyiram* (SA.) — *Tingaḷēr - taru*. ‡ Assembly (Perunguṟi) of *taniyūr* Rājarāja-catm. met in the maṇḍapa Mummuḍi-śōḻan with Arangan Viṟṟirundān *alias* Nirupēndra-śōḻa-Mūvēnda-vēḷar § who was governing the village, and ordered the lands of the temple of Tiruvāyppāḍi-dēvar to be taxed on the lowest

* cf. 151 of Year 28.

† 3rd December 1046 A.D. Kielhorn *EI.* iv. p. 217.

‡ As in 221 of 1894 Yr. 32.

§ 240 of 1929 (Peṇṇāḍam, Year 32, day 345) also mentions him.

scale (*kaḍaittaram*), as were those of Rājarāja-viṇṇagar-dēvar and Kundavai-viṇṇagar-dēvar. The royal order dated 137th day in the 27th year reached the assembly only on 240th day in the 30th year.
330 of 1917.

Year 30.—*Kanyākumāri* (Tri.)—*Vīra Pāṇḍiyan-talaiyum Śēraḷan śālaiyum Ilangaiyum-taṇḍāṟkoṇḍa*. Order to the officers of the salt department (*uppaḷangaḷ kūṟuśeyvārum kaṇkāṇi śeyvārum*) in Rājarāja-pāṇḍi-nāḍu to remit to the Śri Vallavapperuñjālai *alias* Rājarājapperuñjālai of Kaḷikkuḍi, salt at the rate "*uppu mudalilum śelavilum kalattuvāy nāḻigai-yuṟai*" (one *nāḻi* of salt per *kalam* of salt added to stock or spent from it,—Gopinatha Rao). Mentions that Nāñjināṭṭu Manaṟkuḍi *alias* Mahīpālakulakālap-pēraḷam had stopped remitting the *kaiyuṟai* salt for sometime before this order. *TAS.* i. pp. 162-4. Same as 93 of 1896.

Year 30.—Ś. 97(0)—*Miṇḍigal* (Mys.)—(Kan). *Vīra Pāṇḍiyan-taleyum Śēraḷan śāleyum*. Land to temple. Construction of a tank and sluice. Repair of temple with plastering. Mentions Daṇḍanāyaka Appimayya, governor of Mahārāja-vāḍi 7000 with Vallūr (Cud.) as his seat. 279 of 1895 ; *EC.* x. Ct. 30 ; *EI.* v. p. 205.

Year 30.—*Tiruvallam* (NA.) — *Tingaḷēr-taru* (with variant readings). The sabhā of Mandaram undertake to supply three *tumbai* garlands (*tiruppaḷḷittāmam*) daily as interest on 10 *kalam* 6 *nāḻi* and 1 *uḻakku* of paddy (?).
6 of 1890 ; *SII.* iv. 329.

" *Tiruveṇkāḍu* (Tj.)—*Tingaḷēr-taru*. Amalan Śeyyavāyār set up an image of Picca-dēvar, gave lands for its requirements, presented gold and silver ornaments to it, opened a charity house (*śālai*) and provided for its maintenance. Daily wage of a woman servant of the *śālai* was one *kuṟuṇi* of paddy. The same person obtained lands for the temple from the king's father who was pleased to take the Pūrvadēśam, Gangai and Kiḍāram. 450 of 1918.

Year 30.—*Tribhuvani* (Pondicherry)—*Tingaḷēr-taru* (full). Land for offerings in the name of Rājēndra-śōḷa by Sēnāpati Rājēndra-śōḷa Māvalivāṇarājar, under the auspices of the great assembly of the village, a *taniyūr*, which met in the Maṇḍapa built by Śembiyan Umbaḷa-nāṭṭu-Mūvēnda-vēḷān for the merit of Rājēndra. 72 *vēli* yielding 12,000 *kalam* of paddy per annum, of which 2475 *kalam* went for festivals (specified), feeding Vaiṣṇavas and reciting the *Tiruvāymoḷi*, the balance going to the maintenance of an elaborately organised college of higher learning. Conditions laid down regarding the grading and taxation of this land. Exemptions for teachers and students. 176 of 1919.

Year 31.—*Ālambākkam* (Tri.)—*Tingaḷēr-taru*. The servants of the temple residing at Madhurāntaka-catm. received five *kāśu* from a merchant of that village and agreed to supply paddy towards the interest for maintaining a lamp in the temple of Kailāsamuḍaiya-mahādēva. 721 of 1909.*

" *Munagamakulapaḷḷi* (C.) — (Kan). Rājarāja Brahmādhirāja was ruling Mahārājavāḍi 7000. Mentions death of Mādabbe, wife of Sōvayya *alias* Rājēndra-cōḷa-dēśa-Raṭṭāguḍi, son of Kommayya Raṭṭāguḍi. 295 of 1922.

" *Tiruvārūr* (Tj.)—*Tingaḷēr-taru*. In compliance with the king's order, Vēṇkāḍan Tirunīlakaṇṭhan *alias* Adhikāri Irumuḍiśōḷa-mūvēnda-vēḷān utilised certain gold and silver vessels in the temple treasury for the erection of a golden pavilion for Uḍaiyār Vidi-viṭankadēva of Tiruvārūr. Other gifts recorded in continuation (verses.) 670 of 1919.

" *Tiruviḷimiḻalai* (Tj.)—A detailed description of the boundaries of Jayangoṇḍa-śōḷa-nallūr, a *dēvadāna* village of the temple of Tiruviḷimiḻalai. Mentions a survey of the temple lands. 393 of 1908.

* No. 723 recording the erection of a maṇḍapa in the temple says that the temple was founded by Danti.

Year 31.—*Tiruvoṟṟiyūr* (Ch.)—*Tingaḷēr-taru* (full). The mahāsabhā of Sundaraśōḷa-catm. and Vānavan-mahādēvi-catm. sold land as *maḍappuṟam* to Āriyavammai *alias* Nāgalavaiccāni, the wife of Prabhākara-bhaṭṭan of Mēgaḷāpuram in the Āriyadēśa, who had done *tiruppaṇi* to the local god and founded the Rājēndra-śōḷan-maṭha. 107 of 1892 * ; *SII.* iv. 555 ; 132 of 1912.

„ *Tiruvoṟṟiyūr* (Ch.)—*Tingaḷēr-taru.* 95 sheep for a lamp by Caturaḷ-caturi, the *agamuḍaiyāḷ* of Nāgan Perungāḍan and a *dēvaraḍiyāḷ* of the temple. 147 of 1912.

Year 32.—*Basinikoṇḍa* (C.) — *Tingaḷer-peṟa.* 1,500 merchants of all samayas, of the four quarters, including nāḍu, nagara and nānādēśi met at Śirāvaḷḷi in Mugaiṇāḍu † in Pūṟaṇi-mārayapāḍi of Jayangoṇḍa-śōḷa-maṇḍalam, and resolved to convert the village into a nānādēśīya Daśamaḍi-Ēṟivirapaṭṭaṇa and grant certain privileges to the residents of that village. 342 of 1912.

„ *Nandi* (Mys.)—*Tingaḷēr-peṟa* (with alterations). Adigārigaḷ Māttūruḍaiyār . . . *alias* . . Vīra Viccādira Mūvēndavēḷār gave jewels to Mahānandiśvara on the Nandi hill. *EC.* x. Cb. 21.

„ *Tiruccengāṭṭanguḍi* (Tj.)—*Tingaḷēr-taru.* Land tax-free to temple in the village by the assembly of Tirukkaṇṇapuram met in the temple of Brahmīśvaram-uḍaiya-mahādēva of their village. 55 of 1913.

„ *Tirumalavāḍi* (Tri.)—*Tingaḷēr-taru.* The Perunguṟi-mahāsabhai of Gaṇḍarāditta-catm. met in the Śri Gaṇḍarādittac-cēri of the place (*nammūr*) and gave land for ten lamps to the temple. 81 of 1895 ; *SII.* v. 641. ‡

* cf 127 of 1912 n.-d.

† cf. 256 of 1912, *ARE.* 1913 II 25.

‡ Astronomical details given fit only year 22. (Kielhorn *EI.* iv. p. 218). But the *praśasti* records late transactions of the reign and must be of year 32.

Year 32. *—*Tiruvaiyāṟu* (Tj.)—*Tingaḷēr - taru*. Three hundred *Rājarāja-māḍas* by Viṣṇuvardhana-dēva † ; also gifts in year 27 of Periya-dēvar who conquered Pūrvadēśam etc., and year 31 of Rājādhirāja. 300 *Rājarāja-māḍas* equalled 337½ *kaḷañju* by *kuḍiñaikkal*.
221 of 1894 ; *SII*. v. 520.

„ *Tiruviḍaimarudūr* (Tj.)—*Tingaḷēr - pera - vaḷar*. An endowment in favour of Araiyan Tiruviḍaimarudūr-uḍaiyān *alias* Mummuḍi-śōḷa-nittappēraraiyan and his troupe. The grant proper begins with the word '*Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān*.' 264 of 1907.

„ *Vṛddhācalam* (SA.)—*Tingaḷēr-vaḷar*. 32 cows for lamp. King called Jayangoṇḍa-śōḷa. 55 of 1918.

Year 32, day 28.—*Tennēri* (Ch.)—*Vīra Pāṇḍiyan-talaiyum etc.*—On a representation made to Adhikāri Viranārāyaṇa-Mūvēndavēḷār who had convened an assembly in the hall called Rājarājan in Uttama-śōḷa-catm., the lands in the village were properly classified and assessed. The new award was engraved in the temple of Uttama-śōḷiśvaram-uḍaiyār. 239 of 1922.

Year 33.—Ś. 971—*Cik-kāṭi* (Mys.)-(Kan.)—*Vīra Pāṇḍiyan-talēyum Cēraḷam śāleyum Lankaiyum daṇḍālukoṇḍa*. Erection of temple and grant of land and cows.
EC. iv. Gu. 93. ‡

Year 33.—*Gangavāra* (Mys.)—*Tingaḷēr-taru*. Sennai-nāḍu was the *jīvita* § conferred by the king on Sēnāpati Rājēndra-śōḷa-brahma-mārāyar.
177 of 1911 ; *EC*. ix. Dv. 76.

* Introduction same also in 444 of 1905—year 31, Tiruttaṇi.

† Perhaps the future Kulōttunga I—*ARE*. 1895, paragraph 11.

‡ Hs. 32 n.-d. mentions a war between Rājādhirāja and a Pallava ; Ch. 50, the burning of the Cāḷukya palace at Kampili (on the Tungabhadrā, in the Bellary District). *EC*. iv. Introduction p. 14.

§ Rice takes this to be the authorisation of some collections during the officers' life-time. Eng. Tr. p. 85.

Year 33.—*Kūḻambandal* (NA.)—*Tingaḷēr-taru.* Provision for a lamp and for *antik-kāppu* by Uḍaiyār Rājādhirājar Gurudēvar Adhikārigaḷ Pārāśaryan Vāsudēva-nārāyaṇan *alias* Ulagaḷanda-śōḻa Brahmamārājan.
413 of 1902 ; *SII.* vii. 1046.

" *Maṇḍikere* (Mys.) — *Tingaḷēr-pera - vaḷar.* Sēnāpati Jayangoṇḍa - śōḻa - Vāṇakōvaraiyar agrees to take as *mēlvāram* in Maṇṇai-nāḍu : "*nīrārambam aiñjil iraṇḍum kāṭṭārambam nālil-onṛumēy,*" two-fifths of wet crops and one-fourth of the dry.
505 of 1911 ; *EC.* ix. Nl. 25.

" *Tirukkolambiyūr* (Tj.)—*Tingaḷēr-taru.* Agreement by the mahāsabhā of Abhayāśraya-catm. to pay all taxes on certain specified lands of the temple in lieu of interest on 250 *kāśu* received by them from the temple. Mentions grain measure : *āyiravan-marakkāl* and the Kuñjaramallan-vāykkāl. 52 of 1925.

" *Tirumalavāḍi* (Tri.)—*Tingaḷēr-taru.* Vīra-rājēndra-varman. Land, for daily worship of some images, by the Perunguṛi - mahāsabhā of Gaṇḍarāditya - catm. assembled in the temple Gaṇḍarāditya-viṇṇagar.
78 of 1920.

" *Tiruviḷakkuḍi* (Tj.)—*Tingaḷēr-taru.* (form including Pūṇḍūr). Remission of taxes on some temple lands for a lump sum by the assembly of Gangaikoṇḍa-śōḻa-catm. 119 of 1926.

" *Yeldūr* (Mys.)—*Vīra-Pāṇḍiyan talaiyum Śēraḷan-śālaiyum Ilangaiyum Iraṭṭapāḍiyum koṇḍa.* Gifts to temple for *tiruvamidu.*
471 of 1911 ; *EC.* x. Mb. 106 (a).

Year 34. — *Brahmadēśam* (NA.) — *Tingaḷēr-taru.* Gold, 12 *kaḻañju,* for offerings to Pāśupatamūrti when taken out on procession for *śrī-bali* ; the gift was by a woman of Niyamam in Puḻal-kōṭṭam of Jayangoṇḍa-śōḻa-maṇḍalam. 262 of 1915.

Year 34.—*Peṇṇāḍam* (SA.)—Rājak. Vijayarājēndra-dēva who was pleased to take the head of Vīra Pāṇḍya, the śālai of Śēraḷan, Ilangai, Iraṭṭapādi 7½ lakhs, and who performed the anointment of victors at Kalyāṇapuram. Money for offerings to god and goddess. 245 of 1929.

" *Tiruveṇkāḍu* (Tj.)—*Tingaḷēr-taru* as in 92 of 1892 n.-d. Sheep for two lamps by Araiyan Nambanangai, mother of queen Trailōkyam-uḍaiyār. 446 of 1918.

Year 35.—*Ālambākkam* (Tri.)—*Tingaḷēr-taru*. Rājakēsari-uḍaiyār Śri Vijayarājēndra-dēva. Mentions assembly of Madhurāntaka-catm. 716 of 1909.

Year 35— * Ś. 975. — *Koḷagāla* (Mys.)—(Kan). Consecration of Gangēśvara and grant of land to the temple. 143 of 1898 ; *EC.* iv. Hg. 114.

Year 35.—*Kōlār* (Mys.)—*Pāṇḍiyan-talaiyum Śe...n śālaiyum Ilangaiyum Iraṭṭapādi - ēḻaraiyilakkamum koṇḍu Kalliyāṇa-purattu jaya...m nāṭṭi vīrasingāsanattu vīṟṟirundu Vijayarājēndiran-enṟabhiṣēkan* † . . . . . *ḷina* etc. (Fragment.) The king is called Parakēsari. 135 of 1892 ; 477 of 1911 ; *EC.* x. Kl. 112 (b).

" *Kōnērirājapuram* (Tj.) — Same introduction as the preceding, with *Śēraḷan-talaiyum* for *śālaiyum*. Lamp to Vaiṣṇava temple. 656 of 1909 ‡.

" *Maṟkāṇam* (SA.)—*Tingaḷēr-taru*. § Sale of land for flower-garlands, offerings and lamps by the assembly of Eyiṟpaṭṭinam, a *brahmadēya* in Paṭṭina-nāḍu, in Tambittuṇaic-cōḷa-vaḷa-nāḍu. Mentions village official *karaigaḷukkuk-kangāṇik-kaṇakku*. 30 of 1919.

" *Paṇḍāravāḍai* (Tj.) — *Tingaḷēr-taru*. Agreement by assembly of Rājakēsari-catm. to pay all taxes on some temple lands in lieu of interest on amounts borrowed

* Sunday 23rd May, A.D. 1053. Kielhorn, *EI.* vi. pp. 22-3.

† King taken to be different from and brother of Rājak. Rājādhirāja by Rice—*EC.* x p. xxvii.

‡ Text has year 34. § As in 172 of 1894.

from the temple treasury in the 28th year of Periya-dēvar who took Pūrvadēśam etc., for the purchase of house-sites, and in the 31st year of Rājādhirāja amounting with interest to 710 *kāśu*. One *kalañju* was equal to two *kāśu*. 228 of 1923.

Year 35.—*Tiruvaḍandai* (Ch.)—Vijayarājēndra. Gift of this village to Mahā-viṣṇu. Income from *śekkirai* and other dues was to be spent on monthly festivals on the day of Pūrva Phālguni, the king's asterism. The village was in Paḍuvūr-nāḍu, a sub-divison of Kalliyāṇapuram-koṇḍa *-śōḷak-kōṭṭam (formerly Āmūr-kōṭṭam) in Jayangoṇḍa-śōḷa-maṇḍalam. The record is signed by 70 officers. 258 of 1910.

Year 35, day 90.—*Tirukkolambiyūr* (Tj.)—*Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān.* Royal gift of land as provision for wages, 75 *kalam* per annum, for two gardeners for a flower-garden after his name. 45 of 1925.

Year 35, day 93.—*Tribhuvani* (Pondicherry)—*Tingaḷēr-taru.* Land, after alteration of its class by sabhā in accordance with royal order, to the temple. Mentions Adhikāri-Āhavamalla-Kulāntaka Mūvēnda-vēḷān. 188 of 1919.

Year 35, day 281.—*Kāñcīpuram* (Ch.)—Royal grant of a tax-free village, Sarvatīrthanallūr, for worship and offerings to Sarvatīrtham-uḍaiya-mahādēva at the request of a number of royal officials, while the king was seated on the throne Pallavarāyan in the Veḷi-mēlai maṇḍapam in his palace at Gangaikoṇḍa-śōḷapuram.

420 of 1925.

Year 36.—*Karṣaṇapalli* (C.) — Gift of tax on oil-mills for a lamp in the temple of Angakkāra-Īśvaram-uḍaiyār at Mattukura, an Erivīrapaṭṭaṇa, † by Śōḷakula-kāraṇa-Mūvēnda-vēḷān, who was the revenue officer in charge of the district, for the prosperity of the emperor.

321 of 1912.

* This conquest was in or a little before the 35th year of the reign — *ARE*. 1911 II 23.

† cf. 342 of 1912 of year 32.

Year 36.—*Kōnērirājapuram* (Tj.) — *Tingaḷēr-taru.* Land to temple at Tirunallam by the assembly of Pāvaikkuḍi met under a tamarind tree * called Rājēndrasōḻan on the bank of the channel called *śuttamalli-vāykkal.*
640 of 1909.

" *Śembiyanmahādēvi* (Tj.) See under year 10.

" *Takkōlam* (NA.)—*Tingaḷēr-taru.* † Vijayarājēndra-dēva. Undertaking by some persons in charge of the central shrine in the temple of Tiruvūṟal-mahādēva in Takkōlam *alias* Iraṭṭapāḍi-koṇḍa-śōḻapuram, to supply 7 *nāḻi* and one *uṟi* of *ghī* by Arumoḻi-dēvan measure as interest on 12 *kaḻañju* of gold received by them.
262 of 1921. ‡

" *Tirukkaḍaiyūr* (Tj.)—*Tirukkoḍiyoḍu.* Vijayarājēndra-dēva. This introduction stresses the conquest of Āhavamalla and says that the Vijayarājēndra title was assumed at the *vīrābhiṣēka* that followed it. Gift of some land as *śālābhōga*, after reclamation, by Piccan Ādittan *alias* Vijayarājēndra-Mūvēnda-vēḷān of Kōmakkuḍi, for feeding 17 persons in Rājādhirājan-śālai and meeting the expenses of worship to Kālakāla-dēva.
244 of 1925.

" § *Tiruvadi* (SA.) — *Tingaḷēr-taru.* Rājākēsari *alias* Uḍaiyār Tribhuvana-cakravartin Rājādhirāja-deva. 96 sheep by two persons for a lamp 392 of 1921.

Year 38.—*Tiruvoṟṟiyūr* (Ch.)—Sale of land by sabhā of Kuraṭṭūr for the daily services in the temple of Tiruvoṟṟiyūr-uḍaiyār-kārāṇai-viṭanka-dēvar. 129 of 1912.

The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following :—

Dārāśuram (Tj.) — Records that the image of *dvāra-pālaka* under which the inscription is engraved was

* cf. the village peepal with a big platform round it in the centre of almost every Mysore village—*ARE.* 1910 II 21.

† As in 172 of 1894.

‡ Text gives year (2)6.

§ The year is given as 18 in *ARE.* 1922, App. B.

brought by the king from Kalyāṇapuram after his capture of the place. 24 of 1908.

Eragaram (Tj.)—Part of the introduction of Rājādhirāja. Seems to relate to the assignment of seven *vēli* of land belonging to the temple on *kuḍiningā-dēvadānam* tenure to Sundara Cōḷan Rājādhirāja-viccādira Pallavaraiyan as the taxes on this land were not properly paid up till then. 283 of 1927.

Puñjai (Tj.)—*Tingaḷēr-taru.* Remission of taxes by the king of some temple lands with orders to the assembly on Talaiccangāḍu to take over the management of the lands hitherto in the possession of the temple. Mentions improvement of certain lands made on behalf of the temple by a lady of the periya-vēḷam by name Sōman Śōḷakulasundari. 185 of 1925.

Tirukkolambiyūr (Tj.)—*Vīra Pāṇḍiyan-talaiyum* etc. Order of the king to the *sthānattār* and the *dēvakanmis* to bring under cultivation 6 *mā* of (waste) land for the maintenance of two gardeners to look after the Rājādhirājan-tirunandavanam. 48 of 1925.

Tiruppangili (Tj.) — *Tingaḷēr-taru* (variant form) 96 sheep for lamp. 92 of 1892 ; *SII.* iv. 539.

Tiruvoṟṟiyūr (Ch.) — Sale of land tax-free by the inhabitants (ūr) of Veṣaṣāṟu-paḍiyūr to the Brahman lady Āriyavammai * for feeding the *māhēśvaras* in the Rājēndraśōḷan, the *maṭha* founded by her. Mentions irrigation rights and other matters.
127 of 1912.

Tribhuvani (Pondicherry.)—*Tingaḷēr-taru.* In accordance with royal order, the sabhā gave two *vēli* of land as goldsmith's service-inam (*kāṇi*) to Arangan Komāran *alias* Rājādhirājap-perundaṭṭān who was required to do goldsmith's work for himself and others within the village and its hamlets. 210 of 1919.

* cf. Year 31—107 of 1892.

Vellore (NA).—Fragment of *praśasti*.
41 of 1888 ; *SII*. iv. 139.

See under Rājēndra II

Year 6.—*Puñjai*—193 of 1925 for king's death on back of an elephant ; also 5 of 1899 (*SII*. vi. 440.) of year 6 of Rājarāja II.

Year 2.—*Tirunāgēśvaram* (Tj.) — *Iraṭṭapādi* etc. Receipt by the *Mūlaparuḍaiyār* of Tirukkuḍamūkkil and other temple authorities of 100 *kāśu* from an individual for repairing damages caused by floods to the irrigation channel. Interest at one *kalam* of paddy on each *kāśu* was to be devoted to offerings in the temple (25 *kalam*) and to expounding the Śivadharma (75 *kalam*) in the assembly hall Tiruccirrambalam-uḍaiyān built in the temple by the same person. Lands belonging to the temple and adjoining the channel were also damaged; the chieftain Vikkirama-śingap-pallavaraiyan lent to the trustees of the temple the amount required for restoring these to their original condition.

214 of 1911; *ARE*. 1912 II 24.

" *Tiruppugalūr* (Tj.)—*Tirumagaḷ-maruviya*. Remission of taxes on a flower-garden, called Ponmēnda-śōḻan, by the ūr of Kāraikkāl which met in the Durgā temple in the Sēnāmukham * of the village. Also remission of taxes on lands for gardens by the assembly of Bhūlōka-māṇikka-catm. in year 3 of Rājak. Vīrarājēndra-dēva. 81 of 1928.

Year 3.—*Jambai* (SA.) — *Tiru-maruviya śengōlvēndan*. A village officer demanded taxes from a woman, who declared that she was not liable. The former seems to have put her through an ordeal. The woman took poison and died. A meeting of the people from 'the four quarters, eighteen districts and various countries' was held, and it was decided that the man was liable. In order to expiate his sin he paid 32 *kāśu* for a lamp at the temple of Tiruttāntōnri Mahādēva. The

* cf. Sēnāmukhattār in a Siam inscription. *JRAS*. 1913 p. 337, (*ARE*. 1928 II 8).

vaṇik-kirāmattār and the Śankarappāḍiyār undertook the task of supplying 2/3 and 1/3 of the oil required.
80 of 1906.

Year 3.—*Kōlār* (Mys.)—*Iraṭṭapāḍi ēḻaraiyilakkamum koṇḍu Kollāpurattu jayastambha-nāṭṭi pērāṟṟangaraik-koppattu Āhavamallanai - yañjuvittu avan - ānaiyun-gudiraiyum peṇḍir-paṇḍāramum-gaikkoṇḍu vijayābhiṣēkam-paṇṇi vīra-śingāsanattu vīṟṟirundaruḷina.* Cows for two lamps. Mentions Vēṭṭan Pañcanedi Vāṇan *alias* Madhurāntaka Tamiḻap-pēraraiyan who was Daṇḍanāyakam-kaṇkāṇi.
478 of 1911 ; *EC.* x. Kl. 107.

„ *Tirukkolambiyūr* (Tj.)—*Tirumagaḷ-maruviya.* Undertaking by the Śivabrāhmaṇas and two *uvaccar* of the temple to perform certain specified ceremonies including *hōma* on every new-moon day to god Nānādēśīya-Viṭankar, from the interest on money and produce of land given to them by an officer of the *śiṟudanattup-perundaram* named Maṟaikkāḍan Dēvan *alias* Rājarāja Taḍigaippāḍi-nāḍāḻvān of Śāttanūr. 51 of 1925.

„ *Tiruvaiyāṟu* (Tj.) — Fragments of the introduction. Gold ornaments to the Ten-kailāsa shrine in the temple by Nambirāṭṭiyār Trailōkyam-uḍaiyār Adigāricci.
213 of 1894 ; *SII.* v. 512.

„ *Tiruvallam* (NA.)—*Tiru - maruviya.* 25 *kaḻañju* of gold given to temple authorities for feeding a learned Brahman and for other purposes. The total interest was *padakkunel* every day. 75 of 1889 ; *SII.* iii. 55.

„ *Tiruvārūr* (Tj.)—*Iraṭṭapāḍi* etc. Details of the quantity of gold used for plating and gilding the different parts of golden pavilion-(*ponnin tirumaṇḍapam*).
669 of 1919.

Year 4.—*Erumūr* (SA.) *Tiru mādu puviyenum.* A *vyavasthā* of the assembly of Vānavan-mahādēvi-catm. when it met in the temple of Vānavan Mahādēvi-viṇṇagar-āḻvār. Mentions Vijayagaṇḍa-śōḻīśvaram-uḍaiya kōyil.
396 of 1913.

Year 4.—* *Maṇimangalam* (Ch.)—*Tirumādu-puviyenum.* Sale of land in Amaṇpākkam, tax-free, to Kāmakkavvaiyāḷ, mother of Sēnāpati Jayangoṇḍa-śōḷa Brahmādhirāja, who gave it to the temple. Mentions meeting at the Brahmasthāna maṇḍapa of the Mahāsabhā of Rāja-cūḷāmaṇic-caruppēdi-mangalam.

3 of 1892 ; *SII.* iii. 29.

„ *Tiruppugalūr* (Tj.)—*Tirumagaḷ-maruviya.* Remission of taxes on temple lands by the assembly of Bhūlōka-māṇikka-catm. 79 of 1928.

„ *Tiruvāḍuturai* (Tj.)—*Iraṭṭapāḍi* etc. (in middle of the record). Royal (Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān) confirmation of grant made by the *Māhēśvaras* of certain privileges in the temple to Paraśurāman Sankaran of Iḷangārikuḍi for his acts of piety, such as, providing for offerings at Tiruvāḍuturai on festival days in Purattāśi, constructing in his own village a temple called Madhurāntaka-Īśvara and endowing lamps and offerings therein. His father provided also a perpetual lamp in the temple at Tiruvāḍuturai. 108 of 1925.

Year 4, day 184.—*Kanyākumāri* (Tv.)—*Iraṭṭapāḍi* etc. The king, seated on Kāḍuveṭṭi in Kēraḷan-māḷigai in Gangaikoṇḍa-śōḷapuram, orders certain taxes from *dēvadāna* villages to be devoted to a festival on the birthday of Nampeṇḍugaḷil Kiḻānaḍigaḷ. Kanyākumāri is called Gangai-koṇḍa-śōḷapuram. Details of taxation and administrative procedure given.

TAS. i. pp. 164-8.

Year 5.—*Brahmadēśam* (NA.)—*Tirumagaḷ - maruviya.* Sale of land to temple of Bhavarudrasōmīśvara-dēva on the south bank of the river Veḥkā (Vēgavatī) by the assembly of Parākrama-śōḷa-catm. in Dāmar-nāḍu of Jayangoṇḍa-śōḷa-maṇḍalam. Rights of irrigation and residence for labourers secured.

244 of 1915.

* Thursday 17th August, A.D. 1055, acc, (approx)., 28th May A.D. 1052—Kielhorn *EI.* vi. p. 24.

Year 5.—*Brahmadēśam* (NA.)—*Tirumagaḷ-maruviya*. Rajak.* Uḍaiyār Rājēndra. Sale of land tax-free to temple of Uruttiraśōlai-mahādēva on the south bank of the Veḥkā at Parākrama-śōḻa-catm. by the Mahāsabhā of Venkuḷattūr *alias* Paramēśvara-catm. Rights of irrigation secured. 256 of 1915.

„ *Kīḻūr* (SA.)—*Tirumagal-maruviya*. Sale of land to temple of Tirukkōvalūr tax-free by ūr of Puduppēṟūr as provision for recitation of *Tiruvembāvai* on Margaḻi Tiruvādirai days and for offerings and *prasādam* to persons specified. 12 of 1905.

„ *Kuttālam* (Tj.)—*Iraṭṭapāḍi* etc. Money to the temple of Śonnavāraṟivār at Vingu-nīrt-turutti by a native of Jayangoṇḍa-śōḻa-puram for feeding itinerant Śaiva devotees to secure success to the arms of the king..†
486 of 1907.

„ *Kūvam* (Ch.)—*Tirumādar-puviyenum*. Sale of land for 160 *kāśu* by the assembly of Kōṭṭūr *alias* Cōḷa-vidyādhara-catm., in Kanṟūr-nāḍu of Maṇaviṟkōṭṭam in Jayangoṇḍa-śōḻa-manḍalam through which a feeder channel to the Tribhuvana-mādēvip-pēṟēri at Kūvam *alias* Madhurāntakanallūr was to pass. 328 of 1909.

„ *Tirukkaḻukkunṟam* (Ch.)—*Tirumagaḷ-nilaviya*.‡ 90 sheep for lamp. 173 of 1894; *SII.* v. 466.

„ *Tiruppugalūr* (Tj.)—*Tirumagaḷ-maruviya*. Agreement by the assembly of Pugalūr to pay ten *kāśu* as interest on forty *kāśu* lent to them from the sum given by Pāṟkaran Arumoḻi *alias* Akāraṇa-dāni Pallavaraiyar of Vēḷūr for the expenses of the *nūlēṟṟam* ceremony in the temple. 57 of 1928.

* Mistake for Parak. Confusion due to overlapping reigns and independent exercise of powers at the close of a reign. *ARE.* 1916. II 14.

† The details given here are not in the text, which is an incomplete record giving only the name of temple followed by the names of some Śivabrāhmaṇas.

‡ This short form has much in common with *Iraṭṭapāḍi* etc.

Year 5.—*Tiruverumbūr* (Tri.)—*Tirumagaḷ-maruviya.* Money for lampstand by a *peṇḍāṭṭi* of the Uyyakkoṇḍān-terinda-tirumañjanaṭṭār-vēḷam at Gangai-koṇḍa-śōḷa-puram.
121 of 1914.

Year 5, day 35.—*Kuttālam* (Tj.)—Begins *Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān. Tiru-maruviya* in middle of record. Land, tax-free, given in year 3 day 143 for festivals to Śonnavārariyum-mahādēva at Vingu-nirt-turutti (in Tiruvaḷundūr-nāḍu) on the king's birthdays. Also gift of taxes due from some villages, amounting to eighty *kāśu* per annum, for Mārgaḷi-tiruvādirai, to the temple. Regulation of expenses (*nivandam*), made on the day mentioned in year 5. 101 of 1926.

Year 5, day 135.—*Mēlappaḻuvūr* (Tri.)—*Tirumagaḷ-maruviya.* Land as *naṭṭuvak-kāṇi* to a dancing master.
361 of 1924.

Year 6.—Ś. 979 *.—*Beḷatūru* (Mys.) (Kan.). A long pathetic poem on the sati of Dēkabbē, the daughter of a chief of Nugunāḍ, her husband having been sentenced to death and the sentence executed at Taḷakkāḍ for his having killed a member of the royal family in a wrestling contest. 141 of 1898 : *EC.* iv. Hg. 18 ; *EI.* vi. pp. 213-9 (Fleet).

Year 6.—*Puñjai* (Tj.) †—*Iraṭṭapāḍi etc.* Agreement of the assembly to pay taxes on some lands in lieu of interest at 50 per cent. from the 3rd year on 80 *kāśu* received by them in parts from Irumaḍi-śōḷa-mūvēnda-vēḷār in year 36 of Anaimērruñjiyaruḷina Vijaya-rājēndra-dēva and in year 3 of Rājēndra-dēva. Produce from the land to be used for midday service to Tiruvalamburam-uḍaiya-nāyanār, his consort and the Piḷḷaiyār set up by him in the temple. Also gift of 30 *kaḻañju* to temple for beating the *kaccōram* (?) on the marriage day of Āḷappiṟandār ; this gift was made in year (3) 2 of Parak. Rājēndra who took Pūrvadēśam, Gangai, and Kaḍāram. 193 of 1925.

* 27th Oct. 1057 A.D. Kielhorn, *EI.* vi. p. 23.

† The text gives date year 3 immediately after the introduction and then mentions year 6; also expression "*Iṟaikāval śeydu kuḍutta-nilam.*"

Year 6.—*Tanjore* (Tj)—*Tiru-maruviya.* Royal order to provide a *tūṇi* of paddy daily for playing the *Rājarājeśvara-nāṭaka* in the Rājarājēśvara temple to Śāntik-kūttan Tiruvālan Tirumudukunṛan *alias* Vijayarājēndra-ācāryan and his *vargattār* as *kāṇi.* The performance was to take place in the Uḍaiyār-vaigāśip-periya-tiruviḻā, the total annual allowance being 120 *kalam* to be given out of the temple treasury.

55 of 1893 ; *SII.* ii. 67.

„ *Tirukkōyilūr* (SA.)—*Tirumagal-maruviya.* Rebuilding of the *Srī-vimānam* of Tiruviḍaikaḻi-yāḻvār, a decayed brick structure, with fine black granite, and restoration of old inscriptions on its walls by Milāḍuḍaiyār Narasinga-panmar-*Narasinga-varmarenṛu-abhiṣēkam-paṇṇi muḍi-kavittu Milāḍu 2,000 pūmiuym āṇḍa Milāḍuḍaiyār Narasingapanmar.* Other gifts. 123 of 1900 ; *EI.* vii. pp. 145-6.

„ *Tiruppugalūr* (Tj.) — *Tirumagal-maruviya.* Money, by Dēvan-paṭṭagal-Paṇḍāram and her daughter belonging to the Śivapādaśēkhara-teriñja-tirumañjanattār Vēḷam, for offerings to Ulaguyyakkoṇḍa-śōḻa-sūrya-dēva, set up by them in the temple. 64 of 1928. *

„ *Tiruvallam* (NA.) — *Tirumagal-maruviya.* Gift of 1,500 *kuḻi* to be cleared of forest and cultivated as *arcanā-bhōga,* for worshipping Durgā standing in the north-western corner of the temple, to a Śivabrāhmaṇa by the *dēvakanmis* and residents (ūr) of . . . . . . nūr. 217 of 1921.

„ *Tribhuvani* (Pondicherry) — *Tirumagal-maruviya.* Order of Tirumandira-ōlai Pallavan Pallavaraiyar at the request of Sēnāpati Vāṇādhirājar that none except the Veḷḷāḷas of Vākkūr should levy or pay any kind of dues within the village, and that others who do so should be considered to have transgressed the law. This was agreed when Perumpuliyūr-nambi was inspecting the temple business. † 180 of 1919.

* cf. 63 of year 11.

† Business was transacted by assembly at night. *ARE.* 1919, II 15.

Year 6.—*Tribhuvani* (Pondicherry.)—*Tirumagal-maruviya.* An order of the assembly in accordance with a royal mandate altering the classification of land at Puttūr already granted for the merit of Udaiya-pirāṭṭiyār Pirāntakan Ulōga-mādēviyār. Refers to *kaḍaiyīḍu* of Villavaraiyar Mūvēnda-vēḷār, the *adhikārin* who is called *ammān* and Śenāpati Rājēndra Vayirāgarac-cōḷan. 181 of 1919.

Year 6, day 300.—*Vēppangulam* (Ch.)—*Tirumādu-puviyenum.* Sale of land as *iṟaiyili dēvadāna* for 97 *kaḷañju* of gold. 416 of 1902; *SII.* viii. 1.

Year 7. — *Kōnērirājapuram* (Tj.) — *Iraṭṭapāḍi* etc. Land. The Perunguṟi-sabhai of Pāvaikkuḍi met in the temple of Madhurāntaki Iśvaram-uḍaiyār.

634 of 1909.

„ *Puñjai* (Tj.)—*Tirumādar-puviyenum.* An *iṟaikāval* of 200 *kāśu* received by the assembly of Taḷaccangāḍu from the temple for taxes on 2½ *vēli* of land given in return for 1¼ *vēli* which, having been assigned to the temple for *havirbali-dāna*, and found unproductive owing to the high level of the land and the difficulty of irrigating it, had therefore to be resumed as village common land. 194 of 1925.

„ *Śingavaram* (SA.)—*Tirumagal-maruviya.* Lamp by a chief in atonement of his having stabbed a military official. 227 of 1904.

„ *Tirumalai* (NA.)—* Kōparatrakēsari *alias* Śrī Rājēndra-cōḷa-dēva. Adhikāri Koṟṟamangalam-uḍaiyān made an enquiry of Śiṟudanam Paṇimagan Kuḍippangudaiyān and Tiruvēngaḍa-dēva Karmis, discovered irregularities in the maintenance of lamps endowed before, only two out of twenty-one were being burnt, and regulated matters for the future, the Śrī-vaiṣṇavas accepting his finding. 64 of 1889; *SII.* iv. 293.

* A later copy. May be of Rājēndra I.

Year 7.—*Tribhuvani* (Pondicherry) — *Tirumagaḷ - maruviya.* Land, for offerings etc., to Vīra-śōḷa-viṇṇagar-āḻvār; made *iṟaiyili* by the great assembly which met at night in the temple. Royal order suggesting the action. 183 of 1919.

Year 8.—*Tirumalavāḍi* (Tri.)—*Tirumādar-puviyenum.* Land left in charge of *dēvakanmis* for offerings to an image set up by Śiṟudanap-perundaram Sēnāpati Araiyan Kaḍakkangoṇḍa-śōḷan Rājarāja Aṇimuṟi - nāḍāḻvān the son of an Aṇukki of Rājēndra-cōḷa-dēva I. Other gifts. 84 of 1895; *SII.* v. 644.

„ *Tiruvārūr* (Tj.)—*Tirumādu - puviyenum.* Gift of a wreath of precious stones for the goddess, consort of Uḍaiyār Vīdi-viṭaṇka-dēvar, by a native of Gangaikoṇḍa-śōḷapuram. 676 of 1919.

„ *Tiruvārūr* (Tj.)—*Tirumādu-puviyenum.* Land for offerings, for feeding twelve śivayōgins every day in the temple, and for two ear-ornaments to the god. 677 of 1919.

„ *Tiruvārūr* (Tj.)—*Tirumādu-puviyenum.* Deposit of gold with certain merchants of Tiruvārūr for offerings and oil for bath to the god; further gifts of gold for clothes to images and fees to temple songsters and servants. 678 of 1919.

Year 9.—*Brahmadēśam* (NA.)—The assembly of Karaikkōṭṭu-brahmadēśam *alias* Parākrama-śōḷa-catm. met in the temple of Pondai-uḍaiyār, and ordered the public sale of land to the temple of Rudraśōlai-mahādēva on the southern bank of the Veḥkā. 270 of 1915.

„ *Karuvūr* (Coi.)—*Tirumagaḷ - maruviya.* Grant of a village to the Tiruvānilai temple. Signed by five officers who also appear in an inscription of Vīra-rājēndra (*SII.* iii. 20), one of them being Araiyan Rājarājan *alias* Virarājēndra Jayamuri-nāḍāḻvān, perhaps the same as Sēnāpati Jayamuri-nāḍāḻvār of the Ceylon inscription (Sangili-Kanadarava) of Rājēndra. 59 of 1890; *SII.* iii. 21.

Year 9.—*Karuvūr* (Coi.)—*Tirumagḷ - maruviya.* Grant of Nelvāyppaḷḷi to the Tiruvānilai temple. Signed by the same officers as the preceding (*SII.* iii 21), some prefixing Kulōttunga to their names.

65 of 1890 ; *SII.* iii. 22.

„ *Kuttālam* (Tj.)—*Tirumādu - puviyenum* (later form). Undertaking by a number of Brahmans of Tiruvaḷundūr, a *brahmadēya*, to feed Śivabrāhmaṇas during the mid-day service of Śonnavāraṟivār with the interest (30 *kalam*) on 25 *kāśu* received by them from Veṇkāḍan-Āḍavallān, a merchant in the big bazaar (*angāḍi*) within the fort of Gangaikoṇḍa-śōḷapuram, who had made this endowment for the prosperity of the king's arms. 102 of 1926.

„ *Mahābalipuram* (Ch.)—*Iraṭṭapāḍi* etc. The *nagarattār* of Nagaramāmallapuram *alias* Jananāthapuram define limits of tax-free lands held by Śrī - Paramēśvara-mahāvarāha-viṣṇugṛhattāḷvār, make some additions to them and regulate expenses.

54 of 1890 ; *SII.* iv. 377.

„ *Pulallūr* (Ch.)—Land, tax-free, as *Bhārata-vṛtti* for the exposition of the Bhāratam, Rāmāyaṇam and similar Purāṇas in the temple of Tiruvayōddhi, by the assembly of the village. 48 of 1923.

„ *Tirumalavāḍi* (Tri.) — *Tirumādar-puviyenum.* Ornaments including a *mantrapuṣpam* with *nīlam* and other items, Rājādhirāja is called the elder brother of the king and a gift of year 3 of Vīrarājēndra-dēva (successor) is mentioned. *

87 of 1895 ; *SII.* v. 647.

Year 10.—*Bāhūr* (Pondicherry.)—*Iraṭṭapāḍi* etc. Paddy for offerings. Interest 6 *nāḻi* per *kalam* per month.

171 of 1902 ; *SII.* vii. 798.

* *ARE.* 1895 paragraph 9, *contra* the published text (*SII.* v. 647 ll. 52-3).

Year 10.—*Tereyūr* (Mys.)—An introduction with many gaps. Capture of 75 elephants of the Bhadra species including Śatrubhayankara and Karapattira as well as camels and queens of Āhavamalla.

EC. xii. Mi. 76.

,, *Tiruvallam* (NA.)—*Tiru-maruviya.* Land and certain rights to a Śivabrāhmaṇa for the worship of Tribhuvanasundara (Śōḷa-kēraḷa-viṭankar), his consort and Piḷḷaiyār set up by the assembly and some regiments of the army named. 214 of 1921.

,, *Tiruvallam* (NA.)—850 *kuḻi* of land as *arcanābhōga* to Śōḷa-kēraḷa-viṭankar set up by the assembly. Land sold as *devadāna iṟaiyili* to the temple by the sabhā.

215 of 1921.

Year 11.—*Kaḷattūr* (NA.)—*Tirumādu-puviyenum.* Sale of tax-free land to one of the *āḷuṅgaṇattar* by sabhā including the *samvatsara-vāriyam* of Vikramaśinga-catm., for the *perumbali* offerings on Sundays to the Pāśupatamūrtigaḷ in the temple of Tiruk-kumbīśvaram-uḍaiya Mahādēva. Special grant, in lieu of taxes, of 37 *kāśu*, equal to 10 *kaḻañju* and 9 *mañjāḍi* * of gold of the fineness of *Madhurāntakan-māḍai.*

157 of 1916.

,, *Tiruppugalūr* (Tj.)—*Iraṭṭapāḍi* etc. Ornaments presented to Śinga-dēva and his two consorts set up in the temple at Pugalūr by Devanpaṭṭagaḷ-Paṇḍāram and her daughter belonging to the Śivapadaśēkhara-teriñja-tirumañjanattār-vēḷam. 63 of 1928.†

Year 12.—*Koḷagalu* (Mys.)—(Tam. and Kan.) *Tirumagaḷ-maruviya.* In Ś. 984, Nāgaṇṇa of Keṟeyūr, fearing the jealousy of Gangaya, lord of the nāḍ, submitted to him. A gift of land. 144 of 1898 ; *EC.* iv. Hg. 115.

* 15 *kaḻañju* 9 *mañjāḍi* and 2 *mā*, as now read. Codrington, *Ceylon Coins* p. 85.

† cf. 64 of year 6.

The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following :—

Ś. 982.—*Kaḷambūr* (NA.)—Lamp to Aḻagiya Maṇavāḷar in the temple of Kalikēsari-viṇṇagar and mention of assembly of Vikrama-śōḻa-catm. * 245 of 1909.

Kunadara Korale (Ceylon)—Mentions Sēnāpati Jaya-muri-nāḍāḻvān. 612 of 1912 † ; *SII.* iv. 1408.

Tiruvārūr (Tj.)—*Tirumādu - puviyenum.* An order (of the king) of Vēḷāḷakūttan *alias* Śembiyan Mūvēnda-vēḷān to cover with gold plates certain portions of the *garbhagṛha* and the *ardhamaṇḍapa* of the temple. 675 of 1919. ‡

* This name occurs also in 247 of 1909 (n-d.) as an *alias* Kaḷamūr with part of the introduction of Parak. Rājēndra.

† cf. 600 of 1912 ; *MV.* Chh. 56, 58-60

‡ cf. 669 of year 3 ; 670 of Rājādhirāja 31.

RĀJAKĒSARI RĀJAMAHĒNDRA-DĒVA

Year 2.—*Cidambaram* (SA.)—Frag. Mentions Parāntakan Lōka-mahādōviyār. 612 of 1930.

" *Hōsahaḷḷi* (Mys.)—*Manunīdi-muṟai - vaḷara.* Gift of land to Tiruviyalūr Parañjōti *alias* Agōraśiva of the Tiruvūṟal-maṭha, who was a native of Avikkūr *alias* Jayangoṇḍa-śōḷapuram in Perumbāṇappāḍi. 172 of 1911; *EC.* ix. Ht. 35.

" *Pulallūr* (Ch.)—*Tirumangai-vaḷara.* Land given as *Bhārata-vṛtti* by a lady, wife of one of the *āḷuṇgaṇam* of Madhurāntaka-catm. 50 of 1932.

" *Tiruvaḍandai* (Ch.) 275 of 1910.

" *Tiruvallam* (NA.)—*Tirumagaḷ - viḷanga.* Śankaran Gaṇḍarādittan *alias* Śēnāpatigaḷ Rājarājac-cōḷiya-varaiyar purchased from the inhabitants of Tiruvallam 800 *kuḻi* of land for 64 good current *kāśu* equal to 22 *kaḻañju* and 8 *mañjāḍi* in gold at 7 *mañjāḍi* per *kāśu,* and presented it to the temple. 5 of 1890; *SII.* iii. 56.

Year 3.—*Grāmam* (SA.) 741 of 1905.

" *Nērūr* (Tri.)—*Tirumagaḷ - viḷanga.* Provision for offerings. 339 of 1928.

" *Olagapuram* (SA.)—*Manunīdi-muṟai-vaḷara.* Sale of land by the *nagarattār* of Ulōga-mādēvipuram for being presented to the temple of Arikulakēsari-Īśvaram to meet the expenses of the shrine of Rājēndra-śōḷa-viṭankar in it. 130 of 1919.

" *Olagapuram* (SA.)—*Manunīdi-muṟai-vaḷara.* Sale of land by the *nagarattār* of Ulōga-mādēvipuram to a certain Śāttan for being presented to the temple of Ariñjigai-Viṇṇagar Vīṟṟirundāḷvār of *ivvur-tirumēṟkōyil* for expenses. The sale-deed was drawn up by

Samantabahu Ācārya, a worshipper of the Sundara-śōḻap-perumbaḷḷi of this town. 141 of 1919.

Year 3.—*Tiruppāpuliyūr* (SA.) — Short introduction says that the king fought with Āhavamalla. *

119 of 1902 ; *SII.* vii. 743.

* This confirms his place between Rājēndra and Vīrarājēndra cf. *SII.* iii. pp. 112 ff. *ARE.* 1902 paragraph 9.

RĀJAKĒSARI VĪRARĀJĒNDRA *

Year 2 †.—*Ālambakkam* (Tri.)—*Tiruvaḷar-tiraḷpuya.* Assembly of Madhurāntaka-catm. met in the temple of Tiruvīśalūr-Paḷḷikoṇḍālvār of this village and made a gift of land to Tiruvāliśvaram-uḍaiya-mahādēva.

718 of 1909.

" *Tiruvaṇṇāmalai* (NA.)—Repair of a tank by Toṇḍaimānācci, daughter of Gangaiyar, to whom the lands irrigated by it were surrendered by former tenants who, being unable to repair the tank, had allowed the lands to lie waste for a long time,

552 of 1902 ; *SII.* viii. 143.

Tiruveṇkāḍu (Tj.)—*Tiruvaḷar - tiraḷpuya.* Taxes in several villages in three nāḍus in the Rājādhirāja-vaḷa-nāḍu granted for festivals and offerings on Āyilliyam days (the king's asterism) to Tiruveṇkāḍuḍaiyār.

113 of 1896 ; *SII.* v. 976. ‡

" *Tiruvoṟṟiyūr* (Ch.)—*Vīramē-tuṇaiyāgavum.* Apportionment of 120 *kāśu* paid as rent by the Śāliya merchants in the Jayaśinga-kula-kālap-perunderu § of Tiruvoṟṟiyūr for special services in the temple on the day of Āślēṣa, the star of the king's nativity, as settled by the officer Jayaśinga-kula-kāla-viḻupparaiyan, after an enquiry held in the *vakkāṇikkum-maṇḍapa* in front of the temple. 136 of 1912.

Year 3.—*Puñjai* (Tj.)—80 *kāśu* by six persons for obtaining the *tirukkāvaṇakkāl* (title-deed ?) which had been lost after the death of their relation, a certain Tiruveṇkāḍuḍaiyān of Koṇṇadūr. 190 of 1925.

* Rājamahēndra was the immediate predecessor of Vīrarājēndra. *ARE.* 1910 II 12.

† Read as 22 in *ARE.* 1910 II 22

‡ 462 of 1918 (Yr. 2+1) is similar.

§ Probably after a surname of the king, the opponent of W. Cāḷukya Jayasimha III. Other quarters in the place were: *Tribhuvanasundarap-perunderu* of the Maṉṟādis, and *Nāṟpatteṇṇāyirap-perunderu* of sculptors and artisans. *ARE.* 1913 II 32.

Year 3.—*Tiruvāmāttūr* (SA.) — *Vīramē-tuṇaiyāgavum.* Gold and cows for two lamps by Viccādiran-madhurāntakan *alias* Sēnāpati Vırarājēndra Kārāṇai Viḻupparaiyan of Kūḷikuḍi. 3 of 1922.

,, *Uyyakkoṇḍān-Tirumalai* (Tri.)—Taxes for a festival by the king while seated on the throne called Abhimāna-rāman at Tiruvānaikkāval. Among the taxes mentioned is *daśabanda.* 462 of 1908.

Year 3 + 1. — *Karuvūr* (Coi.) — *Tiruvaḷar-tiraḷ.* Grant of a *dēvadāna* by the king from his palace at Gangai-koṇḍa-śōḻapuram. 58 of 1890 ; *SII.* iii. 20.

Year 4.—*Maḷūr* (Mys.)—*Tiruvaḷar-tiraḷpuya* up to *Gangai-mānagar* ; only the introduction is preserved.
194 of 1911 ; *EC.* ix. Cp. 85.

,, *Punganūr* (NA.) 541 of 1906.

,, *Tennēri* (Ch.)—*Vīramē-tuṇai* (part). 93 sheep for lamp distributed among three persons, 48 with one and 22½ with each of the other two.
198 of 1901 ; *SII.* vii. 410.

,, *Tirunāmanallūr* (SA.)—*Vīramē-tuṇai* up to *kaikkoṇḍu,* and then - *Svasti Śrī Sakala - bhuvan - āśraya-Śrī - Mēdinī - Vallabha - Mahārājādhirāja - Cōḻakula-sundara* * *Pāṇḍya-Kulāntaka Āhavamallakula-kāla Āhavamallanai mummaḍi* † *venkaṇḍa* (*Rājaśēkhara*) *Rājāśraya* (*Rājarājēndra*) *Śrī Vīra Cōḻa* ‡ *Karikāla-cōḻa Śrī Vīrarājēndra-dēva Rājakēsarivanma-perumān-aḍigaḷ Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān.* Object of the record is not clear §. Mentions the *nagarattār* of Tirunāvalūr *alias* Rājādittapuram.
371 of 1902 ; *SII.* iii. 81.

,, *Tiruvoṟṟiyūr* (Ch.) — *Tiruvaḷar-tiraḷpuya.* Sale of land by residents of Elinuḷai for presentation as

* *Śēkhara* in others.

† *Aimmaḍi* in later records. ‡ cf. *Vīrasōḻiyam.*

§ Land to Tiruttoṇḍīśvara. *ARE.* 1902 App. B.

maḍappuṟam to the Rājēndra-śōḻan-maḍam. The price was paid by Tiruvaraṅga-dēvan *alias* Mummuḍi-śōḻa Brahmarāyan of Vīranārāyṇa-catm., a *taniyūr* in Rājēndraśinga-vaḷa-nāḍu of the Śōḻa-maṇḍalam. Land was made *iṟaiyili*, the taxes remitted being named. 135 of 1912.

Year 5.—*Accarappākkam* (Ch.)—*Vīramē-tuṇai* (part). Gift of paddy and taxes (named) to god.
253 of 1901 ; *SII.* vii. 467.

" *Byādarahaḷḷi* (Mys.)—*Vīramē-tuṇai* up to *Śingaṇanai-yum-uḍaippuṟangaṇḍu.* Self-immolation (*tīppāya*) of a lady on the death of her husband.
174 of 1911 ; *EC.* ix. Dv. 14.

" *Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḻapuram* (Tri.)—*Tiruvaḷar-tiru* followed by *Vīramē-tuṇai* several times. Long but ill-preserved.
82 of 1892 * ; *SII.* iv. 529.

" *Kīḻūr* (SA.)—*Vīramē-tuṇai* up to *munnavar virada-muḍittu.* 48 sheep for lamp by a Manṟāḍi.
273 of 1902 ; *SII.* iii. 82.

" † *Maṇimangalam* (Ch.) — *Tiruvaḷar-tiraḷpuya.* 4450 *kuḻi* of land to temple as *arcanābhōga* by Sēnāpati Jayangoṇḍa-śōḻa Brahmādhirāja whose father Maññip-payanār *alias* Jayasimha-kulāntaka-piramarāyar had purchased the land from the village.
2 of 1892 ; *SII.* iii. 30.

" *Tiruvoṟṟiyūr* (Ch.)—*Vīramē-tuṇaiyāgavum.* Sale of land to temple by assemblies of Sundara-śōḻa-catm. and Vānavan-mādevi-catm., the temple share of produce being 30 *kalam* per *vēli.* Another sale of waste land in year 6 by assembly of Śingaviṣṇu-catm. for Vīra-rājēndran-tirunandavanam, founded by Tiruvarangan *alias* Rājēndra-mūvēnda-vēḷān of Maṇakkuḍi.
228 of 1912.

* 82-b mentions year 23 of Ayyan who took Pūrvadēśam, Gangai, and Kaḍāram. *SII.* iii. p. 195 and n. 11.

† 10th September 1067 A.D., acc. 1062-3. Kielhorn, *EI.* vii. p. 9.

Year 5.—*Tiruvoṟṟiyūr* (Ch.)—*Vīramē-tuṇaiyāgavum*. Shrine of Paḍambakka-dēva * was built of stone by *adhikāri* Rājēndra Mūvēnda-vēḷān. 232 of 1912.

Year 5, day 348.—*Tirumukkūḍal* (NA.)—*Tiruvaḷar-tiraḷpuya*. Royal order assigning the taxes of Vayalaikkāvūr, making it a tax-free *dēvadāna*, for the requirements of a Viṣṇu temple at Tirumukkūḍal in Madhurāntaka-catm. Mentions eight officers, the seat Rājēndra-śōḷa-māvali-vāṇarājan in the Śōḷa-Kēraḷan-tirumāḷigai at Gangaikoṇḍa-śōḷapuram. Details of the equipment of a hospital (*ātula-śālai*), and a school in the temple are also given. 182 of 1915.

Year 6.—*Jambai* (SA.)—*Vīramē-tuṇaiyāgavum*. Gift of land to an accountant (*nagarakkaṇakkan*) by the temple authorities among whom figures the Mahāvratin Lakulīśvara Paṇḍita. † The beneficiary was to write up the accounts of the temple. 100 of 1906.

„ *Poṭṭapaḷḷi* (Mys.)—Titles as in 371 of 1902 (Yr. 4) with variations, most important among them being *aimmaḍi-venkaṇḍa* for *mummaḍi*. Gift of wet land (*nīr nilam*) 50 *kuḷi* and dry land (*kāṭṭārambam*) 1000 *kuḷi* by an orphan for the merit of his deceased father and his mother who committed sati (*tīyilpāñjāḷ*).
188 of 1911 ; *EC*. x. Ct. 161.

„ *Tiṇḍivanam* (SA.)—*Vīramē-tuṇai* (full). Twelve cows for offerings of *ghī* and curd for *hōma* and *amudu* to the Tiruvuṇṇāḷigai sabhaiyār of the temple.
207 of 1902 ; *SII*. iii. 83.

Year 7.—*Badūr* (NA.)—Gold for lamp by two goldsmiths of Vādavūr. 411 of 1922.

„ *Perumbēr* (Ch.) — *Vīramē-tuṇai* (alternative form). The Mahāsabhā of *taniyūr* Madhurāntaka-catm. give *iṟaiyili* land, from land described as *parappum tāḻvum-inṟi-mañjikkamāgak-kiḍanda nilattil*, to Tiruttān-

* *ARE*. 1913 II 32.

† Same as in 85 of 1889. (Mēlpāḍi) Yr. 9 of Rājēndra I. *ARE*. 1907 II 39.

tonri-mahā-śrī-karaṇa Īśvaram-uḍaiyār at Nammūr-piḍāgai-peru-Perūr *alias* Tribhuvana-nallūr.
266 of 1901 ; *SII.* iii. 84.

Year 7.—*Tirukkaḻukkunṟam* (Ch.)—*Viramē-tuṇai* as in 266 of 1901. 90 sheep for one lamp ; again 270 for three.
175 of 1894 ; *SII.* v. 468.

„ *Veḷḷanūr* (Pd.)—(Verse). Erection of *ardha-maṇḍapa* in the Agastiśvara temple by the Cōḷa subordinate Muḍikoṇḍa-nāḍāḻvān of Śiṟuvāyil-nāḍu. 206 of 1914.

„ Ś. 991—(Saumya) * *Yogi-Mallavaram* (C.)—*Sakalabhuvanāśraya.* † After Śaka year, *Viramē-tuṇaiyāgavum.* Mentions temple of Pipladīśvaram-uḍaiya-mahādēva.
273 of 1904.

The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following :—

Elavanāśūr (SA.)—A curious declaration by a sati : "If she lived after her husband, she should become the slave of her co-wives. Whoever said she ought not to die should incur the sin of prostituting his wife. If she did not die, those who did not bind and throw her into the fire and kill her should incur the sin of prostituting their wives."
156 of 1906 ; *ARE.* 1907 II 41.

Kaḍambarkōyil (Ch)—*Tiruvaḷar-tiraḷ* (part). Sale of land by ūr. 226 of 1901 : *SII.* vii. 439.

Takkōlam (NA.)—*Tiruvaḷar-tiraḷpuya* (with variations) and signatures. 19 of 1897 ; *SII.* v. 1382.

Tirupputtūr (Md.)—Sanskrit part mentions Kollāpura. A part of the Tamil introduction and mention of ayyar (father ?) who took Gangai, Pūrvadēśam and Kaḍāram. 110 of 1908.

* This gives acc. Ś. 986 (1063-4 A.D.) contra. Kielhorn A.D. 1062-3. Perhaps cyclic year in this Y.M. record is wrong. Ruled up to 1070-1. *ARE.* 1904, paragraph 21.

† See under yr. 4 (371 of 1902). The variants noted there are from this record.

Tiruvoṟṟiyūr (Ch.)—Reclamation of 60 *vēli* of waste land in Śingaviṣṇu-catm, by order of the king. It was to be called Vīrarājēndraviḷāgam, its produce being utilised for services in the temple 'for the health of Cakravartin Vīrarājēndra-dēva, for the increase of his race; for the prosperity of the *tirumangalyam* of the queen, and for the health of their children.' Paddy, gold and *kāśu* were appropriated to various items of expenditure including (*a*) the pay of two priests and a musician for *paḷḷiyeḻucci*; (*b*) tiruvādirai-tirunāḷ including recitation of the *tiruvembāvai* and (*c*) the maintenance of 22 *taḷiyilār* who danced and sang, one dancing master, 16 *dēvaraḍiyār* who recited the *tiruppadiyam* in the *agamārga* and (*d*) of four cooks. 128 of 1912; *ARE.* 1913 II 32.

Yōgi Mallavaram (C.)—Vīrarājendra-dēva. Taxes from Muññaippūndi, a *dēvadāna*, made over to the temple of Tiruppalādiśvara of Tiruccukanūr by Nārayaṇa-dēva, a local chieftain with Cāḷukya titles. 266 of 1904.

Year 2.—*Giḍangil* (SA.)—Said to be copy. Gift of land, by purchase from ūr by a certain Śātta Nālāyiravan *alias* Karikāla-śōḻa Śengēṇi-nāḍāḻvān.
227 of 1902 ; *SII.* vii. 854.

„ *Tiruvakkarai* (SA.)—The *vimāna* of Varadarāja-perumāḷ (in the Candramauḷīśvara temple) which had been previously built of bricks by Kōcōḷa, was now reconstructed of stone. 205 of 1904. *

„ *Tiruviḷakkuḍi* (Tj.)—*Tingaḷēr-malarndu.* Remission of taxes on four *mā* of land by assembly (name lost) in favour of Tirukkaṟṟaḷi-mahādēva for seven *kāśu* received from the temple treasury. 123 of 1926.

Year 3.—*Kalavai* (NA.)—*Tingaḷēr-malarndu.* Sale of land by the *mahāsabhā* to the Tirukkārīśvara temple at Ulagaḷanda-Cōḷa-catm. 228 of 1901 ; *SII.* vii. 442.

„ *Kiḻūr* (SA.)—*Tiru-maḍandaiyum.* Lamp.
256 of 1902 ; *SII.* vii. 884.

„ *Kūhūr* (Tj.)—*Tingaḷēr-malarndu.* Land for recitation by a person of *Tiruppadiyam* twice a day before Māmbaḻam-uḍaiya-mahādēva for (the recovery of the health of ?) the king. 280 of 1917.

„ *Mūgavāḍi* (NA.) 573 of 1906.

„ *Panaiyavaram* (SA.) 438 of 1903.

„ *Panaiyavaram* (SA.)—Gift of land by purchase to Paravai † Īśvaram-udaiya-mahādēva by a native of Miḻalaikūṟṟam in Rājarāja-Pāṇḍi-nāḍu. 322 of 1917.

„ *Polonnaruva* (Cey.)—*Tingaḷēr-malarndu.* ‡ Gift of five *kāśu* for lamp to Vānavan-mādēvi-Īśvaram at Jananāthamangala (old name of Polonnaruva), left in the

* Rightful successor of Vīrarājēndra I ; in possession of Kāñcī as capital in Yr. 3.=1072-4 (*SII.* iii. p. 117) Rājēndra II, Kulōttunga, usurper. *ARE.* 1904, paragraph 21.

† Paravaipuram, old name of Panaiyavaram. *ARE.* 1918 II, 32.

‡ Śiva temple Fergusson i. 248. cf. *SII.* iii. p. 114-8.

charge of the priests and their descendants, servants, dancing girls and the *nāṭṭavar*.
594 of 1912 ; *SII.* iv. 1388.

Year 3.—*Puduppāḍi* (NA.)—Sale of land on the banks of the Pālār by the villagers (Puduppāḍi ūr) to the temple as the land had become unfit for cultivation in a flood.
428 of 1905.

" *Pullagaṇṭivāripallee* (Cud.)—Mentions Iraṭṭapāḍi-koṇḍa-śōḷa-maṇḍalam. 537 of 1906.

" *Tirukkānūr* (Tj.)—Gift of land and house by the assembly (sabhā) of Alaiyūr to the Viṣṇu-temple of Maṇavāḷa - āḻvār. Mentions *Vīrarājēndra - dēvar-vāykkāl.* 165 of 1911.

" *Tirunāmanallūr* (SA.)—Fragment.
355 of 1902 ; *SII.* vii. 985.

" *Tiruppāsūr* (Ch.)—*Tiru-maḍandaiyum*. Order issued by king from his palace at Gangaikoṇḍa-śōḷapuram remitting some taxes in the village of Śelai in Kākkalūr-nāḍu as *dēvadāna* to the temple at Tiruppāśūr. Officers of Uḍankūṭṭam mentioned. 113 of 1930.

" *Tiruvoṟṟiyūr* (Ch.)—*Tingaḷēr-malarndu*. Sale of land to temple by the assembly of Sundara-śōḷa-catm.
219 of 1912.

" *Vēppanguḷam* (Ch.)—*Tingaḷēr-malarndu.* Three officers record dues from *dēvadāna* villages as obtaining from year 7 plus 1 of emperor Vīrarājēndra.
418 of 1902 ; *SII.* viii. 4.

Year 3, day 200.—*Tiruvallam* (NA.) — *Tingaḷēr - malarndu.* Enquiry into and a fresh settlement of temple affairs by two royal officers. Reference is made to an earlier settlement of the eighth year of emperor Vīrarājēndra-dēva. 15 of 1890 : *SII.* iii. 57.

The regnal is missing or uncertain in the following :—

Polonnaruva (Cey.)—*Tingaḷēr-malarndu.*
596 of 1912 ; *SII.* iv. 1392.

Year 4.—*Mannārkōyil.*—(Tin.)—Land to Rājēndra-śoḷā Viṇṇagar, by sabhā of Rājarāja-catm. for settling temple servants. 107 of 1905.

Year 6.—*Ambāsamudram* (Tin.) — Incomplete. Mentions Rājarāja-catm. a *brahmadēya* in Muḷḷi-nāḍu of Muḍikoṇḍa-śōḷa-vaḷa-nāḍu in Rājarāja-Pāṇḍi-nāḍu. 70 of 1907.

" *Cēramangalam* (Tv.)—(*Vaṭṭeḻuttu*).* An undertaking given to the sabhā of Cēramangalam by Mangāḍi Iraiyān Accan to stand surety (*puṇaipaḍurēn*) for the *iṟai* due from Ten-tiruvarangam-uḍaiyār-kōyil-mudukuḍi Śendil Āyirava-dēvan, in case he went elsewhere (*mangu-māṟi-pōgil*). *Ippaḍi-angēnēl - anṟāḍu - kōvi-nukku aṟu-kaḻañju pon paḍuvadāga.*

TAS. v. pp. 29-30.

" *Pārthivaśēkharapuram* (Tv.)—(*Vaṭṭeḻuttu*). Provision for a perpetual lamp and the sumptuous feeding (*agram uṇṇavum*) of one Brahman every day in the temple of the village. *TAS.* vi. i. App.

Year 8.—*Vīrasikhāmaṇi* (Tin.) — (*Vaṭṭeḻuttu*) † No Jaṭ. title. Lamp. 40 of 1908.

Year 9.—*Sucīndram* (Tv.)—Lamp. 76 of 1896.

" *Sucīndram* (Tv.)—The local commandant (*ivvūr-paḍait-talaivan*) undertakes to maintain 1½ perpetual lamps with 3/8 measure of *ghī* daily from 38 cows given by Śankarappāḍiyān Kaḷani-veṇṇi *alias* Madhurāntakap-pēraraiyan of Kōṭṭār *alias* Mummuḍi-śōḻanallūr, in the temple of Tiruvēngaḍattāḻvār in Sucindram *alias* Sundaraśōḻa-catm., a *brahmadēyam* in Nāñji-nāḍu.

TAS. iv. pp. 134-5.

* Palaeogr. later.

† The only other *Vaṭṭeḻuttu* record of this king is 162 of 1895 (Gangai-koṇḍān). *ARE.* 1908 II 41.

Year 10.—*Śērmādēvi* (Tin.) — Incomplete. Mentions Śōḷēndra-śinga-Iśvaram-uḍaiyār. 615 of 1916.

" *Vijayanārāyaṇam* (Tin.)—The village is called Jayan-goṇḍa-śōḷa-catm. * in Uttamaśōḷa-vaḷa-nāḍu. 5 of 1927.

Year 11.—*Ādanūr* (Tin.)—(*Vaṭṭeḻuttu*). Lamp. 439 of 1909.

" *Cōḷapuram* (*Nagercoil*) (Tv.)—25 cows for lamp to Rājēndraśōḷa Īśvaram in Tirukkōṭṭār *alias* Mummuḍi-śōḷanallūr by Sarvalōkāśraya-śrī-viṣṇuvardhana Mahā-rāja *alias* Cāḷukya Vijayāditya Vikkiyaṇṇan. 44 of 1896 ; *TAS.* vi. p. 8 ; *EI.* xi. pp. 293-4.

" *Cōḷapuram* (*Nagercoil*) (Tv.)—80 Sheep for a lamp in same temple by Uḍaiyār-perundanattu-dēvan-Viccādi-ran *alias* Śōḷa-mārāyan. The sheep were left with one person, for whom another was guarantor. *TAS.* vi. p. 9.

" *Cōḷapuram* (*Nagercoil*) (Tv.)—Sabhā of Śīvaḷḷuva-mangalam *alias* Kērala (?)-kulāśani-catm., a *brahmadēya* in Nāṭṭārruppōkku of Uttamaśōḷa-vaḷa-nāḍu, sold some of the common land (*engaḷūr viṟṟukkuḍutta poḍu-nilamāvadu*) to the *dēvakanmis* of the same temple in Kōṭṭār. Some conditions made regarding payment of taxes. *TAS.* vi. pp. 11-2.

Year 12.—*Cōḷapuram* (*Nagercoil*) (Tv.)—Incomplete. 45 of 1896.

" *Śērmādēvi* (Tin.)—The Śivabrāhmaṇas of Aganāḻigai received 36 *kāśu* from Śrīkaṇṭha Dāmōdarabhaṭṭa for a lamp to Kailāsam-uḍaiyār. Mentions the temple Cōḷēndraśinga-iśvaram. 193 of 1895 ; *SII.* v. 757 ; 621 of 1916.

Year 13.—*Ambāsamudram* (Tin.)—Gift for merit of the Nānā-dēśittiśai—1,500 of Rājēndra-cōḷa-maṇḍalam. The temple is called Tiruccālait-turai-āḻvār. 82 of 1907.

* Not found in Rājarāja's records from the place. *ARE.* 1927 II 35.

Year 13.—*Mannārkōyil* (Tin.)—Sale of land, 14¾ *nilam* (*vēli*) and 2 *mā*, including dry and wet lands, to Rājēndra-śōḷa-viṇṇagar of Rājarāja-catm., by the Mahāsabhā of the place. The names of śēris in this village, twelve in number, furnish an example of the Cōḷa practice of renaming places: Rājarāja, Mummuḍi-śōḷa, Arumoḷi-dēva, Nittavinōda, Cōḷēndrasimha, Sundara-śōḷa, Vānavan-mādēvi, Uttama-śōḷa, Śembiyan-mādēvi, Kundavai, Pañcavan-mādēvi, Lōka-mādēvi.
109 of 1905 * ; *EI.* xi. pp. 292-8.

„ *Mannārkōyil* (Tin.)—Sale of land. Long account of land converted to *veḷḷān-vagai*, a tenure. 110 of 1905.

„ *Śērmādēvi* (Tin.)—Sale of land by Mahāsabhā of Nigarili-śōḷa-catm., to the temple of Śrī-Kailāsam-uḍaiyār of the village. 612 of 1916.

„ *Tiruvālīśvaram* (Tin.) — Lamps. Temple of Tiruvālīccuram-uḍaiyār was in Rājarāja-catm, a *brahmadēya* in Muḷḷi-nāḍu. 115 of 1905.

Year 14—*Ambāsamudram* (Tin.)—Incomplete. 75 of 1907.

„ *Mannārkōyil* (Tin.)—Sundara C. P.-dēva. Half a lamp and 16 cows by Śēraḷan-mādēviyār Adicci, queen of the Cēra king Rāśinga-dēvar to Rājēndra-śōḷa-viṇṇagar-āḻvār † at Muḍi-koṇḍa...in Rājarāja-pāṇḍi-nāḍu.
392 of 1916.

„ *Mannārkōyil* (Tin.)—Sale of a whole village to same temple, by two bhaṭṭas who were brothers.
106 of 1905.

„ *Śērmādēvi* (Tin.)—Half a lamp by a lady. 618 of 1916.

Year 14, day 320.—*Śērmādēvi* (Tin.)—Provision by sabhā for offerings to Uyyakkoṇḍān (Tiruccenna)ḍai in the Nigarili-śōḷa-viṇṇagar temple. 712 of 1916.

* Yr. 15 of this prince = Yr. 24 of his father (*ARE.* 1905 II 25). Hence *acc.* 1020-1 A.D. See *PK.* p. 116.

† Temple built by Rāśinga himself (112 of 1905).

Year 15.—*Sērmādēvi* (Tin.)—Land for *tirumeykkāppu* in the Nigarili-śōḻa-viṇṇagar-āḻvār temple. 700 of 1916.

Year 16.—*Ambāsamudram* (Tin.)—Lamp to Tiruccālait-tuṟai-yuḍaiya-mahādēva in Rājarāja-catm. 77 of 1907.

" *Mannārkōyil* (Tin.) — Land. Mentions the Cēra king Rājarāja-dēva and *kuḍinīngāk-kārāṇmai.* 111 of 1905.

Year 17.—*Sērmādēvi* (Tin.)—Fifty sheep for a perpetual lamp and a *śandiviḷakku* to Kailāsam-uḍaiyār. 622 of 1916.

" *Tiruvālīśvaram* (Tin.)—Uḍaiyār Śrī Sundara Cōḻa-Pāṇḍya-dēva, * seated in the maṇḍapa outside his palace at Rājēndra-śōḻapuram, gave, in accordance with the order of his *ammān* (the Cōla emperor ?), five *vēli* of land, after purchase, to the temple in Rājarāja-catm. in Muḷḷi-nāḍu in Muḍikoṇḍa-śōḻa-vaḷa-nāḍu, for festivals, the feeding of Brahmans, and the reading of Śivadharma. The gift included paddy given by the cultivator (*veḷḷān*) as the landlord's share, *uruvukōl-kāśu* and *kākṣi-erudu-kāśu.* 627 of 1916.

Year 17, day 7.—*Sērmādēvi* (Tin.)—Uḍaiyār Śrī Sundara C. P.-deva. † Remission of taxes with effect from year 16 on lands at Kallūr in Mēl-Vēmba-nāḍu in Muḍikoṇḍa-śōḻa-vaḷa-nāḍu in favour of Kailāsam-uḍaiyār, by the king seated in the western hall of his palace at Rājēndra-śōḻapuram at the instance of his *ammān.* Mentions items of money-income : *aḻagerudu-kātci-kaśu, kātci-erudu-kāśu,* and *ūrkkaḻañju* ; and also a number of royal officers. The lands got the new name Śivapādaśēkhara-nallūr. 619 of 1916.

Year 17, day 65.—*Tiruvālīśvaram* (Tin.)—Uḍaiyār Śrī Sundara C. P.-dēva ‡. Begins with the phrase : *variyilīḍu.*

* This prince without any distinguishing epithet was another and a later prince than Jat. Sundara C. P. and was perhaps the successor of Māṟ. Vikrama C.P. and a nephew of Rājādhirāja I. *ARE.* 1917 II. 3.

† See note above. ‡ See n. ante.

The king being at dinner in the *siddar-kūḍam* in his pleasure-garden called Puttan on the north side of Māḍakkuḷak-kīḻ-Madurai was seated (?) on the Rājēndra-śōḷa-Atimūrkkaccengirai. The order of *ammān* was received and sanction given for *variyilīḍu*. (See No. 327 *ante*.) 332 of 1916.

Year 18.—*Ambāsamudram* (Tin.)—60 sheep for lamp. The Tiruppōttuḍaiyār and Tiruccālait-tuṟai Śrī-mūlasthāna temples are said to have been in the southern hamlet of Rājarāja-catm. 102 of 1905.

Year 19.—*Cēramangalam* (Tv.)—A zinc (*tarā*) lamp-stand to Ten-tiruvarangam-uḍaiyār of the village by Tiruvoṟṟaic-cēvagan Māyilaṭṭi, the younger brother of Śankarappāḍiyān Kaḷani-veṇṇi * of Mukkarai *alias* Mummuḍi-śōḷapuram in Purangarambai-nāḍu, a sub-division of Arumoḻidēva-vaḷa-nāḍu in the Śōḷa-maṇḍalam. *TAS*. v. pp. 29-30.

" *Cōḷapuram* (*Nagercoil*)—(Tv.) Lamp. 34 of 1896.

" *Cōḷapuram* (*Nagercoil*) (Tv.)—12½ cows (*paśu*) for half a lamp by the woman (*peṇ*) Tavaśi Nāṟpatteṇṇāyira Maṟali-dēvi of the place (*ivvūr*) to Rājēndraśōḷa-īśvaram-uḍaiyār in the interior (*uḷḷālai*) of Tirukkōṭṭār *alias* Mummuḍi-śōḷa-nallūr. *TAS*. vi. p. 13.

" *Śērmādēvi* (Tin.)—Order of *puravu-vari-tiṇaik-kaḷattār* and *varip-pottagam-uḍaiyār* that the ten persons who had the *kāṇi* of the 2 *vēli* of temple lands at Kallūr, under the name Śivapādaśēkhara-nallūr, had relinquished them in favour of the temple servants who would thenceforth cultivate them. '*Mānavīra Parāntaka*' appearing in this record was perhaps a surname of the king. 630 of 1916. †

* See under year 9.-Sucīndram.

† This record taken along with 619 (Yr. 17, day 7) shows that the viceroy in both must be the same.

Year 20.—*Tiruvidānkōḍu* (Tv.)—(*Vaṭṭeḻuttu*). Gold for lamp. 20 *kaḻañju*, *kāśu niṟai kallāl onbadu māttu*.
TAS. iv. pp. 139-41.

Year 21.—*Ānaimalai* (Md.)—25 sheep for lamp. Mentions Kīḻ-Iraṇiyamuṭṭam and Tiruvānaimalai. Sheep left with Nakkan Śeṇbagam of the *veṭṭikkuḍi* of Śrī Narasiṁhadēva. 64 of 1905.

" *Ānaimalai* (Md.)—Lamp to Narasiṁha-āḻvār on the Tiruvānaimalai in Kīḻ-Iraṇiyamuṭṭam in the Rājēndra-Cōḻa-vaḷa-nāḍu of the Rājarāja-pāṇḍi-nāḍu.
65 of 1905.

" *Gangaikoṇḍān* (Tin.)—(*Vaṭṭeḻuttu*) Land.
162 of 1895 ; *SII.* v. 726.

" *Tiruvālīśvaram* (Tin.)—Cows for lamp by a certain woman (*peṇḍāṭṭi*). Pattargal-paṇḍāram, of the Ulagudaiya-Pirāṭṭiyār-vēḷam. The lamp was in the charge of a commandant (*paḍait-talaivan*). 330 of 1916.

Year 23.—*Ādanūr* (Tin.)—(*Vaṭṭeḻuttu*). Damaged.
438 of 1909.

" *Śērmādēvi* (Tin.)—*Tiru manni vaḷara* * (part). Sale of land by assembly of Rājarāja-catm. to the temple of Kailāsam-uḍaiyār in Nigarili-śōḻa-catm. 617 of 1916.

Year 30.—*Āttūr* (Tin.)—Lamp by one of the Sundara-śōḻa-Pāṇḍyat-terinda-vāḷar. 395 of 1930.

The regnal year is missing or uncertain in the following :—

Ambāsamudram (Tin.)—Lamp. Mentions *aganāḻigai-yōm*. 76 of 1907.

Ambāsamudram (Tin.)—Mentions Muttūṟṟukūṟṟam.
80 of 1907.

* Clearly implying that this viceroy was the son of Rājēndra I. *ARE.* 1917 II 3.

Ambāsamudram (Tin.)—Lamp. Mentions Kṣatriyaśikhā-maṇipuram and the shrine of Karumāṇikka-dēvar in the temple of Tiruc-cālait-tuṟai. 85 of 1907.

Cōḷapuram (*Nagercoil*) (Tv.)—Two lamps. 38 of 1896.

Cōḷapuram (*Nagercoil*) (Tv.)—Sale of land by ūr of Karumbaḷu *alias* Aḷagiya-śōḷa-nallūr of Nāñja-nāḍ. *TAS.* vi. p. 13.

Cōḷapuram (*Nagercoil*) (Tv.)—Sale of land by ūr to *engaḷūr* Madilagattu Rājēndraśōḷa-iśvaram. *TAS.* vi. i. App.

Mannārkōyil (Tin.)—Mentions the Cēra king Rājasimha. 114 of 1905.

Śevilippēri (Tin.)—50 sheep for lamp. 410 of 1906.

CŌḶA-PĀṆḌYA : JAṬĀVARMAN UḌAIYĀR ŚRĪ CŌḶA PĀṆḌYA-DĒVA.

Year 3.—*Śevilippēri* (Tin.).—25 sheep to temple of Tentirumāliruñjōlai by a native of Dēvar-veṭṭi-kuḍi near Tirunelvēli in Kīḻ-vēmba-nāḍu, of the Muḍi-koṇḍa-śōḷa-vaḷanāḍu in Rājarāja-pāṇḍi-nāḍu. 408 of 1906.

„ *Sucīndram* (Tv.)—Fifty sheep for a lamp to Sucīndram-uḍaiya Paramasvāmigaḷ by Daṇḍanāyagam Śōḷamaṇḍalattu Vaḍagarai-Rājēndra-śinga-vaḷanāṭṭu Tiruvālināṭṭu Maruḍattūr-uḍaiyān Vēḷān Śōḷa-Kēraḷan *alias* Karikāla-śōḷa-Vaitumbarāyan. *TAS.* iv. pp. 136-8. *

Year 3, day 380.—*Śērmādēvi* (Tin.)—The king from his throne in the *tirumañjana-śālai* of the palace at Rājēndra-śōḷapuram declared tax-free certain *dēvadāna* lands at Kallūr, four *vēlis* (including two *vēlis* called Śivapādaśēkhara-nallūr), and had them entered in the register under the orders of his father (*nammayyar*) the Cōḷa emperor (Vīrarājēndra) whose eulogy commences *vīramē-tuṇaiyāgavum*. Temple Kailāsam-uḍaiyār said to be on the Muḍikoṇḍa-śōḷappērāṟu, Tāmbaraparṇi. Many revenue officials sign the record. 642 of 1916. †

Year 24.—*Sucīndram* (Tv.)—Lamp. 69 of 1896. ‡

„ *Sucīndram* (Tv.)—Sabhā of Sundara-cōḷa-catm. (Sucīndram) sold land for lamp to temple : *vilaip-poruḷum iṟaip-poruḷum aṟak-koṇḍu.* *TAS.* iv. pp. 138-9.

Year 25—*Sucīndram* (Tv.)—Land. 70 of 1896. §

* Viceroy must be Gangaikoṇḍa appointed by Vīrarājēndra. *TAS. ibid.*

† Viceroy was Gangaikoṇḍa-śōḷan of Vīrarājēndra's records. (*EI.* xi. 293) —*ARE.* 1917 II 3.

‡ Perhaps the first Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya ruler. K.V.S. Aiyar. *EI.* xi. p. 293.

§ See last note.

Year 25.—*Sucīndram* (Tv.)—Sabhā of Sundara-śōḷa-catm. sell land for 60 *kāśu*, being *iṟaip-poruḷ* and *vilaip-poruḷ*, to the temple. Procedure of sale interesting. Mentions Veṇkāḍan Śankaranāna Sēnāpati Malaiyappiccōḻan vaitta Abhayākaran tiruvamudu. Also two lamps endowed. *TAS.* iv. pp. 131-4.

Record from which the name and regnal year of viceroy have disappeared :—

Śērmādēvi (Tin.)—Fifty cows for two lamps by Ulaguḍaiyāḷ, queen of (Rājēndra I) who took Gangai, Kiḍāram and Pūrvadēśam. * 623 of 1916.

* Perhaps Vikrama C.P.-dēva. *ARE.* 1917 II 3.

CŌLA-PĀṆḌYA : MĀRAVARMAN UḌAIYĀR ŚRĪ VIKRAMA

Year 20.—*Ādanūr* (Tin.)—(*Vaṭṭeḻuttu*). Before this is a line in *Vaṭṭeḻuttu* mentioning year 3 of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya-dēva. 434 of 1909.

Year 21.—*Śērmādēvi* (Tin.)—Lamp to Kailāyam-uḍaiya Mahādēva of Nigarili-śōḷa-catm. by a Brahman lady of the Kuṇḍina-gōtra. 194 of 1895 ; *SII.* v. 758.

„ *Śērmādēvi* (Tin.)—Cows for lamp by a Brahman lady. 628 of 1916.

Year 22.—*Śērmādēvi* (Tin.)—25 Sheep for a half-lamp to Kailāsam-uḍaiyār * by Kuḍitāngi-Śengoḍi of the Śēramānār-vēḷam. 620 of 1916.

Year 24.—*Kanyākumāri* (Tv.)—Money. 100 of 1896.

Year 25.—*Śērmādēvi* (Tin.)—Lamp to Kailāsam-uḍaiyār. 616 of 1916.

„ *Śērmādēvi* (Tin)—25 cows for lamp by Daṇḍanāyakam Parākrama-nārāyaṇa Brahmādhirājan. 627 of 1916.

„ *Śērmādēvi* (Tin.) — The Aganāḷigai-śivabrāhmaṇar of Śōḷēndra-śinga-īśvara and Kailāsa temples at Nigarili-śōḷa-catm., received twelve *kāśu* from a Brahman lady and agreed to serve in the Rājādhirājac-cuṟṟālai of the temple and burn a lamp to Dakṣiṇāmūrti in the same † temple. 640 of 1916.

„ *Tiruvālīśvaram* (Tin.)—13 cows for half a lamp. 328 of 1916.

* Indirect evidence of sway of the C.-P. s over Kēraḷa. *ARE.* 1917 II 4.

† King identified with Mummuḍi-śōḷan, younger brother of Rājēndra-dēva (II) *ARE.* 1917 II 3.

Year 29.—*Kanyākumāri* (Tv.)—The sabhā of Kaḻikkuḍi met in the *mukha-maṇḍapa* of the Rājarājīśvara temple and resolved to devote 20 *kāśu*, collected by public subscription (*payikṣampukku*) at their instance (*nām dēśanguḍuttu*) by Accan Māṟṟili, a merchant of Kumāri *alias* Gangaikoṇḍa-śōḻapuram, and intended to be the corpus for meeting expenses for *tiruvamidu* in the temple, for repairing breaches in the Kōnāḍar-kuḷam, the *perumakkaḷ* of Rājarājīśvaram undertaking to supply daily two *nāḻi* of rice for offerings.

TAS. i. pp. 249-50 (R). *

* T.A.G. Rao is surprised at the Pāṇḍya titles in this record and seems also to mistake its import.

CŌḶA-PĀṆḌYA : MĀRAVARMAN UḌAIYĀR ŚRĪ PARĀKRAMA

Year 3.—*Tiruvālīśvaram* (Tin).—Twenty-five sheep for half a lamp to Tiruvālīc-curam-uḍaiyār by Rāman Kēṇi *alias* Naḍuvirukkai Tanam-śeṭṭi. 329 of 1916.

Year 4.—*Śērmādēvi* (Tin.)—Money, 12 *kāśu*, with Aganāḷigaiyār by Yōga-dēva and (his wife) Sōma-dēvi of Kāśmiradēśa for a lamp in the temple of Kailāsam-uḍaiyār at Nigarili-śōḷa-catm., a *brahmadēya* in Muḷḷi-nāḍu, a sub-division of Uttama-śōḷa-vaḷa-nāḍu in 'Rājarāja-pāṇḍi-nāḍu.' 613 of 1916.

CŌḶA-PĀṆḌYA : JAṬĀVARMAN UḌAIYĀR VĪRA *

Year 21.—*Periccikōyil* (Rd.)—Land for offerings during one service every day and for a lamp to Kṣētrapāla-dēva in the temple of Muṭṭiśvaram-uḍaiyār in Mēn-Marudūr *alias* Jayangoṇḍa-śōḷanallūr. Mentions Kulāśani Ambalattāḍi also called Rājādhirāja-pūngunṛa-nāḍāḷvān and his brother Kulāśani Māḷuva-māṇikkam *alias* Adhirājādhirāja-pūngunṛa-nāḍāḷvān.

99 of 1924.

* Perhaps Mummuḍi-śōḷan on whom his elder brother Rājēndra conferred the Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya title (*SII.* iii. p. 62), or Gangaikoṇḍa-śōḷan who received from his father Vīrarājēndra-dēva the Pāṇḍya country and the title. *ARE.* 1924 II 25.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

Page 30.—*n.* *—Regarding the omission of Cōḷa in the *Periplus*, Krom says: " Is this an omission or had the Cōḷa temporarily disappeared before the spreading power of the Pāṇḍyas chronicled in Tamil poems? Another Tamil legend connects the Pallavas with the Cōḷas, making the first of them the son of a Cōḷa king and a *nāgī*. Could the Pallavas for whom, however, a Parthian origin has sometimes been postulated, have taken the place of the Cōḷas, as in the centuries after the fall of the Pallavas, the Cōḷas again rise into importance in the same territory?" *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis* p. 70. See, however, *Studies*, p. 11.

Page 64.—ll. 1-3.—The camp of Poṟaiyan (*Poṟaiyan pāsaṟai*) is mentioned by Poygaiyār in another poem as well, *Naṟṟiṇai* 18.

Page 100.—*n.* *—But see pp. 263-64 *infra*.

Page 103.—*n.* *—A.K. Kumaraswami, *JAOS.* li. p. 181. Also the occurrence of Kanarese words in the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus, second century A.D. (*JRAS.* 1904, pp. 399 ff.) may be noted. *MAR.* 1926, pp. 11 ff. discusses these words and expressions in detail.

Page 104.—*n.* *—For a discussion of this passage in the *Periplus* with reference to Indian boat-designs, see Hornell, *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vii. pp. 215 ff. He suggests that the *Colandia* of the first century had close kinship with the two-masted Javanese outrigger ships of the Boro-Budur sculptures. But surely the two-masted ships without outriggers on the Andhra and Kurumbar Coins seem to be nearer the vessels mentioned by the *Periplus* than Javanese sculptures of the 8th or 9th century A.D.

Page 127.—*n.* †—It must be noted, however, that Iḍangaḻi is said to have been the ancestor of Āditya who covered the

Cidambaram temple with gold from Kongu. Even if this is a reference to Āditya I who conquered Kongu and annexed Toṇḍai-nāḍ to the Cōḷa kingdom, Iḍangaḷi might have been connected with the Cōḷas only by giving his daughter in marriage to a Cōḷa prince. At any rate, we have no evidence that the Cōḷas were descended from the Vēḷs in the male line.

Page 137.—*n.* §—On Māṟambāvai and the title Pallavatilaka see also *EI.* xviii. p. 118. The two inscriptions mentioned at the end of the note now published as 301-A and 303 of 1901 (Nos. 523 and 525 of *SII.* vii.) may not belong to Nṛpatunga's reign; their beginnings are lost.

Page 153 and *n* *—It is doubtful if Cāḷukya Bhīma's territory could have extended up to Śitpuli-nāḍu between Venkaṭagiri and Gūdūr (Rapur Tq). It may have been an attempt of Parāntaka to subdue the Telugu Cōḍas. *NI.* R. 47 (p. 1267) l. 34 mentions Ceḍupuli-nāḍu.

Page 186—ll. 9-10.—'The third year of Sundara Cōḷa, about 959 A.D.' is based on the text of 116 of 1896 in *SII.* v. But the figure '3' is doubtful in that inscription, and as the general is mentioned in an inscription of Sundara Cōḷa in the seventh year (291 of 1908), Śiṟiya-vēḷār must have fought and died in Ceylon after that date. K.V.S. Aiyar suggests the ninth year, *c.* A.D. 965 (*EI.* vii. p. 124), and this is quite possible.

Page 217.—*n.* § —Published *EI* xxi. pp. 29 ff. An incomplete inscription from Tiruccattuṟai (Tj.), 204 of 1931, mentions victories in Puna-nāḍu and Malai-nāḍu, the defeat of Vaḷudi (Pāṇḍya), the destruction of Viḻiñam with its strong ramparts, the sowing of cowries in Kaṟkaḍai-mā-nagar, and the defeat of Telungu-Bhīma, and Jananāthan-emberumān Śembiyar Kōn. Evidently it is in praise of a chief who took part in these events, but whose name is lost. The inscription seems to be of the time of Rājarāja I; I have examined the impression and am unable to accept the twelfth century date suggested in *ARE.* 1931, II 30.

Page 220.—*n.* ‡—" The Sultān takes the official title of king of the thirteen provinces and of the 12,000 islands. According to Owen this is scarcely a third or a fourth of the actual number, although, apart from mere reefs, a few hundred only appear on the most carefully prepared charts. Ptolemy reckoned as many as 1,378, but not more than 175 are inhabited." *The Universal Geography* by Elisee Reclus, ed. A.H. Keane, Vol. viii. *India and Indo-China*, p. 384.

Page 221.—ll. 14-5.—Another inscription of the thirty-first year of Rājarāja comes from Brahmadēśam (NA.), 252 of 1915.

Page 224.—l. 8.—Attention is drawn to the flight of Buddhist monks from Magadha to the South mentioned by Tārānātha (Schiefner p. 255), and the foundation of the monastery at Negapatam by a king of Sumatra may be explained, it is said, 'as the continuation of the relations between Magadha and the Archipelago.' *Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land en Volkenkunde* Deel 90 (1933) pp. 19-20. But there are insuperable chronological difficulties in the way of accepting this ; the Muhammadan invasion which dispersed the monks of Magadha did not occur before the twelfth century.

Page 260.—*n* *—It is perhaps worth noting that Ferrand (*Relations* ii. p. 646 *n.* 11 ; *JA.* 11 : 14 pp. 173, 176 *n.* 1) has made a serious mistake in supposing that Hultzsch locates Malaiyūr in the North Arcot District (*EI.* ix. p. 231). Hultzsch's remark about Muḷḷiyūr relates to the donative part of the Tirumalai record, not the *praśasti* narrating the campaign.

Pages 259-265.—Rouffaer proposes a different scheme of identifications for the places mentioned in the Tanjore inscription in an important contribution in *Bijdragen*, Deel 77 (1921). I translate below the passage summing up his conclusions :

We find the 13 states in Rājēndra's Tanjore manifesto summed up in this soundly rhetorical and partly geographical order :

ADDITIONAL NOTES

[1 = 14 see end] 1. Kedah (Kaḍāram) the pre-eminently strong, particularly on land (by its elephants);

[2-4 on Sumatra] 2. Palembang (Śrī Vijayam), the rich emporium * ; 3. Pane ; Panai (Paṇṇai) the river-town ; 4. Djambi (Malaiyūr), the ancient ;

[5-8 on the Malay Peninsula :] 5. Hasin, Ma Hasin (Māyiruḍingam), the sea-town ; 6 Wurawāri = Gangāyu = Langkāśuka (I-Langāśōkam), the unconquerable ; 7. Pahang, or rather Penang (Mā-pappāḷam), the water state (defended by an abundance of deep waters) ; 8. either Dinding or Braus, in Perak (Mēvilimbangam), encircled by a wall (defended by beautiful walls), or probably also the equally ancient Kelang in Selangor ;

[9 on Campa's south coast] 9. Phanrang, Pāṇḍuranga? (Vaḷaippandūru wherein, according to a kind communication of Prof. Van Ronkel, Tamil *vaḷai* means 'fortress') in parts still wild (possessing at once cultivated lands (?) and waste-land) ;

[10-11 ; back on the north of the Malay Peninsula] 10. Ptolemy's Takōla = Takkōla of the *Milindapañha* (*i.e.*, Menander dialogues *c.* 400 A.D.) = Takuā Pā of to-day (Gerini-1909), Mal. Takōpa, on the W. coast, 8° 25′ N.L. (Talaittakkōlam, in which Tamil *talai* means chief, original, Coedes) ; 11. Tāmbra-linga. (Linga of Copper) = either Chaiyya or Bandon or—and in my opinion the most likely—Ligor, (Lakon, Nagor, Nakor, all meaning Nagara; against which Ligor can just be a corruption of an older 'Linga' ; the Lo-yue of Kia-Tan's sea-itinerary of *c.* 800 A.D.), thus all three on the E. coast resp. 9° 20′ 9° 5′ and 8° 22′ N.L. (Mā-Damālingam, Coedes pp. 15-18 and 32-3 ; where he first publishes a Buddhist inscription from Jaiya = Chaiya, dated 4332 Kali = 1230 A.D., given by Śrī Dharmarāja, prince of Tāmbralinga).

* Coedes (p. 5, n. 1) remarks that some of the ornate epithets which in Hultzsch's translation of the inscription in 1891 all become related to Kaḍāram may probably relate to Śrī Vijayam.

The first, Ptolemy's emporium Takōla thus from *c.* 150 A.D., is described in this Tanjore inscription of 1030 A.D., as ' praised by great men versed in the sciences'; which, *via* the *Milindapañha* of the 5th century A.D. and the Bactrian prince Menander *alias* Milinda (*c.* 155 B.C.) praised therein, was known not simply in India itself but in the land of the Yavanas = Greeks.

The second, I think, is no other than Ligor = Lo- Yue (*c.* 800 A.D.) = Linga, say: ' Śiva's town '; later become Buddhist, and ' the city ' (Nagara) or capital of Buddha, Dharma-nagari (*Nāgarakṛtāgama* of 1365 A.D., 15 : 1) *alias* Nagara Śrī Dharma-rāja (924 A.D.; Gerini p. 107), thus in the manner of the older Śri Vijaya = Palembang, and the much later (15th century ?)' Siak Śri Indrapura ' = Siyak in 1365 A.D.; all sign-boards of political power like Great Berlin, or Great Netherlands or Great(er) Britain :—here in the Tanjore inscription of 1030 A.D. described as ' intrepid in great and terrible combats. '

[12-13, to the S.W. and W.S.W. of Takkola-Ligor] 12. Great Atjeh, Lamoeri (I-Lāmuridēśam), ' of which the terrible force (Atjeh wars 1872-1905 !) was conquered by a violent attack ' : and 13. the Nicobars (Mā-Nakka-vāram), these islands of naked idyllic wilds described as : ' of which the gardens of flowers resemble the zone of the nymph of the southern region'

and—I, Rājēndra Cōḷa king by the grace of gods (since 1012 A.D.), repeat :

[14 = 1; Alpha and Omega] Kedha (Kaḍāram) the mighty (on land), protected by the sea.

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